MONASH University

Women and Academic Leadership

at Public and Private Universities in Mongolia

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Monash University in 2020
Faculty of Education

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Abstract

This study examines the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in Mongolia, where women remain considerably under-represented in senior leadership positions at the more prestigious, public universities, but are equally represented as leaders at the less prestigious, private universities. As such, this study aims to create knowledge *for* rather than *about* women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field.

This study is located in Mongolia—a landlocked developing country situated in East Asia, and a former Soviet-style socialist country. Although Mongolia was never an official member of the Soviet Union, it was greatly dependent on and influenced by the Soviet Union—particularly Russia—in regard to its politics and economy. Mongolia's political and economic transformation from a socialist to a market-based economy in the early 1990s brought about several major political, economic, and social reforms in the country. One of the significant consequences of these reforms was that women as a group in the past three decades have received higher levels of education than men as a group. In contrast, men were expected to move into the labour force at an earlier age in order to earn much-needed income. Despite women being better educated than men, they experience differential leadership career opportunities at public and private universities in Mongolia. Despite having greater levels of education than men, women academics remain considerably under-represented in senior leadership positions at public universities, but are equally represented in relatively senior leadership positions at private universities. The reasons behind this phenomenon are unclear, and no research has been conducted in this area.

This study aims to investigate this phenomenon, employing feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools—field, habitus, and capital—as part of a feminist ontology and transnational feminist epistemology. Bourdieu's concept of field denotes the Mongolian university sector. Notions of habitus are employed to examine the choices made as part of the life trajectories of the women academic leaders in this study. Notions of capital are utilised to examine the economic, cultural, social, political, and symbolic capital which are legitimised in the Mongolian university

field. This study posits a new contribution to Bourdieuian notions of capital that is meritorious capital. It argues that understanding this form of capital capital—which draws on Mongolian traditions, philosophies, and culture—is crucial to understanding the development of women's academic leadership habitus in the Mongolian university field.

This study adopts a feminist qualitative comparative case approach, utilising qualitative interviews and secondary data documents to examine the development of the women's academic leadership habitus and its realisation in the Mongolian university field. By investigating the women leaders' habitus—comparing, contrasting, and connecting their interviews at different levels—this study reveals the various socialist, neoliberal, and traditional factors that construct the logics of gender and academic leadership at play. As a result, this study makes contributions to feminist research and theorising of women and academic leadership in the context of a postsocialist East Asian country—an area that remains considerably under-explored.

Keywords: Academic leadership, Bourdieu, feminist qualitative study, Mongolia, women's leadership, university sector.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Scholarship, Publication, Presentations, and Service

Scholarship

- Monash Graduate Scholarship (MGS) (October 2016–January 2020)
- Faculty of Education International Graduate Research Tuition Scholarship (October 2016–June 2017)
- Monash International Postgraduate Research Scholarship (MIPRS) (July 2017–January 2020)

Publication

- Wilkinson, J., Purvee, A., & MacDonald, K. (forthcoming). Gender and educational leadership. In S. Courtney, H. Gunter, R. Niesche, & T. Trujillo (Eds.), *Understanding Educational Leadership: Critical Perspectives and Approaches.* Bloomsbury.

Conference Presentations and Abstracts

- Anar Purvee (2019). Women's academic leadership careers at public and private universities in Mongolia. Paper presented at the 2019 New Zealand Association for Research in Education Conference, Christchurch, Canterbury.
- Anar Purvee (2018). Women and Leadership in Higher Education in Mongolia. Paper presented at the 2018 Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Sydney, New South Wales.
- Anar Purvee (2017). A Feminist Case Study on Women's Academic Leadership in Mongolia. Paper presented at the 2017 Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
- Anar Purvee (2017). Women and Leadership in Higher Education: A Feminist Case Study in Mongolia. Paper presented at the 2017 Monash Educational Research Community (MERC) Annual Conference, Melbourne, Victoria.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the numerous people who have supported me during my research journey, and who have made it real and rich. I would like to acknowledge these people chronologically:

- I would like to thank my parents, who always valued higher education. My educational achievements would not be possible without their hard work. My father: my role model; a great intellectual whose educational achievements were outstanding and who was called an *electron boy*; who showed me how a person could learn many foreign languages without a linguistics major (in addition to his native Mongolian language, he was fluent in Romanian, Russian, and English, and learned some Italian, French, and Spanish); and who was educated in Romania (which meant he studied engineering in a semi-Westernised country during Mongolia's toughest socialist regime), Russia (he received his PhD in economics from VIEMS, Moscow, writing on the theme of market economy at the beginning of the market economic era in Mongolia), and Mongolia (he received his ScD from the socialist educational system—the highest academic degree in Mongolia). Behind his achievements was the strongest woman I know—my mother, who provided us with opportunities; who led and managed her household in an exemplary fashion; and who made me the person I am today. In addition, I would like to thank my sisters and brothers, who have always loved me, supported me, and taken care of me. I would also like to thank my husband, who is both a true educator and my best friend, and who has always encouraged me. He has been my greatest companion during this journey.
- I would like to thank my teachers, lecturers, professors, and supervisors from all over the world, including Mongolia, Austria, and Taiwan. They have educated me, encouraged me, guided me toward academia, and supported me in this field.
- I would like to thank my main supervisor, Jane Wilkinson, who was confident in making her decision to supervise my research. She has supervised and supported me, and made all the necessary changes possible—from my quantitative background to qualitative research, and

from my business management background to the field of women's academic leadership. In addition, I would like to thank my associate supervisors. Firstly, Jeff Brook, who was my first associate supervisor and contributed to the methods section of this study; and secondly, Amanda Heffernan, who joined this project as my second associate supervisor, contributed to this study with all her heart, and shared her exemplary expertise and guidance. Without good supervisions, any research would be incomplete.

- I would like to thank Monash University and its Faculty of Education, and all the people who have contributed to its warm and welcoming environment with readily available resources, support, and services. In particular, my research has been supported by the Monash Graduate Scholarship, the Faculty of Education International Graduate Research Tuition Scholarship, and the Monash International Postgraduate Research Scholarship. Without this financial and educational support, my research journey would not have been completed.
- I would like to thank my panel members and thesis examiners, who have spent their time on my research and provided me with invaluable suggestions and feedback to improve my study.
- I would like to thank my social networks in Mongolia, who found and recommended my research participants. Their efforts are silent in this study, but their contributions certainly shaped it. In particular, I would like to thank my participants, the women academic leaders in Mongolia, who talked to me from their hearts and provided rich data for this study.
- I would like to thank my academic networks and my friends and colleagues from all over the world, including Australia and Mongolia. I've made many wonderful memories and friendships—thank you to everyone who chit-chatted with me, listened to my presentations, provided me with feedback, prepared me for my milestones, and learned with me.

I would like to thank you all, very much. The greatest wish that I have for everyone is:

May everyone live in peace!

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List of Abbreviations

MAS	The Mongolian Academy of Sciences
MECSS	The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sciences and Sports of Mongolia
MPP	The Mongolian People's Party
MPRP	The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
NGO	Non–Governmental Organisations
NUM	The National University of Mongolia
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

Introduction

This study examines the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in Mongolia, where women remain considerably under-represented in senior leadership positions at the more prestigious, public universities, but are equally represented as leaders at the less prestigious, private universities. The reasons behind this phenomenon are unclear and no research has been conducted in this area. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the phenomenon, employing feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools. This chapter discusses: (a) Problem statement of the study; (b) Rationale of the study; (c) Purpose of the study; (d) Key terms of the study; and (e) Thesis structure.

Problem Statement of the Study

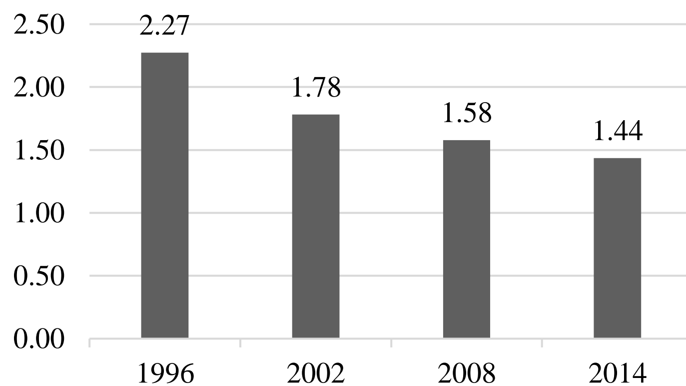
Mongolia is a landlocked developing country located in East Asia, and is a former Soviet-style socialist country. It was never an official member of the Soviet Union, but was greatly dependent on the Soviet Union—particularly Russia, in regard to its politics and economy. Mongolia's political and economic transformation from socialism into a market-based system in the early 1990s has brought about major changes in the country's society, including changes to gender inequality in education. In most cases of gender inequality in education in developing countries, females are more disadvantaged than males (UNESCO, 2012); however, in Mongolia, the opposite situation has arisen.

As a result of the transitional economic crisis, Mongolian households experienced intense financial difficulties. Most families encouraged their daughters to study for secondary and tertiary education, and required their sons to work and contribute to household budgets. Therefore, the Gender Parity Index of School Enrolments in Tertiary Education in Mongolia indicates that women were better educated than men in Mongolia (see Figure 1.1) (World Bank, 2016a). Despite what appeared on the surface to be a form of affirmative action, suggesting the value of higher education, the societal response to improved education for girls was nonetheless highly gendered. As a Mongolian female

growing up at the time, I was aware on an anecdotal basis that many Mongolian families believed girls to be less resilient than boys; therefore, education was considered to be a *softer* option than participating in the labour force. In this regard, at the beginning of the market economy in Mongolia; many families let their children join the labour force, conduct business, or become herders in order to bring in income or food as fast as possible. These families considered that these options were more challenging for girls; therefore, they let their sons pursue such options, and supported their daughters to have what they saw as *easier* options, i.e., studying for higher education.

Figure 1.1

Gender Parity Index of School Enrolments in Tertiary Education in Mongolia



Note. The above index indicates "the quotient of the number of females by the number of males enrolled in" tertiary education (World Bank, 2016a).

The index shows "the quotient of the number of females by the number of males enrolled in a given stage of education". In Mongolia, this number was 2.74 in 1996, 1.65 in 2005 and 1.44 in 2014 (World Bank, 2016a). This indicates that—in terms of tertiary education—Mongolian women have received better education than men for over two decades of the market economic era. This index reduced over time, primarily due to Mongolia's economic development and the increasing value of higher education in Mongolian society, which allowed families to invest equally in both their sons' and daughters' higher education.

Nonetheless, despite women's higher levels of education overall, the labour force in Mongolia remains highly gendered, with women typically working in more *feminised* occupations such as education, health, and tourism, and receiving lower wages than men (Begzsuren & Aldar, 2014; Khan & Aslam, 2013). In addition, women are considerably under-represented in management and leadership positions (Begzsuren & Aldar, 2014; Khan & Aslam, 2013; Munkhbat, Paras, & Theunissen, 2014; UNDP in Mongolia, 2016a). Therefore, in relation to women's status in Mongolia, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has noted:

> In Mongolia, women are active in most areas of the economy and society, however, gender-based disparities persist in terms of poverty, vulnerability, economic opportunities, and political decision making. (UNDP in Mongolia, 2016b, p.1)

The Global Gender Gap Index also reflects this inequitable situation for women in Mongolia. The index shows "the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy, and politics" (World Economic Forum, 2016, p. v). The index in Mongolia (0.705[1] in 2016) indicates that although women's education attainment is higher than males (0.993), women's political empowerment (0.084) and economic leadership indicators are low. For instance, 37.8% of firms had ownership which included women and only 35.6% of firms had "top management" that included women (World Economic Forum, 2016, p. 260).

The Mongolian university sector reflects this current inequitable situation. It was crucial to look at the differences between public and private universities in this study because these universities have constituted the majority of the Mongolian university sector. In 2017, there were 13 public and 18 private universities in Mongolia, which constituted 72.5% of all employees and 79.8% of all students in the sector. The remainder comprised public and private colleges and foreign branch schools (The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sciences and Sports of Mongolia [MECSS], 2017) (see Appendix A). Although public and private universities have constituted the majority of the Mongolian university sector, they have had differential reputations and images in the Mongolian society. Due to

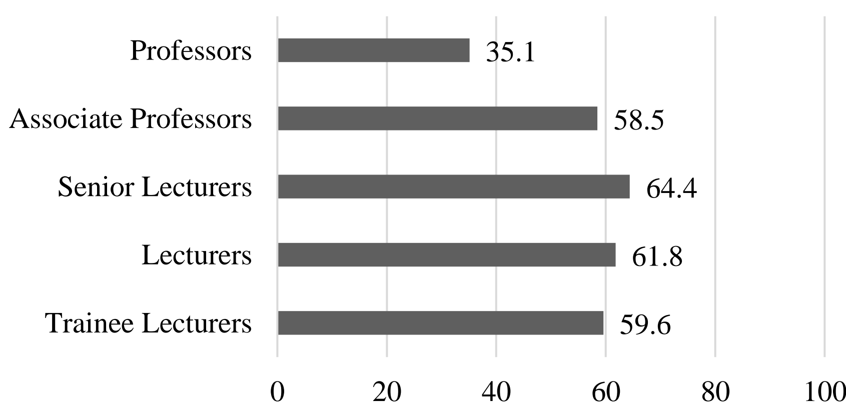
[1] Score of 1 indicates gender equality.

their longer history in the country, and the cultural capital they gathered through their association with the socialist regime, public universities have developed much better reputations than private universities. They are considered to be more prestigious and *first-class*. In contrast, private universities have much lower reputations and are considered *second-class* (Yano, 2012).

In terms of women's representation in both public and private universities, females have been considerably under-represented in senior professorships and over-represented at more junior levels (see Figure 1.2). The underrepresentation of women is a global phenomenon as evidenced by research conducted in a wide range of nations, including Australia (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019); China (Yu & Wang, 2018); Hong Kong (Aiston, 2014); Ireland (O'Connor, 2014); Kazakhstan (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017); New Zealand (Baker, 2010); the United Kingdom (Burkinshaw, 2015); and the United States (Baltodano et al., 2012). Perhaps in contrast to other nations, however, in terms of senior management, women have been far more equitably represented in Mongolia's private, less prestigious universities. However, they remain underrepresented in public, first-class, prestigious universities (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.2

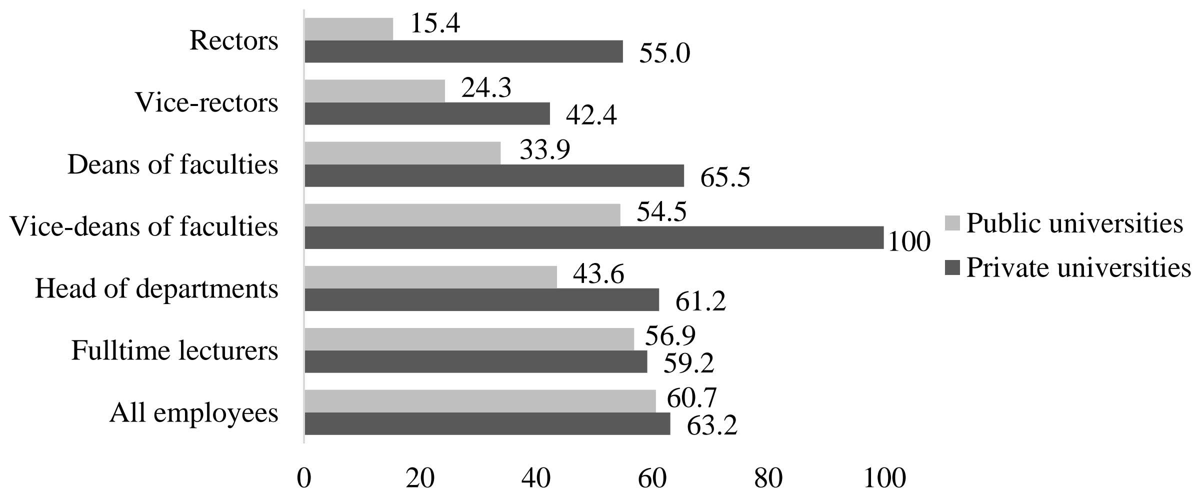
Percentage of Women in the Mongolian University Sector



Note. These percentages are calculated from the statistics provided in Table 3.18 in "*The 2016–2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector,"* by MECSS, 2017.

Figure 1.3

Percentage of Women at Public and Private Universities in Mongolia



Note. These percentages are calculated from the statistics provided in Table 3.18 in "*The 2016–2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector,"* by MECSS, 2017.

Therefore, this study suggests that there are two arguments—human capital and human rights—in relation to this inequitable situation for women in leadership at Mongolian public and private universities. Firstly, in terms of a human capital argument, the preceding figures suggest that prestigious, public universities in Mongolia have not utilised their well-developed human capital (i.e., better-educated women) effectively. With regard to a human capital argument, scholars note that it is costly not to include women in senior leadership (Aiston, 2014; Morley, 2013). For instance, Aiston (2014) emphasised that "the underrepresentation of female academics as leaders reflects the continuing inequalities between men and women, along with missed opportunities for women to contribute to shaping the future university" (p. 67). In this study, therefore, although there is no evidence that men, who are employed in senior leadership roles in Mongolian public universities, are less well-educated, previous research suggests that the Mongolian university sector has been historically unstable and underdeveloped, and has encountered many issues, including weak leadership and management (Batsukh, 2011; Yano, 2012). These findings suggest that the current male-dominated leadership and management in the Mongolian university sector may not have been fully effective and efficient. In this regard, research which supports gender equity in academic

leadership based on a human capital argument could provide a crucial solution for the sector's poor growth and development, and possible missed opportunities of women academic leaders.

More importantly, the marginalisation of any group is a question of human rights, social justice, and ethics (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Mohanty, 2003; Pardy, 2013). For instance, "the underrepresentation of women academics in the most senior ranks and leadership positions in higher education is an enduring social justice issue" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 1); "greater equity between male and female colleagues" is a sign of "the ethical university" (Aiston, 2011, p. 279). Therefore, in taking a feminist approach, this study argues that investigating why women face disparate opportunities for leadership roles at Mongolian public and private universities is not only a human capital argument, but also a human rights argument. As such, research which carefully examines gender inequity in academic leadership could also raise awareness of human rights, social justice, and ethics issues in the Mongolian university sector.

Importantly, however, the reasons behind this phenomenon are unclear. No research has been conducted in this area in Mongolia, despite numerous studies of women's academic leadership in other countries, particularly in the global North. This underlines the importance of the rationale of this study, which is discussed on page 22. Before discussing this, the following part explains various terms that are utilised in this study.

Key Terms of the Study

This study has utilised a number of key terms, including global North/South, women/gender, and leadership. For the purposes of this study, these are defined as follows:

Global North/South. There are several available terms that this study could utilise. For instance, *Western/First World/North* and *Non-Western/Third World/South*. In order to avoid creating "geographical and ideological binarisms", this study utilises the terms *global North/South* to represent the concepts of *Two-Thirds World/One-Third World* (Mohanty, 2003, p. 506). Connell (2014) argued:

> In the neocolonial world of the present day there are no thoroughly separate cultures or religions left. It is transnational corporate businessmen rather than local patriarchs who are

now the most powerful group in the world. Feminist researchers in different parts of the world urgently need ways to cross-fertilise, rather than to separate, their work. (p. 522)

Therefore, the terms *global North/South* in this study signifies social majorities and minorities in the world. These concepts are more adequate for explaining the currently disproportionate contexts of educational leadership scholarship, in which "an analysis of power and agency … is crucial" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 506).

Women/Gender. Gender is a social construction of a biological sex category (Datnow, 1998; Morley, 2014; Scott, 1986). Throughout the history of humankind, women have faced obstacles, challenges, oppressions, and marginalisation in accord with the socially constructed category of gender. Gender has not been "simply a demographical variable, but is in continual production via socio-cultural and organisational practices" (Morley, 2014, p. 124). Scott (1986) stated that gender had become "a way of denoting 'cultural constructions'—the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men" (p. 1056). In addition, gender works in society as "a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott, 1986, p. 1067). For instance, discursive gender binaries/dualisms in society typically denote and construct modes of femininity associated with the devalued side of the binary (Morley, 2014). For instance, womanhood is discursively associated with femininity/weakness/child-bearing, which is in contrast to constructions of manhood, commonly associated with masculinity/strength/leadership. Scott (1986) argued that "sexual difference is a primary way of signifying differentiation" (p. 1070). In other words, constructing differentiated power structures based on a sexual binary has been a primary tool in society for exercising materialist, economic, and political power. Therefore, this study aims to explore how gender has been constructed and exercised in the Mongolian university sector.

Leadership. Leadership has been defined (see Appendix B) in a number of ways (e.g. visionary, charismatic, transformational, and transactional) (see Appendix C) (Allio, 2016; Banks, 2000; Bass & Bass, 2008; Northouse, 2015). In this regard, "good leadership is something we all recognise but find difficult to define" (Blackmore, 2013, p. 139). However, leadership research is

typically focused on a notion of power *over*, rather than power *with,* others (Blackmore, 2013). Conversely, feminist scholarship on leadership typically suggests a notion of power *with* (Blackmore, 2013), and defines leadership as "a relational practice built on respect and trust … [it] is about knowing and working towards a shared purpose in a principled manner" (Blackmore, 2013, p. 151). This study aims to investigate how leadership has been constructed, understood, and practised in the Mongolian university sector.

Rationale for the Study

The rationale for this study is to contribute to the current research gap on women's academic leadership in Mongolia. In educational leadership scholarship, *Anglo-centric, Americano-centric, and/or Eurocentric* studies are dominant, and the scholarship has primarily been shaped by research done in the global North, particularly in English-speaking countries (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2003; Hallinger & Chen, 2015). Leadership scholarship remains highly gendered, as is mainly based on Western studies of white males (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Sinclair, 2014; Sinclair & Wilson, 2002; Vetter, 2010). The study of women's leadership has been critiqued for being essentialist in terms of its predominant focus on Anglo-centric, white, and middle-class women as the norm (Banks, 2000; Fitzgerald, 2003, 2010; Wilkinson, 2007; Wilkinson & Blackmore, 2008). Therefore, there exists significantly less research and knowledge regarding educational leadership and women's leadership in the global South, e.g., in Asian and East Asian countries (Aiston, 2014; Aiston & Yang, 2017; Hallinger & Chen, 2015; Turnbull & Ryan, 2011; Wilkinson, 2007, 2008). In particular, there exists a lack of knowledge and research about leadership—and very little research about educational leadership and women's leadership—in Mongolia. Therefore, by investigating women's academic leadership in Mongolia, this study aims to contribute to filling this research gap.

Further crucial considerations for this study include cultural differences between different nations and how these differences play out in terms of gender relations. The reasons for this are:

- Leadership is a concept that is rooted in culture (Shah, 2018; Wilkinson & Bristol, 2018). Therefore, studies conducted in other cultures may be inadequate to explain how leadership has been constructed and understood in the Mongolian university sector.
- "Gender is a cultural term" (Watson, Hodgins, & Brooks, 2016, p. 7; Wilkinson & Bristol, 2018). Therefore, studies conducted in other societies may be less suited to describe and explain gender issues in Mongolia.
- Diverse factors support and restrict women's leadership in various societies. They also have different impacts depending on the society (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Banks, 2000; Morley, 2014). Therefore, a country-specific analysis should be conducted in Mongolia.

In addition, employing a feminist lens is critical to this study. The reasons for this are as follows:

- Feminist perspectives challenge traditional contexts in leadership (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Kapasi, Sang, & Sitko, 2016; Sinclair, 2014). Therefore, a feminist lens is helpful to challenge *taken-for-granted* knowledge of leadership in Mongolia.
- Feminist perspectives investigate "gendered, classed and racialised structures and cultures" in higher education" (Leathwood & Read, 2009, p. 179). Therefore, it is important to examine the current structures and cultures of the Mongolian university sector.
- Feminist perspectives seek "wider educational debates about social inequality, educational reform and issues of social justice" (Blackmore, 1999, p. 222). Therefore, it is helpful to draw attention to wider issues in the Mongolian university sector.

With these reasons in mind, this research adopts a feminist methodology for investigating the inequitable situation of women and academic leadership in Mongolian public and private universities. In so doing, it is hoped that this study will become a pioneering and foundational study of this phenomenon in Mongolia. In this way, this study aims to contribute to understanding the inequitable situation for women in the Mongolian university sector. In addition, by employing a feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools, this study may potentially provide a

significant theoretical contribution to the literature gap on women and academic leadership in the context of an Asian country.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the current state of women and academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities, employing a feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital under a feminist ontology and transnational feminist epistemology. In this way, this study aims to create knowledge *for* rather than *about* women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Grogan & Simmons, 2007; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2018; Olesen, 2018). The justification for these choices is outlined in the methodology section in Chapter Four.

The current situation of academic leadership in Mongolian public and private universities is problematic because it is practised through "a discursively produced, privileged ideology" (Sinclair, 2014, p. 25). This ideology is created by a number of factors, including organisational, historical, cultural, social, economic, and political conditions (Blackmore, 2013; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Mohanty, 2003; Olesen, 2018). Therefore, looking at women's representation in academic leadership in terms of a numerical problem (i.e. a question of having more numbers of women in senior positions in public universities as the practice of private universities) is not sufficient (Blackmore, 2013; Morley, 2014; Sinclair, 2014). Rather, this study draws on the importance of investigating "the social relations of gender and power" in the process of investigating the theoretical and political foundations of the phenomenon in Mongolia (Blackmore, 2013, p. 139). In this regard, this study examines the following key research question:

- How do women construct and enact academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities?
- How can we understand the differing representation of women in academic leadership at Mongolian public versus private universities?

Thesis Structure

This chapter has introduced the problem statement, key terms, rationale, and purpose of this study. Chapter Two briefly introduces Mongolian history and culture, and creates a broad contextual map of this study. As such, it provides crucial background information for this study, and shapes the flow of the overall thesis. Chapter Three analyses the current literature on women's academic leadership, and shows how the phenomenon is abundantly studied in the global North, but insufficiently studied in the global South.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology and theoretical framework of this study. Feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools allowed this study to conduct a systematic analysis of the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in Mongolian public and private universities. Chapter Five introduces the research design of this study—a feminist qualitative comparative case study. The chapter discusses data collection methods, data analysis techniques, and ethical conduct. Chapter Six is the contextual chapter, and analyses the Mongolian university sector as a cultural field according to Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field and capital. It introduces the historical background of the field, and the formations of its subfields—public and private universities.

Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine analyse the women academic leaders' habitus, and discuss the main findings of this study. Chapter Seven focuses on capital, and interrogates how the women academic leaders built and advanced their academic leadership careers at Mongolian public and private universities. Chapter Eight focuses on gender, and contends that there exists a different logic of gender practice in the Mongolian university field. Chapter Nine focuses on leadership, and investigates the women's academic leadership practices. Finally, Chapter Ten expands upon the conclusions and implications of this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the interesting, comparative phenomenon of women's underrepresentation in senior leadership at prestigious Mongolian public universities, as opposed to the equal representation that exists at less prestigious private universities. In other words, women in Mongolia have held differential academic leadership roles in the university sector with respect to the differential prestige of public and private universities. This inequitable situation affects the leadership and management of the Mongolian higher education sector as a whole, resulting in issues of weak leadership and management. Therefore, this is not only a human capital issue, but also a human rights issue. By investigating this phenomenon—with the help of feminist qualitative methodology and Bourdieu's conceptual tools—this study represents a potential theoretical contribution to the current literature on women's academic leadership.

This chapter has also demonstrated the importance of conducting a country-specific analysis, due to differing sociocultural constructions and reproductions of gender and leadership. Therefore, I now turn to Chapter Two, to provide a brief introduction to Mongolian history and culture in order to create a broad contextual map for this study.

Chapter Two

Mongolia as a Sociocultural Space

Introduction

Chapter One demonstrated the importance of conducting a country-specific analysis of women's academic leadership in Mongolia, as gender and leadership are culturally constructed phenomena. Their constructions and reproductions are practised through "a discursively produced, privileged ideology" (Sinclair, 2014, p. 25), which could be created by a number of factors (e.g. organisational, historical, cultural, social, economic, and political) (Blackmore, 2013). Thus, this introductory contextual chapter locates the study and its participants in the broader societal context of Mongolian history and culture. This is crucial background information in order to understand how academic women in Mongolian universities construct and enact their leadership and come to be differentially represented in public versus private universities. More in-depth contextualisation of the Mongolian university field and the gender implications thereof are provided in Chapter Six. The introductory contextual detail in this chapter is required to understand: the various conceptualisations of Bourdieu's conceptual tools with regard to Mongolian traditional culture (e.g., meritorious capital in Chapter Four); the development and change which has taken place in the Mongolian university sector (Chapter Six); and the women academic leaders' perceptions and practices of gender and leadership (Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine). This chapter introduces: (a) A brief history of Mongolia; and (b) Traditional Mongolian cultural values.

A Brief History of Mongolia

Mongolia has a rich history, which spans almost 5,000 years and has featured many achievements and struggles (Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). Mongolia's history began with the Hunnu Empire (209BCE–176AD), which was an ancient tribal confederation located in the Eurasian steppe. The empire was well known for its leader, Modu Chanyu (234–174 BCE), who successfully integrated nomadic tribes and formed the first powerful state of the nomadic tribes in the history of Central Asia (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011, p. 78). In the centuries following this integration, several

empires were built in Mongolian territory, of which the Great Mongol Empire was the strongest. The following sections discuss the Great Mongol Empire, the Yuan Dynasty, the Manchu dictatorship era, the socialist era, and the market economic era of Mongolia.

The Great Mongol Empire (1160–1259). The Mongols became prominent in world history due to the rise of the Great Mongol Empire, which was the largest contiguous land empire in history. The Great Mongol Empire was an amalgamation of several nomadic tribes, and was led by Chinggis Khaan (1162–1227). The successors of Chinggis Khaan were Tolui Khaan (1227-1228), Ögedei Khaan (1229-1241), Queen Naimanjin (1241-1246), Güyük Khaan (1246-1248), and Möngke Khaan (1251-1259). The empire was known for its various innovations, including the establishment of a code of law, democratic governance, religious freedom, trade networks (e.g. the Silk Road), and cultural exchange between the East, the Middle East, and the West. The empire's leadership was recognised for its various advanced developments in cultural, scientific, and foreign relations (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011, p. 81).

The Yuan Dynasty (1260–1369). After the Great Mongol Empire, the Yuan Dynasty (1260–1369) was established and its emperor was Khubilai Khaan (1215–1294). Khubilai Khaan continued the Great Mongol Empire's policies and moved the capital city from Karakorum (in Mongolia) to Zhongdu (modern day Beijing, China). Scholars noted that "it was his political decision to govern the foreign people in the foreign territory because there were only two million Mongolians but sixty million Chinese" (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011, p. 112). After Khubilai Khaan, ten other kings governed the empire, including Ölziit Tömör Khaan (1294-1307) and Togoontömör Khaan (1333-1370). The empire was known for its various developments in cultural, scientific, political, and economic relations, e.g., the Academy of Science was established and new globalisation-like financial, legal, and economic policies were enforced (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011).

After the Yuan Dynasty, the empire began to disintegrate, and this fragmentation provided a chance for Manchus—the Jurchen of North East Asia—to conquer Southern Mongolia (Inner Mongolia) in 1636 and Northern Mongolia (Mongolia) in 1691, by offering protection from Russian

invasion. Consequently, the feudalist domination of the Qing Dynasty (1691–1911) lasted for over 200 years in Mongolia, and is discussed below.

The Manchu dictatorship era (1691–1911). During the Manchu dictatorship era, Mongolia was impoverished and its people were malnourished. As such, in 1918, Mongolia's population was only 648,000 (Bumaa, 2001). However, the people retained their traditional language and culture: most of them were herders, lived nomadic lifestyles, and herded their cattle and livestock according to the geographical and climatic conditions of the Mongolian territory (Bumaa, 2001). In addition, Buddhism was prevalent in Mongolia and "controlled most aspects of Mongolian society, including education, the judiciary and health care" (Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996, p. 13). Thus, by the end of the Manchu dictatorship era, there were over 700 Buddhist temples in Mongolia, and half the male population were lamas.

By the beginning of the 1900s, the Manchu governance was weakening; rising debt, high taxes, and a new law which allowed Chinese settlements in Mongolian territory—one of the most sparsely populated areas of the world—triggered a significant movement for the Mongolian independence (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). Mongolia started to seek support internationally, appealing to Russia, Japan, England, and the United States. The Buddhist religious and state leader—VIII Bogd Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, the Bogd Khaan—led these movements, and eventually proclaimed Mongolian independence in 1911 (Bumaa, 2001). However, Mongolians still had to protest, resist, and take several other political actions afterward, in order to affirm the country's sovereignty. This was largely due to socialist movements from Russia, as well as China's interest in ruling the country. With the help of socialism, Mongolia regained its official independence in 1921.

The socialist era (1921–1990). Mongolia set up a Soviet-dominated socialist regime in 1921, and established the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). Nonetheless, Mongolia faced further struggles in the beginning of this era, under the control of the only party's administration, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (Bumaa, 2001). The socialist leaders executed major political leaders and intellectuals of the time, including the Bogd

Khaan, labelling them counter-revolutionaries. This campaign was known as the Great Purge, and also occurred in other socialist and Soviet countries (Bumaa, 2001). From 1933–1953, roughly 36,000 people, including leaders, lamas, and intellectuals, were executed and became "the victims of the Purges" in Mongolia (Bumaa, 2001, p. 46). With these people gone, it became easier for the socialist government to conduct reforms to remove the nation's traditions, produce socialist cultural productions, and build a socialist system. For instance, the revolutionaries cut their hair, wore Russian caps, prohibited any celebration of Chinggis Khaan, forbade any religion, seized religious objects, demolished hundreds of temples, and destroyed intellectuals' works.

After the successful purges and reforms, the socialist government took possession of the country's properties and successfully constructed the socialist system in Mongolia (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). As a result, civilisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation rapidly grew in Mongolia from the 1950s onwards. The herders were reorganised into state-owned cooperatives and agricultural campaigns were initiated, all of which led into the development of the agricultural sector. Many new buildings, factories and offices were established, and new infrastructures were developed (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). In particular, achievements in the education sector were remarkable. For instance, the literacy rate for both male and female reached over 80 percent by the end of the 1980s (Odgaard, 1996). Accordingly, UNESCO awarded Mongolia the literacy prize in 1973 (Burmaa, 2001). In this regard, during the socialist era, Mongolia experienced fast economic growth and high social development indicators. However, everything was controlled by the Soviet Union, and Mongolia "relied heavily on the Soviet economic support" (Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996, p. 13).

Meanwhile, Western culture started to influence in Mongolia through TV shows, music, literature, and clothing. Thousands of Mongolian students studied in Eastern Europe and received exposure to the West. However, any pro-West sentiment was greatly censored and controlled; prompt action was conducted against those who expressed any desire to protest against the socialist

government. Therefore, “freedom of expression had ceased to exist and human rights were severely limited” during the socialist era in Mongolia (Bumaa, 2001, p. 55).

Moreover, the socialism in Mongolia could not build a classless and equal society. There existed three distinct social classes: the intelligentsia, the workers, and the herders (Munkhtuya, 2001). In addition, although it was not officially named, there also existed an obvious elite class (Bumaa, 2001). While the other three classes were equally poor, the elite class was distinctly wealthier, and had the power to decide everything in the country. They were able to select and appoint officials from their networks to administrative positions in the country, and the elite class’s children joined their class automatically. Accordingly, “although many remained faithful to the socialist government and performed their jobs with no complaints, there was widespread dissatisfaction” (Munkhtuya, 2001, p. 6). By the end of the 1980s, the majority of people were well aware of the oppressive government and its injustice.

As a consequence, anti-socialist actions in several Soviet-Union countries—starting with Gorbachev’s *glasnost* and *perestroika* movements—inspired Mongolians to protest against their oppressive government (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996). The Mongolian Democratic Union was established, and its first action was held in December 1989 (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996; Bumaa, 2001). Peaceful, countrywide actions were held, and thousands of people participated, hoping to gain freedom for Mongolia. The last significant action was a hunger strike, organised in May 1990, which led to an agreement with the socialist government, and established a multi-party system in Mongolia (Bumaa, 2001; Gilberg & Svantesson, 1996).

The market economic era (1990 onwards). This era is particularly important for this study because it has led to the flourishing of a new group of universities—private universities—within the higher education sector of Mongolia. The flourishing of private universities subsequently has led to the differential representation of women in leadership across the two different tiers of universities—public and private universities—a crucial focus of this thesis. More detail about the market era is provided in Chapter Six, the contextualisation of higher education in Mongolia. Before introducing

what has happened in Mongolia during this current era, it is important to interrogate the choice of the term *market economy* over the term *democracy*.

There are two terms, “zah zeel (market) and ardchilal (democracy)”, which are “often employed to indicate contemporary capitalism in Mongolia” (Plueckhahn & Bumochir, 2018, p. 345). Market “forms part of the processes of economisation occurring in Mongolia” (Plueckhahn & Bumochir, 2018, p. 345). On the other hand, democracy “does not completely evoke the same meaning and definition of the Euro-American word [but it has had] multiple meanings and significances” in Mongolia (Plueckhahn & Bumochir, 2018, p. 345, 346). In this regard, the term *market economy* is utilised in this study to indicate post-socialist, contemporary Mongolia.

Due to Mongolia’s political and economic transition from socialism into a market economy, restructuring was mandatory throughout the entire system, including an overhaul of the country’s constitution and legislation. Consequently, the new government, which consisted of the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party [MPRP] (60% of votes) and other parties (40% of votes) transformed the country’s political and economic system into a market economy. The National Democratic Party was founded in 1992, and advocated “privatisation, market principles and pluralisation of ideology” (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996, p. 30). The main goal of the new government was to build independence, sovereignty, democracy, and capitalism, while also restoring the nation’s history, culture, and traditions.

However, the beginning of this era brought serious economic shock, hyperinflation, food and supply shortage, unemployment, poverty, and social disruption (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996; Bumaa, 2001). This was because, as previously noted, “Mongolia was totally dependent on the Soviet Union, mainly Russia, which did not promote economic independence and freedom” during the socialist era (Bumaa, 2001, p. 55). Fortunately, Mongolia’s traditional nomadic values were priceless during this time, and livestock “provided people their essential source of food, materials for clothing and shelter, and means of transport” (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996, p. 27). Therefore, thousands of people returned to the countryside to take up livestock herding. In the meantime, small businesses and trades flourished,

and a new wealthy class was formed, while former office and factory workers were hit by unemployment in urban areas (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996). As a result, previously established social classes were extensively transformed.

In addition, "a number of industrialised countries plus international organisations established aid programs from the early 1990s onwards" (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996, p. 25). As a result, aid supporters became "an important factor in domestic policy making [and maintained] a considerable pressure on the government in the direction of continued democratisation" (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996, p. 32). Moreover, near-lost culture, tradition, and religion were revived after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For instance, traditional Mongolian scripts were brought back into common use, and national holidays were celebrated all over the country (Bruun & Odgaard, 1996). As a result, Mongolian economy and society started to experience positive change by the beginning of the 2000s.

Enabled by globalisation and the free market, numerous foreign direct investments and mining projects also turned their focus to Mongolia, with a focus on the country's rich mineral resources (e.g. copper, uranium, coal, iron ore, and gold). This created a mining boom in Mongolia in the beginning of the 2010s, which advanced the country's economy significantly, and resulted in rapid economic growth, a tripled GDP per capita (World Bank, 2016b), and a moderate poverty reduction (ADB, 2016). In the meantime, social development indicators increased remarkably (i.e. very high literacy rates, high school enrolment rates, low maternal and child mortality rates, and very low HIV/AIDS rates) (World Bank, 2016b; ADB, 2016). Nevertheless, this dependence on the mining sector (20% of GDP) has created new problems for Mongolia—typically referred to as the *Dutch Disease* or the *natural resource curse* (Curran, Kohn, & Mayger, 2016). This *curse* increased commodity price dependency, unemployment in other sectors, inflation, corruption, inequality, and social breakdowns (World Trade Organisation, 2010; World Bank, 2012).

This section of the chapter has shown that Mongolia has been through numerous significant events over the course of its history (e.g. the Great Mongol Empire, Yuan Dynasty, Manchu dictatorship, socialism, and market economy). All these events impacted, formed, and transformed Mongolia's traditional cultural values, which are discussed below.

Mongolian Traditional Cultural Values

Mongolian traditional culture has been enormously influenced by a range of factors. These include: the traditional Mongolian nomadic lifestyle; ancestral teachings about the great kings and queens; Shamanism; and Buddhism, all of which are discussed below.

Mongolian nomadic lifestyle. Traditional Mongolian nomadic lifestyle refers to the way Mongolians have lived in their territory for thousands of years. Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017) noted that "the key value of the Mongols is the balance with nature when social and economic life is in tune with the nature's phenomena" (p. 20). Mongolian nomadic households herd five major types of livestock (horses, cows, camels, sheep, and goats) moving from place to place in order to look after, manage, and increase their livestock. This lifestyle still exists in the countryside of Mongolia. Although half of the population (1.5 million of 3 million) lives in the capital city, Ulaanbaatar, almost all urban residents still have relatives living in rural Mongolia. Many city dwellers still travel to the countryside, learn about, and participate in the nomadic lifestyle. As such, traditional Mongolian nomadic culture still has a great influence on Mongolians.

Ancestral teachings. One of Mongolia's most influential ancestral teachings is captured in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, written after the death of Chinggis Khaan. The ancestral teachings from this tome focus on the importance of integrity, honesty, equality, collectivism, vision, bravery, innovation, and sympathy (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011; Gurbadar, 1999). Although this revered text was strictly forbidden during Mongolia's socialist period (1921–1990), the values epitomised in its teachings remain influential today. For example, as part of a nation-building effort during the market economic era (since 1990), Chinggis Khaan's portraits and statues are found everywhere, and the

populace is constantly reminded of his teachings. Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017) stated that "the image of Chinggis Khaan is the basis of Mongolian national and cultural identity" (p. 20).

Shamanism. Shamanism is the traditional religion of Mongolia, and was the most dominant religion during the 13th century (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006). The primary rituals of Mongolian Shamanism include worshiping *тэнгэр (tengri)*—meaning sky (with plural skies)—and connecting with *онгод (ongod)*—meaning ancestral shamanic souls or spirits. In addition, shamans conduct their rituals by showing respect to and comforting *савдаг (savdag)*—the owners of the land and mountains—and *лус (lus)*—the owners of the water (e.g. rivers, ponds, wells, lakes, seas, and oceans). One of the precepts of Mongolian Shamanism is to live harmoniously with nature, and protect the land and people from external forces.

Buddhism. The Buddhist influence in Mongolia began during the 2nd century. Although Khubilai Khaan made Buddhism the state religion in 1279, ongoing battles between Shamanism and Buddhism increased in intensity in the 16th century, and eventually, Buddhism became Mongolia's dominant religion in the 17th century (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006). Buddhism in Mongolia originated from the tantric Buddhism of Tibetan lineage (Gelugpa), and is referred to as Lamaism or Lamaist Buddhism in many works of literature (Moses & Halkovic, 1985). By "adopting many aspects of Mongolian Shamanism and adapting them to its main rituals", Mongolian Buddhism was adapted into a form "more fitting to the nomadic lifestyle and belief system" (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006, p. 68). Over time, it became increasingly difficult to differentiate Mongolian original customs and traditions originating from Mongolian Buddhist values (Sainbuyan, 2017), which are deeply embedded in Mongolian nomadic lifestyle.

This section has shown how traditional Mongolian culture has been formed and transformed by a range of factors.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided important contextual information regarding Mongolia's historical and sociocultural background. Mongolia has been through numerous significant events over the course of its history (e.g. the Great Mongol Empire, Yuan Dynasty, Manchu dictatorship, socialism, and market economy). Mongolian traditional cultural values have therefore been formed by a range of factors (e.g. the traditional Mongolian nomadic lifestyle, ancestral teachings about the great kings and queens, Shamanism, and Buddhism). It is crucial to investigate all these factors during this study, because gender and leadership are culturally constructed phenomena, and the logics of practice and the logics of gender practice are inseparable from historical factors and traditional cultural values.

I now turn to Chapter Three, to discuss the existing literature on women and academic leadership in various contexts.

Chapter Three

Women and Academic Leadership

Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the sociocultural background of this study and introduced Mongolian history and traditional cultural values. This provides crucial background information for the following chapters in this thesis, which would be helpful to examine how gender and leadership are constructed and practised in the Mongolian university sector, with regard to Mongolian tradition and culture.

This chapter focuses on the current literature, and maps how women's academic leadership has been variously constructed and practised in different socio-cultural contexts. It commences with studies conducted in the global North, then shifts to the global South—Asian perspectives, and concludes with Mongolia. This way, this chapter shows how women's academic leadership is widely studied in the global North, and less studied in the global South—Asian perspectives. In particular, there is little known about the phenomenon in Mongolia. Before discussing these topics, however, I will now provide a brief introduction to feminist perspectives, women's leadership and women's academic leadership.

Feminist Perspectives, Women's Leadership, and Women's Academic Leadership

The French word *féminisme* came to exist when leading feminist Hubertine Auclert proclaimed French women's suffrage (Hannam, 2012). Since then, the history of feminism has gone through different developmental stages that have been categorised into three stages, or waves. The first wave, it is contended, commenced at the beginning of the 1800s and primarily focused on women's suffrage and the social, political, and economic lives of women in the global North, e.g., Europe, North America, and white-settler colonies in Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Kent, 2004; Hannam, 2012). The second wave commenced in the 1960s, and chiefly focused on women's equality, in addition to raising wider issues (e.g. sexuality, family, and workplace) (Hannam, 2012). Research in this wave was still largely Eurocentric; and focussed on white, well-educated, middle-

class, and heterosexual women in the global North as the main drivers of second wave feminism (Kent, 2004; Hannam, 2012). Pertinent to my study of women in an East Asian country, a more recent third wave emerged in the 1980s and has drawn attention to diverse constructions of gender inequities on the world stage. The third wave has primarily focused on "difference, deconstruction and decentring" (Coleman, 2009, p. 9) (Coleman, 2009; Kent, 2004; Hannam, 2012). (Please refer to Appendix D for more detail on these waves and their geographical location).

Over time, various feminist *schools* of thought have developed, with liberal, radical, Marxist and socialist, psychoanalytic, care-focused, existentialist, postmodern, women of colour, global, post-colonial, transnational, and ecofeminist theories emerging from the more recent third wave (see Appendix E for more detail of these schools of thought) (Hesse-Biber, 2012; Potter, 2001; Tong, 2014). However, many of these approaches (e.g. liberal, radical, and postmodern) have been critiqued by postcolonial and transnational feminist scholars for their Eurocentric lenses. Feminist scholars of colour argue that Eurocentric lenses have historically overlooked the problems encountered by women in the global South (Herr, 2014; Mohanty, 2003, Tong, 2014). It is argued that "ideas of once dominant groups in the Northern hemisphere are no longer the standard" (Olesen, 2018, p. 151); therefore, "there is now wide recognition of how important it is to avoid universalising and essentialising women" (Sinclair, 2013, p. 12). As such, "feminists of colour" (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 13), including global, postcolonial, transnational, and Third World feminists, have brought attention to the myriad and diverse issues faced by a range of women on the world stage (Herr, 2014; Tong, 2014). A comparison of the key foci of feminists of colour scholarship is discussed in Chapter Four, as they contribute to the epistemology of this study.

In the field of leadership, feminism has brought a new critical lens. In this field, studies focused on women's leadership have increased since the 1970s, mainly in the business and management disciplines, and the majority have focused on biological sex differences (Sinclair, 2014). During the late 1980s, studies which employed gender as a demographic factor emerged, and leadership differences between men and women in formal leadership positions were investigated

(Banks, 2000; Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011; Sinclair, 2014). For instance, scholars in the discipline argued that female leaders showed more enabling behaviours (e.g. "respecting others, giving them freedom") whereas male leaders displayed more challenging behaviours (e.g. "risk taking, introducing innovations") (Brandt & Laiho, 2013, p. 52). However, feminism brought a new critical lens and started to question the context of leadership from feminist perspectives, rather than using gender as a demographic variable. In this regard, feminist scholars argued that applying biological sex categories into currently defined leadership contexts was insufficient (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011; Sinclair, 2014). For instance, feminist scholarship has interrogated how leadership is persistently constructed as a form of masculinity. Sinclair and Wilson (2002)'s study of Australian business leaders revealed that business executives were constructed as "tough, out-front, self-reliant, and masculine" (p. 1). In this sense, effective leadership in this sector was considered to be "stereotypically masculine" (Bell & Sinclair, 2016, pp. 322). They contended that such traditional approaches increased gender stereotypes, and strengthened inequities in leadership (Sinclair, 2014). Therefore, feminism has drawn attention to the importance of scrutinising leadership as a socially-constructed ideology based on heteronormative assumptions of gender relations (Datnow, 1998; Sinclair, 2014). In particular, feminism has provided a critical approach which has helped leadership scholarship move from notions of leadership as "an innate trait" toward an understanding of leadership as "a social construction" (Kapasi et al., 2016, p. 339).

Moreover, there exists a growing body of literature on women's leadership in higher education from feminist perspectives. In fact, women's underrepresentation in academic leadership has historically been a global problem. Numerous studies have addressed this phenomenon in diverse societies (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2006; Morley, 2014; Morley & Crossouard, 2016; Riordan, 2011), including Australia (Thornton, 2013; Wilkinson, 2007, 2009); China (Gaskell et al., 2004; Yu & Wang, 2018); Hong Kong (Aiston, 2014; Aiston & Fo, 2020); Ireland (O'Connor, 2014); Kazakhstan (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017); New Zealand (Harris, Ravenswood, & Myers, 2013; Baker, 2010); Pakistan (Shah, 2018); Papua New Guinea (McNae & Vali, 2015); the

United Kingdom (Burkinshaw, 2015); the United States (Banks, 2000; Baltodano et al., 2012); and Vietnam (Dang, 2012). However, scholars have also noted that there exists a large body of literature focused on Anglo-centric, white, and middle-class women in the global North; less literature on women from marginalised populations in the global North, e.g., Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (Fitzgerald, 2003, 2006, 2010; Wilkinson & Blackmore, 2008); and—relevant to my study—even less literature on women in the global South from Asian perspectives, e.g., China (Gaskell et al., 2004; Yu & Wang, 2018); Hong Kong (Aiston, 2014; Aiston & Yang, 2017); and Kazakhstan (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017). The remainder of this chapter comprises a review of literature, divided into the following sections: (a) Women's academic leadership in the global North; (b) Women's academic leadership in the global South—Asian perspectives; and (c) Women and leadership in Mongolia. Each section summarises current literature findings with regard to the question of "how do women construct and enact academic leadership?" Although these sections do not compare public and private universities, they discuss "power and patriarchy ... the most influential factors identified as limiting women's potential" in different cultural contexts (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 7).

Women and Academic Leadership in the Global North

Women in the global North have had diverse journeys and experiences in taking on academic leadership roles. As such, it was possible to make some generalisations, despite differing social, political and cultural contexts. For instance, Riordan (2011) and her colleagues conducted an international study on university senior management in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Sweden, Portugal, Turkey, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. They found that, firstly, the universal factor for advancing into senior management is academic professionalism—starting from a lecturing career and then earning promotion through research output. Secondly, family support is a crucial factor, as women face barriers and difficulties in advancing their careers due to their caregiving responsibilities. Thirdly, social networks are an important factor, and women typically take on leadership roles with the help of their "supportive colleagues or superiors … mentors and strong

professional network" (Riordan, 2011, p. 195). Although this appears to be a more meritocratic practice on the surface, the current literature provides significant evidence that meritocracy is a highly problematic concept in academic leadership (Aiston, 2011, 2015; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al.; Thornton, 2013). Thornton (2013) noted that "merit comprises an amalgam of objective and subjective elements. The objective element comprises ... the type of information appearing on an academic's CV—but a literal approach makes no sense without interpretation" (p. 129). Aiston (2011) argued that despite "a belief in the existence of a meritocracy", "women experience the higher education system differently precisely because of hidden discrimination" (p. 287). Therefore, Aiston (2015) remarked that "much of the discrimination women experience in the academy is subtle and almost intangible ... thereby making the case for the study of micro-inequities as a mechanism to uncover it" (p. 91). In this regard, women in the global North encounter a wide range of obstacles and challenges in their academic leadership journeys. These are discussed in the following sections: (a) Neoliberalism, new managerialism, and bureaucracy; (b) Feminisation of middle management; (c) Masculinities in leadership; and (d) Constructions of women in leadership. Afterwards, the section—(e) Remaking of leadership—shows how women have challenged the current status quo and contributed to the remaking of academic leadership (new ways of understanding and practising leadership) in the global North.

Neoliberalism, new managerialism, and bureaucracy. Numerous studies have noted various consequences of neoliberalism and new managerialism for women in higher education (Baker, 2009; Blackmore, 2013; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Grummell, Devine, & Lynch, 2009; Morley, 2014; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Thornton, 2013; O'Connor, 2014). For instance, under "the neo-liberal mantra of deregulation, privatisation and market freedom", "universities have been extensively restructured and re-regulated" in Australian higher education (Davies, Gottsche, & Bansel, 2006, p. 305). In this regard, universities have been "redefined serving the needs of the market, with a stress on the transmission of employment

related skills and the undertaking of commercially useful research" in Irish higher education (O'Connor, 2014, p. 11).

However, scholars referred neoliberal and new managerialist practices to bureaucratic practices (Baker, 2009; Burkinshaw, 2015; Davies et al., 2006). For instance, "new managerialism jobs are another level of bureaucracy, with never-ending administrative deadlines, normally involving lots of responsibility but very little authority" (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 31). In this regard, "universities have always rewarded academics who are willing and able to devote long hours to the profession, to publish widely and remain fully employed throughout their working lives" (Baker, 2009, p. 43). Thus, such practices have proved troubling for academics; some "reached the top of the profession while others floundered" (Baker, 2009, p. 43). In particular, bureaucratic practices have caused various issues for women academics in the global North (e.g. the feminisation of middle management, masculinities in leadership, and constructions of women in leadership). These issues are discussed below.

Feminisation of middle management. Neoliberal and new managerialist bureaucratic practices have caused the feminisation of middle management (Aiston, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; O'Connor, 2014). Middle management is typically regarded as "a form of housekeeping rather than a decision making and influencing activity" (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 32). This has formed due to various structural and patriarchal[2] factors, which have long persisted in higher education. Structural factors are interrogated in the following section.

Vertical divisions in higher education. Fewer women pursue postgraduate research degrees than men (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; White, 2004). This phenomenon is commonly known as "the leaking pipeline" (White, 2004, p. 227) or "the academic pipeline" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 13). In regard to the phenomenon of the leaky pipeline,

[2] "Patriarchy has been variously defined: a key element is being the structural reality of male power and its use to marginalise, oppress and exploit women" (O'Connor, 2014, p. 30).

Diezmann and Grieshaber (2019) noted that "gender imbalance in the professoriate is an international problem" (p. 3), and "our investigation of data in the UK, the USA, the EU, Nordic countries, and Australia provides strong support for the notion of 'the higher the fewer'" (p. 29). The reasons for the phenomenon are cultural (lack of role models); attitudinal ("women's research being undervalued at home and in the workforce"); work-related ("lack of support from departments"); and financial ("little financial support to do research") (White, 2004, p. 232). Therefore, *the leaking pipeline* is one of the systematic and structural aspects that contributes to the feminisation of middle management in higher education and the underrepresentation of women in senior research and management leadership positions.

Horizontal divisions in higher education. Although fewer women pursue postgraduate research degrees, those who do typically study in gendered fields (e.g. education, humanities, social sciences, and arts) (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Harris et al., 2013; Morley & Crossouard, 2016; O'Connor, 2014; Thornton, 2013). Such divisions are partly responsible for gender pay disparities, as more feminised areas are traditionally paid less than highly masculinised sectors (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). These fields tend to have "little relationship to the market, are devalued, except in so far as they provide 'transferrable skills'" (O'Connor, 2014, p. 11). Therefore, women predominate in gendered fields, which typically carry a lack of power and prestige in higher education.

Gendered divisions in higher education. Due to various structural factors, including horizontal and vertical divisions, female academics tend to dominate in teaching and student services jobs, whereas men are overrepresented in research roles (Aiston, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; UNESCO, 2012). This phenomenon is also associated with casualisation of academic positions (Aiston, 2011; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; White, 2004). This gendered segregation has further caused inequitable situations for women in terms of prestige, income, and leadership opportunities in higher education. Women's family responsibilities and caregiving duties have also been responsible for these divisions.

Family responsibilities. Women's double burdens are widely discussed in the current literature, and many scholars remark that women's family circumstances and caregiving responsibilities often impact their career trajectories, academic promotions, and leadership roles (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Grummell et al., 2009; Harris et al., 2013; Raddon, 2010; Thornton, 2013). Neoliberalism and new managerialism have worsened women's status and situation in higher education, as "employers believe that they are entitled to workers who are immune from family responsibilities" (Thornton, 2013, p. 135). As a consequence, "the definition of senior managerial posts as care-less positions" (Grummell et al., 2009, p. 204). In order to take on senior managerial roles, women are expected to employ care-free or care-less locations but not care-giving roles (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). Thus, it is common for women to encounter "the care ceiling" in their academic careers (Grummell et al., 2009, p. 204). Their careers are "often disrupted at critical moments in their lives such as marriage or motherhood" and "impacted by [their] personal decisions about study, work and family" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 35, 56).

In this regard, it is also commonly noted that family support has positive impacts on women's career trajectories (Backer, 2009, 2010; Grummell et al., 2009; Riordan, 2011). For instance, "women who felt that they had ... family support seemed more optimistic about their ability to handle the integration of academic and family work" (Backer, 2010, p. 323). In an Irish study, it was found that it is more common for women rather than men to emphasise their family support, because they are typically expected to be primary carers (Grummell et al., 2009, p. 200). There is "the strong moral imperative on women to be primary carers" (Grummell et al., 2009, p. 204). Therefore, women are typically expected to juggle both work and family issues, which has further strengthened the feminisation of middle management and male domination in senior management.

However, there is a counter-argument in regard to the effect of caregiving on women's careers, particularly in respect to their research productivity. For example, Aiston and Jung (2015) suggested that "family is not, in all cases, operating as a form of negative equity in the prestige

economy of higher education" (p. 205). They argued that "an over-reliance on an explanatory framework that positions family-related variables as central to the research productivity gender gap might well be drawing our attention from significant structural and systemic discriminatory practices within the profession" (Aiston & Jung, 2015, p. 205).

Masculinities in leadership. While middle management is more feminised, leadership is known as a practice of masculinities; male-dominated leadership has long persisted in higher education, and female academics have traditionally been constructed as *other* in this field (Aiston, 2011, 2015; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). Leaders are typically expected to demonstrate qualities traditionally associated with predominant forms of masculinity, such as being tough and challenging—traits which favour males as a group (Fitzgerald, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). Various studies refer to this as the practice of *the Boys' Club* (Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019). The phenomenon is "characterised by aggressive, macho, and competitive behaviour by male academics" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 139).

However, "discriminatory practices associated with the Boys' Club have been reported in research for more than two decades" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 139). In particular, women encounter struggles to fit into "higher educational leadership communities of practice of masculinities" (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 108). There are "contradictions between [women's] gender identity and the masculinity of power" (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 98). For instance, in the practice of masculinities of the Boys' Club, professional networks and informal networks facilitate academic promotions, but men tend to predominate these and commonly exclude women (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Thornton, 2013). In this regard, women "need to demonstrate masculinity and suppress femininity … to be successful" in this practice (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 98). This is referred to as the practice of "doing gender in the workplace" (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 38). Nevertheless, women face criticism for being perceived as *too masculine* in their qualities, or

not possessing enough feminine qualities. Therefore, women often struggle in *doing gender* in the practice of masculinities, in addition to juggling their work and life duties (Burkinshaw, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2014). In this regard, scholars emphasised glass cliff situations for women in academic leadership. It is "one where the incumbent has little chance of success" and "even if women are successful in glass cliff roles, they can experience negative consequences such as stress" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 61).

Constructions of women in leadership. Although women *do gender* in the practice of masculinities, they face struggles further with regard to their feminine qualities, as well as their female gender-related factors (e.g. women's double burdens and family responsibilities). With regard to women's feminine qualities, scholars have noted women's lack of long-term career plans and their low self-confidence for academic promotions (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Doherty & Manfredi, 2010; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017). Diezmann and Grieshaber (2019) stated that "women enter academia with less specific career planning than male academics"; therefore, they "have less confidence in the worth and competitiveness of their accomplishments" (p. 45). As such, scholars have noted that women have low self-confidence when applying for promotions and taking on leadership roles in higher education (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Ryan & Haslam, 2004). Baker (2010) remarked that women are sometimes "shoulder-tapped" by their colleagues to apply for academic promotions (p. 320).

In addition, scholars have argued that women tend to take more caring duties in academic leadership roles due to their caring natures (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Raddon, 2012; Thornton, 2013). Raddon (2012) noted that women take "the caring, pastoral role" due to the "caring nature of mothering" (p. 387, 391). Thornton (2013) contended that "women take greater responsibility for administration and pastoral care [such as] pastoral care of students, the mentoring of junior colleagues or the reviewing of books", which produce "less weight than research, entrepreneurialism and leadership" (p. 128, 132). Thus, women's

feminine qualities in leadership have strengthened the feminisation of middle management, and male-domination in senior leadership.

Remaking of leadership. Despite the fact that women face a wide range of obstacles and challenges in their academic leadership journeys, they have still been working as change agents, and contributing to the remaking of academic leadership—new ways of understanding and practising leadership (Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Wilkinson, 2010). Women are "both outsiders on the inside and insiders on the outside" (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 101). As insiders, they have learned the rules of masculinised games for power and authority; as outsiders, they can perform as change agents for deconstructing masculinities in higher education. Therefore, women have "the capacity and tenacity to progress and transform university leadership, hierarchies and culture" (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 116). Many countries have acknowledged inequitable situations for women in higher education, and enacted many initiatives. Equal opportunity legislation and policies have been promulgated in many countries, including both the global North and South, although results have been mixed (Aiston, 2011; Dang, 2012; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Morley, 2014; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Usui, Rose, & Kageyame, 2003). For instance, legislations and policies on gender equality were promulgated in Australia and New Zealand in the past three decades. Although there have been improvements in the numbers and proportions of academic women in certain areas, such as promotion, the sector remains highly gender segregated, for example, in terms of the kinds of the white masculinist leadership practices that characterise senior management (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). Therefore, scholars suggest the importance of unpacking hidden discrimination and subjective elements that disadvantage and exclude women in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Thornton, 2013).

In particular, feminist scholars have emphasised a notion of power *with* others rather than power *over* others in the process of remaking academic leadership. According to critical feminist perspectives, leadership is about relational, shared, or distributed practices (Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Wilkinson, 2010). For instance, Blackmore (2013) stated that "leadership is

a relational practice built on trust and respect and not just what individual leaders do or how they make decisions utilising their [emotional intelligence] or disseminating knowledge" (p. 151). Therefore, "leadership is about knowing and working towards a shared purpose in a principled manner" (Blackmore, 2013, p. 151). This way, feminist scholars have unpacked masculinities in leadership, and contributed to remaking of leadership as relational, shared, and distributed practices.

Moreover, increased importance is being placed on building diversity, equality, and equity in academic leadership in the current scholarship. This is because masculinity and whiteness have long been privileged in academic leadership; consequently, leadership has been problematic for women, and even more troubling for women from marginalised populations (Bhopal & Brown, 2016; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2010, 2014; Jean-Marie, 2006; Oplatka & Arar, 2016; Sanders-Lawson, Smith-Campbell & Benham, 2006). Women leaders from marginalised populations have faced obstacles and challenges in traversing "between two cultural worlds as well as two gendered worlds" (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 108). They have encountered the double burden of understanding managerialism, and then harmonising this managerialism with their Indigenous cultures (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2010, 2014; Jean-Marie, 2006; Sanders-Lawson et al., 2006). In this regard, not only listening to but also legitimising women's voices from marginalised populations has been crucial in the current scholarship. In recent years, scholars have drawn attention to the importance of deconstructing "one size fits all" approaches in order to support "diversity and distinctiveness" in academic leadership (Fitzgerald, 2010, p. 101). This has been a crucial component of remaking leadership in feminist critical scholarship.

This section has shown various findings related to women's academic leadership in the global North. As a part of diversity, equality, and equity in academic leadership, scholars are encouraged to conduct gender and leadership studies in diverse socio-cultural contexts. This requires research to conceptualise leadership with respect to different cultures. For example, Oplatka and Arar (2016) remarked that "traditional societies need a particular conceptualisation of leadership for social justice that is based on entrenched social norms giving unique meanings to issues of justice, respect,

interpersonal relations, equality and equity in education" (p. 366). Therefore, I now turn to an examination of the current body of literature on women's academic leadership in the global South.

Women and Academic Leadership in the Global South—Asian Perspectives

Although there exist numerous studies on women in Asian countries (Chao-ju, 2007; Deo, 2012; MacDonald, 2016; Wilson, 2015; Usui, Rose, & Kageyame, 2003); higher education has only been addressed recently, and gender is one of the least studied topics in Asia (Hallinger & Chen, 2015). It has been found that educational leadership and management scholarship is underdeveloped in Asia, particularly in East Asia (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013; Hallinger & Chen, 2015). As such, there exists very limited findings on women's academic leadership in this region of the world (Aiston, 2014; Aiston & Yang, 2017). The following paragraphs summarise the findings of the relevant studies that have been conducted in East Asia, mainland Southeast Asia, and Central Asia, which have many historical and socio-cultural similarities to Mongolia. The findings are discussed in the following sections: (a) Women academics in Asian countries; (b) Women academics in Hong Kong; (c) Women academics in China; (d) Women academics in Vietnam; and (e) Women academics in Kazakhstan.

Women academics in Asian countries. Morley (2014)'s international study included participants from both Western and Asian countries, and women's voices from many Asian countries were recorded (including China, Japan, and Thailand). Various themes relevant to women academics in the global North were evident in this study (e.g. patriarchal structures, neoliberalism, bureaucracy, feminisation of middle management [vertical, horizontal and gendered divisions and family responsibilities], and masculinities in leadership). For example, Morley (2014) noted that "a Chinese respondent ... suggested that women's opportunity structures are impeded by organisational housework" and "a Japanese respondent saw the gendered division of labour in wider society as a major barrier" (p. 116, 122). In addition, "support, training and encouragement" as well as "policy contexts, legislative frameworks and effective advocacy" have been crucial for enabling women's academic leadership in these countries (Morley, 2014, p. 120). However, "support emanated from personal and familial networks, rather than from institutional interventions" (Morley, 2014, p. 121).

Morley (2014) also noted that "women appear to be disqualified, with their capital devalued and misrecognised in current reward, recruitment and promotions practices" (p. 115), and "the prestige economy is being constructed on women's often-unseen labour" (p. 117).

However, Morley (2014) also found that "women are exercising their personal powers to reject the situational logic of career progression ... while there is research evidence that women are being disqualified from leadership" (p. 120). The study contended that many women valued different things over leadership roles, in which "leadership ... was often perceived as loss" (Morley, 2014, p. 118). For example, "the rapidly expanding, audited, neo-liberalised, globalised and male-dominated managerialised academy" was seen as an unattractive space by a Hong Kong respondent, who commented on "dehumanising aspects of audit cultures that reduce colleagues to calculable units of productivity" (p. 119). Thus, many women were "reflexively scanning leadership and dismissing it as a career option" and "do not construct it as an object of desire" (Morley, 2014, p. 119, 125).

Women academics in Hong Kong. Studies conducted in Hong Kong have been separately summarised in this study because a majority of East Asia's publications on educational leadership came from this administrative region (Hallinger & Bryant, 2013; Hallinger & Chen, 2015). Hallinger and Bryant (2013) noted that between 2000 and 2011, "Hong Kong alone contributed ... half (50.5 percent) of East Asia's entire published research output in educational leadership and management" (p. 626). It was perhaps because although "Hong Kong culturally is considered to have more of an affinity with China than the West", "Hong Kong's universities have great similarity with those in the West and many academics have been trained in the West" (Aiston, 2014, p. 60).

Aiston and her colleagues' studies on women academics in Hong Kong (Aiston, 2014, Aiston & Yang, 2017; Aiston & Fo, 2020) showed many similarities to the findings in the global North, e.g., patriarchal structures, feminisation of middle management (vertical, horizontal and gendered divisions), masculinities in leadership, and remaking of leadership—new ways of understanding and practising leadership. For instance, in terms of vertical divisions, fewer women in Hong Kong have pursued postgraduate research degrees than men (Aiston, 2014). Aiston and Yang (2017) noted that

women were “not progressing through the academic hierarchy [and comprised] only 12% of full professors” (p. 272). In terms of horizontal and gendered divisions, women were “less likely to be on the tenure track, publish less, receive less external funding, have fewer research esteem indicators and spend more time on teaching” (Aiston, 2014, p. 70). In addition, women were “underrepresented across all ranks in the STEM subjects” and there was “a striking drop-off in the number of women at the more senior ranks ... in arts, social sciences and business” (Aiston & Yang, 2017, p. 272). All these indicated patriarchal structures and masculinities in leadership, “in which women are positioned as outsiders to elite male ‘in-groups’ in which junior academic men benefit from the patronage of older senior academic men” (Aiston, 2014, p. 67).

Moreover, Aiston and Fo (2020) discussed a cultural context, and noted that Chinese culture, “a hierarchical, top-down culture”, was more troubling for women academics in Hong Kong (p. 6). However, “the most influential factors identified as limiting women’s potential were power and patriarchy” (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 7). In the practice of masculinities, women were silenced due to the consequences of micro-inequities and micro-politics in the academy. Micro-inequities include “small events, which are hard-to-prove, covert and often unintentional”; however, “the cumulative effect of micro-inequities at the level of the individual can damage self-esteem and lead to withdrawal” (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 7). Thus, women academics in Hong Kong are socialised into practising *internal silencing*, and experience *external silencing* as a consequence of asymmetrical power relations between the genders that leads to subsequent exclusion from more senior academic ranks. Moreover, “the organisational culture of higher education continues to expect women to ‘fit in’ ... paradoxically, women’s silence is both an enabler and a barrier to their career progression” (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 15).

Aiston (2014) also noted the values that women academics bring to leadership. She argued that academic women “might be well placed to provide leadership as academic citizens and in fostering a more democratic, inclusive notion of the twenty-first-century university” (Aiston, 2014, p. 70). Interestingly, however, in contrast to the findings in the previous section, Aiston (2014)

contended that "care responsibilities appear not to have a negative impact on women academics' research productivity" in the Hong Kong academy (p. 70).

Women academics in China. Gaskell et al. (2004)'s study on *The Participation of Women Faculty in Chinese Universities: Paradoxes of Globalisation* and Yu and Wang (2018)'s study on *The Making of Female University Presidents in China* provided findings regarding women academic leaders in China. Similar to the findings in the global North, both studies noted patriarchal structures, bureaucracy, feminisation of middle management (vertical, horizontal, and gendered divisions, and family responsibilities), and masculinities in leadership. Gaskell et al. (2004) investigated paradoxical views of "how globalisation increases opportunities for women in China's patriarchal and authoritarian regime [as well as how] globalisation undermines traditions of equality for women that are part of China's legacy from Mao and Marx" (Gaskell et al., 2004, p. 526). They found "an overwhelming acceptance of the belief that women are different from men, that [women] should take responsibility for domestic tasks and that [women] are better at teaching than research" (Gaskell et al., 2004, p. 526). For instance, "beliefs in the nurturing, supportive and sexual characteristics of women legitimise pushing women in universities into support roles and into teaching" (Gaskell et al., 2004, p. 527). Therefore, they noted that "until ideologies about women are broadly challenged within China, Chinese women professors remain ambivalent about leadership roles and men are unlikely to be supportive of change" (Gaskell et al., 2004, p. 527).

Gaskell et al. (2004)'s finding was consistent with Yu and Wang (2018)'s finding on that "the community generally agreed ... leadership is the responsibility of men ... which naturally leads to disparities in the employment and promotion of men and women and an imbalance in the distribution of power" (p. 136). Yu and Wang (2018) further discussed various factors that were crucial for academic leadership promotions in Chinese universities. The first factor was personal ability, such as "holding a doctorate degree, holding the title of professor, having overseas experience, and being externally promoted" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 21). The second factor was membership of the

Communist Party of China (CPC)[3], which "forms the core of the country's leadership" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 6). The third and fourth factors were being a senior (over 51 years of age) and "having geographical mobility" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 155). However, women academics faced disadvantages in all these factors. For instance, women faced hardships in the process of improving their abilities, i.e. "to enrich their life experience, to optimise their educational, academic, and international experience, and to develop rich professional experience through a variety of positions" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 155). Therefore, there were "some omissions in the system, which directly or indirectly impede the equal participation of women in high-level positions of power" in Chinese universities (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 135).

In addition, traditional roles and family responsibilities impeded women's career opportunities in Chinese universities (Gaskell et al., 2004; Yu & Wang, 2018). For instance, Yu and Wang (2018) noted that "there are social pressures and role conflicts in the two models of 'good wife and good mother' and 'professional woman'" (p. 136). However, they also stated that women's double burden started to decrease in China, as equal family responsibilities for both men and women were supported. They further addressed the importance of providing "family-friendly policies to reduce the role conflict faced by female presidents [as well as] favourable conditions and institutional support for the career development of female leaders" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 19).

To this end, Yu and Wang (2018) made some suggestions. Firstly, they suggested a quota system of 30% for women to support gender equality in higher educational leadership. However, they also noted that "long-term use of the proportional policy [would] lead to male dissatisfaction to a certain extent, thus producing reverse discrimination against women and the perception of women as receiving 'proportion' promotions" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 157). To remedy this, they suggested that policies should be "more in line with the current reality" and "developing women's abilities [should

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[3] There were differences in terms of the university types. For instance, "university presidents appointed by the central government are assigned at the vice-ministerial level, whereas private university leaders do not hold similar ranks. The leadership of independent colleges is generally governed by their parent schools" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 21).

be] a basic strategy" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 155). They advised the importance of supporting "firm and consistent implementation of a basic national policy of gender equality" and changing "the traditional concept of gender and the gendered division of labour" (Yu & Wang, 2018, p. 157).

Women academics in Vietnam. Dang (2012)'s study on *Vietnamese Women in Academic Leadership* provided evidence for patriarchal structures, bureaucracy, feminisation of middle management (vertical, horizontal, and gendered divisions and family responsibilities), and masculinities in leadership (the Boys Club). She noted that "the gender equality law and policies" enabled women's "professional development and career advancement" in Vietnam (Dang, 2012, p. 4). However, Vietnamese women encountered various obstacles and challenges in their academic leadership journeys due to various organisational factors, and the influence of Vietnamese traditional culture. Vietnamese traditional culture is heavily influenced by Confucian and feudal ideologies that "valued men and disparaged women" (Dang, 2012, p. 184). It is still "deeply rooted in people's minds"; for instance, "both the older and the younger women highly valued the four feminine Confucian virtues [that] represent the moral conduct of ideal women" (Dang, 2012, p. 184, 195). As a consequence, Vietnamese women "move up their career ladder and the organisational hierarchy very slowly, and sexism remains popular in various workplaces" (Dang, 2012, p. 181).

She also found that Vietnamese women "sometimes do not want to hold high-level positions [and] do not have aspirations to become leaders in their lives" (Dang, 2012, p. 189, 190). This is partly because "the Vietnamese culture does not allow them to reveal their ambitions like Western culture does" and "Confucianism always asks people to overcome individualism and to promote collectivism" (Dang, 2012, p. 181). Therefore, instead of developing "strategies and techniques to attain these positions", women "appeared to wait passively for the recognition of their capabilities and recommendation for promotion from their colleagues and superiors" (Dang, 2012, p. 201). Furthermore, women "are more concerned about their family responsibilities and happiness" (Dang, 2012, p. 190). Women "seem to find their life more meaningful and worthwhile when they have happy, harmonious families, devoting themselves to their husbands' and children's successes and

accomplishments; family is the most important thing in their life" (Dang, 2012, p. 197). She also found that women did not "plan to be leaders" because they "may thoroughly understand that competing with men in a highly patriarchal society like Vietnam is similar to the action of 'throwing an egg onto a stone plate'" (Dang, 2012, p. 201). It is because women are seen as "not appropriate to be leaders" because they are viewed as "weak, dependent, indecisive, shallow, and gullible" (Dang, 2012, p. 191, 192). In addition, women are seen as primary carers, whose time is limited in leadership, in which "many believe, it is impossible to have them assume important tasks in society" (Dang, 2012, p. 191). In this regard, women themselves "are usually reluctant to vote for their female colleagues" because they "seem not to trust women leaders and their leadership capabilities" (Dang, 2012, p.190). Similarly, "a number of male leaders are more likely to prefer men to women for senior leadership positions" (Dang, 2012, p.191). Thus, many women "believe that positions of power and leadership are for men, not for themselves" (Dang, 2012, p. 201).

Women academics in Kazakhstan. Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017)'s study on *Female Academic Leadership in the Post-Soviet Context* also provided evidence for the previously discussed themes regarding women's academic leadership in the global North. However, they also found a literature gap, and emphasised that "the available Western theories explaining the experiences of female academic leaders do not account for the importance of the informal institutional influences. They tend to focus on individual socio-psychological and organisational levels" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). In this regard, they noted that "the 'team-approach to leadership' and corruption as the main barriers to advancement" in Kazakhstani higher education, which "was not predictable from the available literature" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). They further explained:

> In Kazakhstan the position of a university rector is very important from the point of view of national-level politics ... Rectors do not perform their responsibilities alone. They start and leave the position with their teams ... As a result the top positions at the universities are not easily attainable for outsiders. It is possible to be promoted, to become a member of a rector's

> team, but such an appointment assumes a long-term commitment to the team versus the institution and academia in general. An individual should be ready to move with the team to another appointment, including an appointment in another city and outside academia. In addition, top level positons are associated with the necessity to engage in corruption and higher risks of losing jobs and freedom in case of exposure. (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194)

Therefore, they emphasised that this situation was more troubling for women in Kazakhstan because it came with "risks and to sacrifice the career of their spouses, as well as the well-being of their children, in order to commit to a team" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). Thus, they remarked that Kazakhstani women have "few opportunities to achieve promotion to top level academic positions" and "few females are willing to take these risks" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). Accordingly, Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) argued that "none of the existing theories can explain why corruption, nepotism and the 'team approach to leadership' hamper female advancement to top level academic leadership positions" (p. 196).

In addition, they found that many Kazakhstani women value their traditional caregiving roles more than their leadership aspirations. For instance, "all the [Kazakhstani] women interviewed continue to be influenced by the traditional society belief in the primary role of the female as care-provider. They view their role of mother as being more important than the role of leader" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 193). In this regard, they noted that "one distinctive feature of the experiences of female leaders in Kazakhstan is the superimposition of three dominant cultures—traditional, Soviet, and Westernised neo-liberal, which impose multiple conflicting expectations" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 183).

In summary, this section has demonstrated many similarities—and differences—to the themes discussed in the previous section regarding women's academic leadership in the global North. I now turn to an examination of the body of literature on relevant studies on women and leadership in Mongolia.

Women and Leadership in Mongolia

Leadership and educational leadership are both new disciplines; specifically, women's leadership is a brand new discipline in Mongolia. Therefore, no study has thus far been conducted on the topic of women's academic leadership in Mongolia. In terms of educational leadership, a detailed explication of leadership and management in the Mongolian university sector will be discussed in Chapter Six (the contextual chapter that investigates the sector as a cultural field). As such, this section discusses women and leadership in the following sections: (a) Findings on women and gender; and (b) Findings on leadership.

Findings on women and gender. There are several studies, including oral teachings[4], on women and gender in Mongolia which demonstrate that gender values are understood and exercised in Mongolia in three different aspects: 1. Gender equity values; 2. Gender equality values; and 3. Patriarchal values. In fact, the concepts of gender equity and equality are distinct and different. The International Labour Organisation [ILO] (2007) defines the terms as follows:

> Gender equality refers to the enjoyment of equal rights, opportunities and treatment by men and women and by boys and girls in all spheres of life. (p. 91)
>
> Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs and interests. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities. (p. 92)

In this study, I distinguish gender equity values and patriarchal values as *traditional,* and gender equality values as *modern*. This is because gender equity values and patriarchal values have existed simultaneously in Mongolia for centuries, whereas gender equality values were promoted during the socialist era (1921–1990) and the market economic era (since 1990). These are discussed below.

[4] According to the Mongolian traditional nomadic culture, oral teachings have been more popular than written teachings in Mongolia. Thus, a lot of knowledge is transmitted orally.

Gender equity values. Gender equity values have long been supported in traditional Mongolian nomadic lifestyle, ancestral teachings, Mongolian Shamanism, and Mongolian Buddhism (Adiya, 2010; Skapa & Benwell, 1996; UNDP in Mongolia, 2016b). For instance, traditional Mongolian nomadic culture and tradition created an equitable situation between men and women, and enabled equitable participation in and contribution to their households. There are many gender-related preferences in nomadic household tasks, such as herding and milking livestock and producing food and other products, because nomadic household tasks require different levels of physical strength. However, there is no cultural or social barrier to performing one's *opposite gender* tasks when there is a necessity (Adiya, 2010).

In the ancestral teachings, according to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Blue-grey Wolf (Börte Chino) and Fallow Doe (Gua Maral) formed the legendary origins of the Mongols, and were complementary and equitable to each other. Therefore, women are well respected in the ancestral teachings of Mongolia. For instance, historical documents note that many great women leaders contributed to the nation's politics, decision making, and leadership, including Mother Alan Gua, Mother Öülen, Queen Börte, Queen Sorkhugtan, and Queen Mandukhai the Wise (Chimig-Ochir et al., 2015; Shiirevdorj & Enkhtsetseg, 2015). In addition, a well-known fairy tale, *The Wise Daughter-in-Law*, supports the notion of "the queen mindset" in Mongolia, in which women's wisdom is greatly respected. The story tells that a king was worried about his kingdom because his son was unintelligent and unable to govern. Thus, he tested the wise daughter of an old grandfather, and the daughter passed all the tests intelligently. Therefore, the king made her his daughter-in-law, and gave her power to govern the kingdom. Later, his wise daughter-in-law saved his life, and the kingdom, from an enemy.

Moreover, a Mongolian Shamanist history contends that ancient tribes in Mongolia had matriarchal organisation, and women were widely respected (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006). Thus, there exist only minor differences in terms of gender in Mongolian Shamanist values, rituals, and families.

Gender equity is also strongly supported by Mongolian Buddhist teachings. Sainbuyan (2017) noted that men and women are regarded like a *Yin and Yang* symbol, which is known as the *арга билиг (arga bilig)* in Mongolian, meaning *acumen and acuity*. Acumen belongs to intellectuality, and acuity belongs to spirituality. Acumen and acuity can exist at different levels (e.g. in an individual's mind, or in male or female bodies). For example, the wisdom of an individual is understood to be the ability to think both intellectually and spirituality[5], and one is not separable than the other. In a family, the wisdom of a household is about a harmonious relationship between family members. The Fifth Noyon Khutagt, the Lama of the Gobi, D. Danzanravjaa (1803–1856), one of Mongolia's most respected and multi-talented monks, referred to acumen and acuity as "both birth and death, both built and broken, both father and mother, and both acumen and acuity" (Sainbuyan, 2017, p. 258). In this regard, in Khalkha families, the head of the household is the father, who is responsible for managing and organising household duties and properties. However, the mother has equitable rights to participate in household decisions as she guides her household (Badamkhatan, 1987). Therefore, gender equity values are supported in Mongolian traditional culture, and women are well respected and empowered in their households (Adiya, 2010; Skapa & Benwell, 1996; UNDP in Mongolia, 2016b).

Gender equality values. The socialist government of Mongolia (1921–1990) promoted gender equality values, and supported women's education and political involvement in Mongolia. For instance, under the socialists, women received equal rights to attend schools. 40 percent of all students were female in 1931, which increased to 52 percent by 1980. In addition, the literacy rate for both men and women reached over 80 percent by the end of the 1980s (Odgaard, 1996). This education attainment increased women's status considerably during the socialist period in Mongolia.

Afterwards, gender equality values were strongly promoted during the market economic era (since 1990). For instance, Mongolia enacted laws and legislations to promote gender equality, such as the Law on Promotion of Gender Equality, the Constitution of Mongolia, the Labour Law, the Law

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[5] Spirituality is also known as sense and feeling.

on Domestic Violence and the Law on Family. In addition, Mongolia is “a signatory to all major international instruments pertaining to women’s rights and gender equality”, and has followed its commitments to “international standards and conventions concerning gender equality” (Begzsuren & Aldar, 2014, p. 8). For example, it is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Patriarchal values. Although there have been various efforts to build gender equity and gender equality values in Mongolia, patriarchal values are also strong. This could be a result of many factors, and political factors could also be relevant. For example, the Manchu government (1691–1911) utilised “the enervating effects of the sedentary, civilising nature of Buddhism on a nomadic, warrior people” in Mongolia; therefore, “most historians refer to the Lama Church as the Manchu instrument of Mongol suppression” (Moses & Halkovic, 1985, p. 221). Under the Manchu regime, many Buddhist customs and teachings were utilised and exercised to strengthen the dictatorship. For example, almost all Buddhist students in Mongolia were males during the Manchu dictatorship, despite the fact that gender equity is evident in the original Buddhist teachings. This includes the legend of a greatly worshipped female Bodhisattva, Green Tara. Green Tara did many good deeds when she was a princess in an ancient time; therefore, she was blessed to have been born as a monk in order to reach enlightenment in her next life. However, she claimed that “there are numerous Bodhisattvas in the form of males, who help others. However, there are few Bodhisattvas in the form of females, who help others. In the universe of the emptiness (sunyata), there is no gender difference of being male or female. Thus, I will help others in the female body” (Sainbuyan, 2017, p. 559). Therefore, Green Tara became one of the female Bodhisattvas, and has been greatly worshipped in many Buddhist nations, including Mongolia. Nevertheless, gender equity was not heavily supported during the Manchu dictatorship era in Mongolia.

Moreover, women's representation was more symbolic than active during the socialist era in Mongolia. In particular, gendered labour norms were exercised during this time. For instance, the socialist government set a policy to increase the population which motivated women to bear and raise many children by granting honorary titles and medals of *Maternal Glory*. As a consequence, frequent pregnancies, maternal leaves, and childcare may have affected women's jobs and work performance (Adiya, 2010). As such, socialist policy may have strengthened gender inequality in Mongolia.

Furthermore, women's status was weakened at the beginning of the market economic era (since 1990) due to free market forces. Women encountered unemployment issues, and it became difficult for them to find jobs—especially young women, or women with children (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009). In particular, discrimination based on gender, maternal responsibilities, age, and physical appearances became more prevalent in the labour market (Tseden, 2009).

As a consequence of all these political forces, gendered notions have formed in Mongolia: a man is considered *a person of horse*—intelligent, decisive, and visionary. In contrast, a woman is considered *a person of cook*—responsible for household duties of cooking, cleaning, and looking after children. There is a saying that "women have long hair but short mind", which is the opposite notion to the concept of "queen mindset". As a result of all these centuries-old factors, there are significant contradictions and competition between traditional gender equity values, traditional patriarchal values, and modern gender equality values in Mongolia.

Findings on leadership. In Mongolia, leadership is a newly developing discipline, featuring a handful of studies that focus on individual as well as more collective notions of leadership (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011; Gurbadar, 1999; Lepeyko & Gavaa, 2017; Man, 2009; Purvee & Enkhtuvshin, 2014, 2015). The individual notion of leadership studies in Mongolia is mainly focused on the *Great Man* theory of leadership (Man, 2009; Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011). For instance, scholarship has examined the leadership traits and qualities of past Mongolian kings, such as Chinggis Khaan (reigned for 22 years), Tolui Khaan (one year), Ögedei Khaan (12 years), Güyük Khaan (two years), and Möngke Khaan (eight years) (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011). The most common leadership

qualities named by scholars in relation to these great men are creativity, sportsmanship, inspiration, honesty, commitment, and role modelling (Gombodorj & Tuvd, 2011).

In addition, Gurbadar (1999) examined leadership theories in the global North, and assessed factors that have facilitated—as well as restricted—past and present leadership in Mongolia. He emphasised that the collective leadership mindset (which has historically been an important value in Mongolian society) was an essential constituent of leadership in Mongolia during the most successful times in the country's history. However, in more recent times, this mindset has transformed into individualism, and has created separatism in Mongolia.

Moreover, there exist some recent studies on contemporary leadership approaches, such as transformational and transactional leadership styles (Purvee & Enkhtuvshin, 2014, 2015). Transformational leadership was found to be more effective in improving managers' ambidexterity (managers' innovative approaches) in Mongolia (Purvee & Enkhtuvshin, 2015). This is because transformational leadership has had stronger impacts on managers' trust in their top management, which has mediated the relationship between transformational leadership behaviours and managers' ambidextrous behaviours.

Furthermore, Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017) analysed Mongolian historical and cultural factors, and defined a Mongolian management model. They emphasised the influence of strong leaders (such as Chinggis Khaan), traditional nomadic culture, Buddhism, socialism, and the collapse of socialism. They noted that "the key value of the Mongols is the balance with the nature when social and economic life is in tune with the nature's phenomena" and "the image of Chinggis Khaan is the basis of Mongolian national and cultural identity" (Lepeyko & Gavaa, 2017, p. 20). In addition, they remarked upon crucial cultural factors in Mongolia, i.e. long-term considerations, interpersonal relations (through intuition, situation, and traditions), high individualism, democratic leadership, leaders' trust among subordinates, and leaders' reputation.

This section has shown that gender and leadership are newly emerging disciplines with very limited findings in Mongolia.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that feminism is one of the critical approaches that has helped leadership scholarship move from notions of leadership as an "innate trait" toward an understanding of leadership as "a social construction" (Kapasi et al., 2016, p. 339). There exists a growing body of literature regarding women's academic leadership from feminist perspectives. In fact, women's underrepresentation in academic leadership is a global problem, which has been broadly studied in the global North, but less studied in the global South from Asian perspectives.

There are many commonalities of the findings in studies that have been conducted in both the global North and global South. For example, studies have found various issues regarding gender and academic leadership (e.g. the consequences of neoliberalism and new managerialism, patriarchal and bureaucratic structures, feminisation of middle management [vertical, horizontal and gendered divisions, and family responsibilities], masculinities in leadership [the Boys Club, doing gender, and glass cliff situations], and construction of femininity in leadership [lack of long-term career planning, low self-confidence for academic promotions, caring nature, and pastoral care duties]). In this regard, the studies have noted that women academics have served as change agents and contributed to the remaking of leadership in higher education, which is about power *with* others. In addition, scholars have noted the importance of deconstructing current scholarship, and building diversity, equality, and equity in academic leadership.

However, studies that have been conducted in the global South from Asian contexts have encouraged placing greater emphasis on the importance of conducting country specific analysis, due to particularities of the problems Asian women face in academic leadership. It seems as though patriarchal structures are much stronger at Asian universities due to various factors (e.g. authoritarian and communist party leadership in China, Confucian virtues in Vietnam, and Soviet-style team leadership in Kazakhstan). Thus, traditional cultural influences are stronger in Asian countries, in which many Asian women privilege familial responsibilities over leadership aspirations, and avoid any glass cliff situations that they might encounter in leadership.

This chapter has also discussed that there exist very limited findings on the phenomenon in Mongolia. Some relevant studies (e.g. on women and gender, and leadership) have been interrogated.

In the next chapter, I discuss the methodology and theoretical framework used for this study in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis in Mongolia.

Chapter Four

Feminist Qualitative Study and Bourdieu's Conceptual Tools

Introduction

The previous chapter mapped the current literature review on women's academic leadership, and demonstrated that the phenomenon is widely studied in the global North and less studied in the global South from Asian perspectives. It also showed that there is currently no research being conducted on women's academic leadership in Mongolia. Chapter Four discusses the methodology and theoretical framework used in this study.

Qualitative research is commonly used "in circumstances where relatively little is known about the phenomenon" (Gray, 2014, p. 162). This study adopts a feminist perspective as part of its research paradigm (Gray, 2014). This chapter discusses feminist qualitative study as the methodology. In addition, Bourdieu's conceptual tools are chosen as the theoretical framework, as these are powerful critical tools for conducting a systematic analysis of power. The justifications for these choices, cultural appropriations of these tools, and a new conceptualisation of meritorious capital regarding Mongolian traditional culture and human virtues are interrogated in the following sections: (a) Feminist qualitative study; (b) Bourdieu's conceptual tools; (C) Field, habitus, and capital; and (d) The conceptualisation of meritorious capital.

Feminist Qualitative Study

Feminist research considers that "this world is socially constructed, consisting of multiple perspectives and realities", and "when the door is open to the interpretation of knowledge and facts, a single truth cannot be obtained" (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012, p. 7, 9). In this regard, qualitative methods are widely used in feminist studies with a wide range of theories and perspectives in order to address multiple truths in the social world (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Olesen, 2018; Wallace, 2010). Feminist scholars recognise that "multiple identities and subjectivities are constructed in particular historical and social contexts" (Olesen, 2018, p. 152). Accordingly, feminist qualitative studies "draw from different theoretical and

pragmatic orientations that reflect national contexts where feminist agendas differ widely" (Olesen, 2018, p. 151) and where "differences … exist among women" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 5). As such, there is "no single feminist epistemology and methodology" (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 4), and feminist qualitative research is "highly diversified, contentious, dynamic and challenging" (Olesen, 2018, p. 151).

In particular, feminist scholars reject the traditional notion of objectivity, and consider that "objectivity is a false claim" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 36). Feminist scholars argue that objectivity tends to deny that multiple truths are "humanly and socially constructed within a historical context", in which "human subjectivity and consciousness [are] part of knowledge creation" (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012, p. 7). Therefore, feminist scholars argue for a reflexive science (Cohen et al., 2007; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Intemann, 2012; Olesen, 2018), and suggest a notion of "strong reflexivity" or reflexivity instead of the traditional notion of objectivity (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012, p. 8). Accordingly, this study utilised the term *reflexivity* to capture multiple truths regarding women's academic leadership that have been "humanly and socially constructed within a historical context" in the Mongolian university field (Cohen et al., 2007; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Intemann, 2012; Olesen, 2018).

Feminist scholars contend that research is greatly shaped by the researcher's reflexivity – even the research topic is chosen by the researcher (Hesse-Biber, 2012; Olesen, 2018). Thus, "the personal experience of the researcher is an integral part of the research process" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 36), and reflexivity is "one of the pivotal themes in discussions of feminist research" (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006, p. 41). In this regard, feminist researchers are recommended to be reflexive of their entire research process (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Olesen, 2018; Young, 2003). For example, they are advised not only to acknowledge their subject locations in their studies, but also to make reflections on various issues such as the origins, selections, and applications of their research perspectives, methods, and tools (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Young, 2003). As such, my reflections on my

subject location as the researcher in this study are discussed as follows, which further constitutes the ontology and epistemology of this study.

Reflections on my subject location as the researcher. In terms of my research positioning, I am both an *insider* and *outsider* to this study. However, in referring to my subject location as both insider/outsider, I note DeVault and Gross (2012)'s assertion that "'insider' and 'outsider' are not mutually exclusive categories" (p. 25). Thus, I am an "inbetweener" that is "neither entirely inside or outside [but] a 'knowledgeable outsider'" (Milligan, 2016, p. 235, 248). I am an *insider* to both Mongolia and the Mongolian university sector. I was born and raised in an urban, intelligentsia[6] family in Mongolia, and educated in Mongolia, Austria, and Taiwan. I have worked as a lecturer at a well-known private university in Mongolia for eight years. In particular, I brought my own background to this study as a Mongolian who has been brought up in an intellectual household that has strong links to Mongolian nomadic, Buddhist, and Shamanist cultural traditions, both through extended family connections and specific research carried out by academic family members on these traditions. As an outsider to this study, I have not served in an academic leadership position in the Mongolian university field. I have not attended and worked at a public university which possesses more prestige and capital than private universities in Mongolia. Therefore, my insider and outsider statuses—my inbetweener status—brought many advantages to this study, as well as the potential for bias. How I managed such risks is discussed in the section of *Ethical Conduct* in Chapter Five.

Thus, given my personal and professional experiences, observations, and reflections in Mongolia, I note the following points. Firstly, throughout my life, I have been questioning and contradictory regarding society's gender stereotypes—in no small part because I am a twin, and have a twin brother. As a result, I have observed and experienced how men and women can be the same and different at the same time. For example, because my twin brother and I have different physical strengths, my mother would typically let my twin brother do heavier housework while I would

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[6] The socialist society in Mongolia had three types of social divisions or classes: the intelligentsia, the workers and the herders.

perform easier tasks. This is an example of how we understood our physical differences, and helped each other to do household chores cooperatively. In addition, although people tended to claim that “boys are better at maths than girls”, I joined a maths-specialised class in my secondary school because I was one of the top students. I would often judge and question the societal stereotype of “boys are better at maths” when my accomplishments and achievements in many maths Olympiads were much greater than my male classmates’. Therefore, I believe that society should disallow gender stereotypes, and acknowledge that human beings are too complex to be stereotyped according to only two oppositions.

Secondly, I worked as a lecturer at a well-known private university in Mongolia for eight years. During this time, I observed that keeping to the two paths (mother vs. career) is the requisite for women in Mongolia. This is required in order to be accepted in society, as well as to be successful in the chosen sector—no matter whether a woman prefers one option to the other, or both. In this regard, it was not surprising to see how senior leadership positions in the sector are occupied by men, and wide open to young men. Accordingly, I believe that gender difference should not be an obstacle or an asset for taking on a leadership role. As I follow the principle of justice and gender equity, I strongly believe that women should not be disadvantaged in their career journeys when simultaneously fulfilling the sector’s and society’s requirements.

Finally, I believe that it is possible to build a fair, just, and inclusive society. Throughout my life, I have seen that society is not a static entity, but is open to a change and transformation. I was born near the end of the socialism, and therefore have been in a position to observe and experience three different societies: the end of socialism, the transitional period, and the market economic era. Therefore, I believe it is highly possible to change a nation’s society—particularly the society in my country, because it has changed significantly over the past 30 years, and still has not become stable. I now turn to discuss the ontology and epistemology of this study.

Ontology—feminism. Ontology is defined as "the study of being … what constitutes reality" (Gray, 2014, p. 19). "Human nature operates in a world that is based on a struggle for power" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 114). In this regard, androcentric biases, which used traditional epistemologies and methodologies, created subjugated knowledge for women (Hesse-Biber, 2012), and women became "an oppressed social class" (Gray, 2014, p. 27). Feminism aims to deconstruct subjugated knowledge and construct "a more fluid, blurring of distinctions … instead of seeing the world dichotomously" (Grogan & Simmons, 2007, p. 41). Wallace (2010) noted that feminist research is "the process of discovery and understanding [as well as] creating change" (p. 105). In this regard, this study considers that the reality of gender inequity in academic leadership in Mongolia has been constructed through society, rather than existing as a natural phenomenon. Therefore, this study pursues a critical inquiry in order to contribute to "create change to the benefit of those oppressed by power" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 114).

Epistemology—transnational feminism. Epistemology is defined as "the process of thinking … the truths we seek and believe as researchers" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 115). Consistent with my reflexivity, in which cultural specificities in Mongolia are noted, the scholarship of feminists of colour builds the epistemology of this study. These scholars consider that women's locations are "constructed in particular historical and social contexts" (Olesen, 2018, p. 152). Therefore, they address the importance of "interconnections [intersections] … of gender, ethnicity and class" and "heightened attention to power and difference" (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 13, 14). Analysing these intersections is crucial, as the process will be helpful not only in understanding the relationships more effectively, but also in making any changes (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

In particular, there are a range of feminists of colour foci which I could have selected for this study (i.e. global, Third World, postcolonial, and transnational feminisms). A comparison of these foci is shown in the following table.

Table 4.1

A Comparison of Feminists of Colour Foci

	Global feminism	Third World feminism	Postcolonial feminism	Transnational feminism
Main subject	Women in the world	Women in developing nations	Women in postcolonial developing nations	Women in developing nations
Main focus	Women's health care and human rights	Local and national contexts for women in Third World nations	Economic and political challenges faced by women in postcolonial societies	Commonalities and particularities of women's problems in developing nations in the global South
Explanation	There exist close links between various kinds of problems faced by women in this world. The right solution is to find the universal solution.	Third World women's oppression is historically situated. Therefore, their voices should be heard and represented.	Feminism in the global North is too essentialist, and women in postcolonial countries are misrepresented. Therefore, problems and challenges faced by women in these societies should not be assessed by Eurocentric standards.	Geography, history, and culture has created heterogeneous problems for women in developing nations. Feminism in the global North overlooks their challenges. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the particularities in these nations and build connections for commonalities in order to decolonise the feminist scholarship.

Note. Adapted from "Feminist thought: A more comprehensive introduction" by R. P. Tong, 2014; "Reclaiming third world feminism: or why transnational feminism needs third world feminism" by R. S. Herr, 2014.

In comparison to other types of feminists of colour scholarship, I have selected transnational feminism as the epistemology of this study. It is better suited, for the following reasons.

Global and Third World versus transnational feminisms. Global feminism considers that there exists a 'universal' solution for women in the world (Tong, 2014). This is problematic because it assumes an essentialising view of women in contrast to understandings of different groups' specific particularities. In contrast, Third World feminism addresses the importance of investigating local and national contexts for women in developing nations (Herr, 2014). However, considering both local and global contexts is crucial to transnational feminism. Transnational feminism supports finding particularities in developing nations and then building the connections for commonalities across borders (Baer, 2014; Basu, 2010; Mohanty, 2003). In this regard, considering both local and global contexts is important to Mongolia's circumstances.

Mongolia is a land-locked, developing country; its political and economic situation is highly dependent on its neighbouring countries—Russia and China. Therefore, globalisation is a crucial way for Mongolia to connect with the world, and to secure growth and prosperity. In this process, it is vital for Mongolia not to accept the forces of globalisation openly, but to deal with them strategically with regard to the national context. Therefore, transnational feminism is more suited to this study, as opposed to global and Third World feminisms.

Postcolonial versus transnational feminisms. Postcolonial feminism and transnational feminism are closely connected with each other in terms of decolonising feminist scholarship and avoiding Eurocentric hegemony (Tong, 2014). These are crucial considerations for my study. However, as noted in Chapter Two, Mongolian history and culture have some specificities that are unequal with Anglo/Eurocentric colonisation. External domination in Mongolia lasted for three centuries, starting with the Manchu dictatorship (1691–1911) and continuing with the socialist regime (1921–1990). The obstacles and challenges faced by women in Mongolia are deeply intertwined with this type of domination. Transnational feminists have also argued that postcolonial feminism does not provide for a sufficient response to globalisation when compared to transnational feminism (Mohanty, 2003). Therefore, transnational feminism is better suited to this study.

Transnational feminism. Transnational feminism focuses on "the connections and commonalities … across borders … in knowing differences and particularities" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 505). In terms of identifying differences and particularities, transnational feminism suggests conducting "systematic analysis of power, anchored in the experiences of subordination and resistance of the most marginalised communities of women" (Mohanty, 2013, p. 970). In terms of connections and commonalities, transnational feminism supports building solidarities across borders in order to decolonise "feminist scholarship and theory" (Mohanty, 2013, p. 967). Transnational feminist movements and activism through scholarship and institutionalisation belong to this agenda (Baer, 2014; Basu, 2010; Mohanty, 2013). Therefore, over the course of this study, it was crucial not only to conduct research systematically, but also to participate in scholarly conversations through publications and conference attendance (Anfara, 2008).

This section has suggested that conducting a systematic analysis of power is the initial stage of identifying differences and particularities of the phenomenon in Mongolia. Therefore, I now turn to Bourdieu's conceptual tools as the theoretical framework for this study.

Bourdieu's Conceptual Tools

Using a theory is helpful in conducting a comprehensive study, as it "gathers together all the isolated bits of [data] into a coherent conceptual framework of wider applicability" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 12). Anfara (2008) remarked that "it would be difficult to imagine a study without a theoretical (sometimes called a conceptual) framework" because it "plays a key role in framing and conducting almost every aspect of the study" (p. 870). However, Anfara (2008) also suggested that researchers be aware of "what is being [revealed] or concealed" because "no theory, or theoretical framework, provides a perfect explanation of what is being studied" (p. 871, 872).

Bourdieu's theory has been productively used in feminist scholarship, because as Moi (1991) contends, his theory has "considerable theoretical relevance for feminism" and allows feminists "to reconceptualise gender as a social category in a way which undercuts the traditional essentialist/nonessentialist divide" (p. 1019). In her work on *Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist*

Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture, Moi (1991) noted that "Bourdieu's micro-theoretical approach is that it allows us to incorporate the most mundane details of everyday life in our analyses, or in other words: Bourdieu makes sociological theory out of everything" (p. 1019).

Feminist scholars have productively utilised his theory, albeit noting strong critiques of his dismissal or underplaying of issues of gender (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Lovell, 2000; Mottier, 2002; Reay, 2004; Witz, 2004). For instance, Witz (2004) argued that Bourdieu's work on gender is problematic because he brought his own "androcentric world view" reflected in his Kabyle material (p. 221). Witz (2004) suggested that feminists "need to effect a feminist anamnesis of the hidden constants of Bourdieu's own thinking on the gender habitus" (p. 211). In this regard, Mottier (2002) raised three concerns for Bourdieu's work on gender. According to Mottier (2002), firstly, Bourdieu conceptualised "femininity and masculinity in purely binary terms" and ignored the "plurality of gender scripts that are available in modern social life" (p. 354). Secondly, Bourdieu understood "domination as an undifferentiated state" and theorised gender order "in binary terms, in which men 'possess' power and oppress the 'victims' (women)" (Mottier, 2002, p. 355)[7]. Thirdly, Bourdieu considered that "schools, churches and especially the state, rather than the domestic sphere, to be the primary agents of gender differentiation" (Mottier, 2002, p. 355). Due to "the idea that 'the personal is political'", "the boundaries between the 'private' ... and the 'public' have been intensively questioned and theorised in feminist debates" (Mottier, 2002, p. 352). However, Bourdieu did not provide "much in the way of convincing arguments as to *why* the domestic sphere should be seen as less relevant for the analysis of gender inequality" (Mottier, 2002, p. 352). In addition, Bourdieu did not recognise "more positive roles that the state can adopt regarding the gender order", for example, "the welfare state ... reduced the financial dependency of women on men" (Mottier, 2002, p. 356).

[7] This understanding of power has been critiqued with alternative theorisations of power such as that by Foucault which argues that rather than power being a power over others, it is diffuse, circulates through systems of authority and produces effects of truth through discourses that are neither true nor false (Foucault, 1991).

Therefore, Mottier (2002) concluded that Bourdieu's work on gender was "more helpful as an explanation of the perpetuation of gender differences than as an analysis of gender power" (p. 357).

In the field of educational leadership, many feminists have also utilised Bourdieu's theory but with certain critiques, and analysed gender and power relations critically (Acker, 2010; Blackmore, 2010, 2013; Burkinshaw, 2015; Wilkinson, 2010). For example, Wilkinson (2010) analysed academic leadership practice by using Bourdieu's concepts of "field and the metaphor of the game" (p. 41). She differentiated "the competitive logic of practice of a field" from "the cooperative logic of practice" (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 41). She argued that Bourdieu's "assumption of the competitive logic of the field and the notion of self-interested strategising overlooks the 'cooperative, pluralistic' characteristics of a range of leadership practices" (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 52).

In this regard, by employing these insights and critiques from critical feminist scholarship, Bourdieu's conceptual tools were utilised in this study, but with certain critiques and modifications with regard to Mongolian tradition and culture. Bourdieu's conceptual tools were chosen as the theoretical framework for this study, and had various important roles. These are as follows:

1. Bourdieu's conceptual tools were useful in my analysis of the large amount of qualitative data gathered from my feminist qualitative interviews. The conceptual tools framed the analysis and findings of this study very well.
2. Bourdieu's conceptual tools served as powerful concepts in this study by facilitating in-depth data analysis. The tools helped me to extend the feminist perspective, because they allowed me to look at wider and broader issues of the phenomenon addressed in this study. In particular, they helped me identify the particularities of the phenomenon in Mongolian higher education, in accord with the epistemology of this study—transnational feminism.
3. Bourdieu's conceptual tools were helpful for me to be reflexive on the origins, selections, and applications of my research perspectives, methods, and tools (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Young, 2003). As a feminist researcher, I was able to be more reflexive in regard to my applications of his conceptual tools in this study by identifying and critically evaluating my

"background assumptions, theories, and models" and producing research that aims to "challenge... rather than reinforce... or ignore... oppression" in the Mongolian university field (Intemann, 2012, p. 2).

4. Bourdieu's conceptual tools also contributed to this study in terms of scholarly conversation, as they helped me report my findings in the known and accepted language. Therefore, they facilitated the process of building connection and commonalities across borders to decolonise feminist scholarship in accord with the epistemology of this study—transnational feminism.
5. Bourdieu's conceptual tools are not fixed tools. Rather, Bourdieu himself has noted that he was "progressively building a working definition of the concept" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 108). In this regard, his conceptual tools helped me flesh out the crucial findings of this study; at the same time, they helped me discover what were concealed in this study. Therefore, I have made an additional suggestion for his conceptual tools, in term of the concept of capital. I will explain my justifications below.

It is also crucial to extend the discussion on how Bourdieu's conceptual tools were compatible with the epistemology of this study—transnational feminism. As noted previously, transnational feminism is a theory developed by feminists of colour and is closely connected with postcolonial feminist theory (Tong, 2014). In this regard, postcolonial feminist scholars have noted commonalities between Bourdieu's theory and postcolonial feminist theory (Anderson et al., 2007; Lynam et al., 2007). For instance, Lynam et al. (2007) explored "how Bourdieu's conceptualisations of culture may interface with other critical theoretical perspectives" (p. 32). They noted that "Bourdieu's perspectives on culture, as understood using concepts of habitus, capital and field, can extend our understanding of the wide range of social conditions organising everyday experiences" (Lynam et al., 2007, p. 32). As such, Anderson et al. (2007) contended that "like postcolonial feminists, he puts forward a position that aims to unmask oppressive structures [and opens up] a discursive space for theorising, with the possibility of reframing and strengthening our own theoretical perspectives" (p.

178, 186). Therefore, this suggests at least some compatibilities between aspects of Bourdieu's theory and the epistemology of this study.

In addition, as shown in Table 4.1, transnational feminism contends that geography, history and culture create heterogeneous problems for women in developing nations, problems which are overlooked by Eurocentric lenses (Mohanty, 2003, 2013). In this regard, Bourdieu emphasises the importance of thinking relationally, indicating that any phenomenon should be investigated within its systems of relations. Bourdieu explains this concept and notes that "what is true of concepts is true of relations, which acquire their meaning only within a system of relations, which acquire their meaning only within a system of relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). Therefore, Bourdieu's conceptual tools supported the process of identifying particularities of heterogeneous problems that women face in developing nations, which have their own systems of relations. This shows the importance of investigating the systems of relations in the Mongolian university field, in which women academic leaders in this study participate and play out.

Moreover, Bourdieu emphasises the importance of conducting a historical analysis. Bourdieu notes that any sociological study should perform a historical analysis because "one totally devoid of epistemological justification: all sociology should be historical and all history sociological" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 90). Therefore, Bourdieu's concepts supported the examination of cultural and historical foundations of the phenomenon in the process of identifying the particularities of heterogeneous problems that women face in developing nations (Baer, 2014; Basu, 2010; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Mohanty, 2003). This suggests the importance of conducting a historical analysis on the Mongolian university field, which would reveal its rules of the game and logic of practice.

Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that individuals who are socially constituted, constitute a society together; therefore, social research should analyse a phenomenon as a social construction. Bourdieu explains:

> Individuals ... exist as agents – and not as biological individuals, actors, or subjects – who are socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they

possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field ... The notion of field reminds us that the true object of social science is not the individual, even though one cannot construct a field if not through individuals. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 107)

Therefore, Bourdieu's concepts supported the investigation of social constructions of the phenomenon in the process of identifying particularities in developing nations. This is consistent with the assertion in this study that gender and (educational) leadership are culturally constructed phenomena (Blackmore, 2013; Wilkinson & Bristol, 2019; Shah, 2018; Sinclair, 2014). Among Bourdieu's conceptual tools, notions of field, habitus, and capital were particularly useful in this study, as outlined below.

Field, Habitus, and Capital

Field. The concept of cultural field is used to demonstrate how different kinds of social spaces work and operate independently—as well as interdependently—in societies. Bourdieu notes that "in analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" and gave examples of different kinds of fields in a society, i.e., "the artistic field, or the religious field, or the economic field all follow specific logics" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). In order to explain the specific logics of fields, Bourdieu uses the terms *game* and *stakes*:

> A field is not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified. Thus we have stakes which are for the most part the product of competition between players. We have an investment in the game, illusio: players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their beliefs (doxa) in the game and its stakes; they grant these a recognition that escapes questioning. Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a "contract," that he game is worth playing, that it is "worth the candle," and this collusion is the very basis of their competition. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98)

In this regard, the Mongolian university sector is a cultural field because it consists of numerous individuals and institutions. It also has its own rules of the game, or regularities and stakes,

which form its logic of practice. Therefore, this study utilised this concept to investigate the university field and its subfields, and its different logics of practice as well as different logics of gender practices.

Habitus. Bourdieu notes that "notions as habitus, field, and capital can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). Therefore, it is crucial to analyse these notions together, as they influence and constitute each other. In particular, field and habitus are structured and structuring; in other words, they are interconnected in their interactions, producing and reproducing rules of the game, or logic of practice in a field. Bourdieu contends that a field shapes habitus; and, in turn, habitus makes the field more meaningful with the help of its logic of practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, "social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). In other words, society creates its structure, the rules of the game, and the logic of practice in social worlds (fields) and minds (habitus), in which acceptable behaviours, dispositions, and differentiations are naturalised, strengthened, and reproduced.

In addition, habitus is in the past experiences of social agents; therefore, habitus is a product of history. Bourdieu notes:

> The habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the correctness of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54)

In this regard, habitus shows how agents in a field gain necessary stakes and how they internalise, play, reproduce or challenge rules of the game in the field. Therefore, the concept of habitus is used to investigate the life trajectories of the women academic leaders featured in this study, and will show how they join, participate and play in the Mongolian university field by owning which kinds of capital that were worth seeking. In this regard, the concept of habitus will reveal the rules of

the game or the logics of practice—particularly, the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field.

Capital. Capital is an important concept for understanding the logic of practice within and across a field, because it becomes the main force, stake or regularity of the game which is used between players to play in the field. Bourdieu also uses an additional term—trump cards—and emphasises that different forms of capital are valued differently in each field, because all fields have their own specific logics. Bourdieu notes:

> We also have trump cards, that is, master cards whose force varies depending on the game: just as the relative value of cards changes with each game, the hierarchy of the different species of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) varies across the various fields. In other words, there are cards that are valid, efficacious in all fields – these are the fundamental species of capital – but their relative value as trump cards is determined by each field and even by the successive states of the same field. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98)

Bourdieu, therefore, introduces various forms of capital (i.e. economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital). Bourdieu explains:

> Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16)

Various forms of capital are discussed below.

Economic capital. According to Bourdieu, economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money" while other forms of capital can also be transformed into economic capital, under certain conditions (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Bourdieu argues that all kinds of social relations are

based on producing and gaining more economic profits; therefore, economic capital becomes the major regulator of social relations. Therefore, economic capital is a crucial concept for this study, under the guise of the centre of conversions, transactions, and transformations of all other forms of capital. In other words, economic capital serves as one of the major regulators of the rules of the game and logic of practice in the Mongolian university field.

Cultural capital. Bourdieu explains that cultural capital "should in fact call informational capital to give the notion its full generality, and which itself exists in three forms, *embodied, objectified,* or *institutionalised*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). *Embodied* means that the capital exists "in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body", *objectified* means "in the form of cultural goods" and *institutionalised* means "a form of objectification (e.g. in the form of academic qualifications") (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17, 20). Therefore, cultural capital was an important concept for this study, addressing the knowledge, education, and work experiences of the women academic leaders in this study and how these were differentially valued in the Mongolian university field—depending on who was accumulating this capital, and the different stakes they brought to the game of academic leadership.

Social capital. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Therefore, social capital was a crucial concept for this study, addressing the varied social networks or connections that different women academic leaders brought into—or accumulated in—the Mongolian university field.

Political capital. Bourdieu also introduces a notion of political capital, which is a form of social capital that exists in socialist countries. According to Bourdieu:

> In old social democratic nations such as Sweden or in Soviet-type societies, one must take into consideration this peculiar form of social capital constituted by political capital which has the capacity to yield considerable profits and privileges, in a manner similar to economic

capital in other social fields, by operating a "patrimonialisation" of collective resources (through unions and the Labour party in the one case, the Communist party in the other). (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 119)

Therefore, political capital was an essential concept in this study, as Mongolia is a formerly socialist country in which political capital still has a great deal of legitimacy, and is a key element to the logic of practice of appointing academic leaders in Mongolian public universities.

Symbolic capital. In addition to three fundamental types of capital (economic, cultural, and social), Bourdieu suggests the addition of a notion of symbolic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). He notes that symbolic capital is the form "one or another of these species [of capital] takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognise its specific logic" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Bourdieu provides examples of different forms of symbolic capital (e.g. trust, gratitude, prestige, honour, reputation, recognition, and acknowledgement). Bourdieu (1990) emphasises that symbolic capital allows its holders to gain more economic capital because "economic and symbolic capital are so inextricably intertwined" and there is "a conversion of material capital into symbolic capital itself reconvertible into material capital" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 119). Therefore, symbolic capital was an essential concept for this study, particularly relevant to cultural and political capital, and which allows their holders to accumulate more power and capital in the Mongolian university field. For instance, Chapter Six shows how public universities possess better reputations and greater cultural and symbolic capital than private universities in Mongolia. Chapter Seven discusses how imperialist cultural capital, public sector capital, and public university capital provided the women academic leaders with different forms of symbolic capital, which further facilitated their career journeys in the Mongolian university field.

Nevertheless, Bourdieu (1990) argues that there is a significant misrecognition in the legitimacy of symbolic capital, which made his concepts (regarding different forms of capital) insufficient for this study. Bourdieu elaborates:

> In an economy which is defined by the refusal to recognise the 'objective' truth of economic practices, that is, the law of 'naked self-interest' and egoist calculation, even 'economic' capital cannot act unless it succeeds in being recognised through a conversion that can render unrecognisable the true principle of its efficacy. Symbolic capital is this denied capital, recognised as legitimate, that is, misrecognised as capital (recognition, acknowledgement, in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits can be one of the foundations of this recognition) which, along with religious capital, is perhaps the only possible form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognised. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 118)

Therefore, an additional form of meritorious capital has been conceptualised for this study to conduct a realistic analysis with regard to Mongolian traditions and culture. The conceptualisation of meritorious capital is discussed below.

The Conceptualisation of Meritorious Capital

Bourdieu (1990) further explains a misrecognition of symbolic capital in the following:

> Perhaps, of all the symbolic labour aimed at transmuting the inevitable and inevitably interested relations imposed by kinship, neighbourhood or work, into elective relations of reciprocity, through the sincere fiction of a disinterested exchange, and, more profoundly, at transforming arbitrary relations of exploitation (woman by man, younger brother by elder brother, the young by the elders) into durable relations, grounded in nature. In the work of reproducing established relations—feasts, ceremonies, exchange of gifts, visits or courtesies and, above all, marriages—which is no less vital to the existence of the group than the reproduction of the economic bases of its existence, the labour required to conceal the function of the exchanges is as important as the labour needed to perform this function. (p. 112)

Bourdieu (1990) was partially right in his claim that economic capital converts into symbolic capital as well as other forms of capital (i.e. cultural, social, and political), and in return, these forms of capital are reconvertible to economic capital. However, for the purposes of this study, this concept was not sufficient to explain the different kinds of social relations that exist in their own systems of

relations according to their own regularities (e.g. different cultures and traditions). At least, it was not the case for Mongolian culture and tradition. Therefore, the concept of meritorious capital is introduced to this study, with regard to Mongolian traditional culture and human virtues.

Before discussing the conceptualisation, it is important to note here that many scholars have also critiqued Bourdieu's theory, and developed different forms of capital (Huppatz, 2012; Reay, 2004; Yosso, 2005). For example, Yosso (2005) utilised critical race theory, and conceptualised a notion of "community cultural wealth" existing within marginalised groups, with various forms of capital (i.e. "aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital") (p. 69). She argued that Bourdieu's theory posits that "some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor" and "white, middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of 'culture' are judged in comparison to this 'norm'" (Yosso, 2005, p. 76). She also emphasised that there are different forms of cultural capital that "marginalised groups bring to the table that traditional cultural capital theory does not recognise or value" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Similarly, Reay (2004) developed a concept of emotional capital that "is generally confined within the bounds of affective relationships of family and friends and encompasses the emotional resources [people] hand on to those [they] care about" (p. 60). In addition, she remarked that "emotional capital may be understood as a specifically gendered capital" with regard to "intense emotional engagement the vast majority of mothers had with their children's education" (Reay, 2004, p. 57). Moreover, Huppatz (2012) developed a concept of gender capital, and examined "how gender, including femininity, operates as capital in the feminised occupational spaces of nursing, social work, exotic dancing and hairdressing" (p. 31). She contended that "because it is connected to women's bodies and is considered 'natural' for women, this gender capital is an asset that is more readily available to working-class women than other capitals might be" (Huppatz, 2012, p. 178). She showed that "'gender capital' is a concept that helps to explain why women are still invested in, and contribute to, the making of feminised occupations and [achieve] success when they do participate" (Huppatz, 2012, p. 183). I now turn to the conceptualisation of meritorious capital.

Mongolian traditional culture and meritorious capital. As outlined in Chapter Two, Mongolian traditional culture has been enormously influenced by Mongolian Shamanism and Buddhism. However, Buddhism became the most dominant religion in Mongolia in the 17th century (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006). By "adopting many aspects of Mongolian Shamanism and adapting them to its main rituals", Mongolian Buddhism was established, and "was more fitting to the nomadic lifestyle and belief system" (Otgon & Gurbadar, 2006, p. 68). As a result, it became increasingly difficult to differentiate original Mongolian customs and traditions from Buddhist values (Sainbuyan, 2017), which were deeply embedded in the Mongolian nomadic lifestyle.

One of the key concepts in Buddhism is enlightenment (nirvana) and every aspect of Buddhism is in pursuit of this goal. Enlightenment is known as a way of leaving the never ending cyclic existence in the main six realms[8]: the upper three (heavenly beings, asuras, and human beings) and the lower three (animals, hungry ghosts, and hells). This cyclic existence continues through never ending repetitive births and deaths by going upwards and downwards[9] in the six realms continually. Therefore, Buddhists—including many people in Mongolia—believe in rebirths and reincarnations. Some people in Mongolia believe they receive evidence for this tacit practice when their family members pass away, and they pray for them to come back to their families in order to join the human being's realm again, or to have better lives which are closer to enlightenment. To this end, they perform certain rituals and put marks on the deceased bodies with milk, so that they might recognise them if they come back. After a while, few of such families have new children born with the same or

[8] Although there are six main realms, there exist great differences between the lives in one realm. For example, diversity of people in the human being's realm or different species of animals in the animal's realm. Thus, the concept of the six realms does not directly state linear differences (e.g. all animals should be lower than all human beings). For instance, there are differences between pets in loving families or people in miserable situations. Therefore, the upper and the lower are simplified categories.

[9] Similar to the concept of money, which applies as more money more opportunities and less money fewer opportunities, those with higher volume of meritorious capital go upper, and those with less of it go lower. In addition, when people finish their savings, they have to work hard to earn money again; similarly, when people's meritorious capital finishes in the upper realms, they would go down from the upper to the lower again.

similar birthmarks (in the same sizes or shapes), and similar personalities to their departed family members. In this regard, many people believe that significant parts of one's personalities, behaviours, habits, talents, and destinies are the remaining habits of their previous lives.

Although people may join the human being's realm successfully, this cyclic existence can still be full of suffering (e.g. repeats of hardships, sadness, sickness, pain, grief, and death). Therefore, it is not the main goal for people to live fully in their current lives or come back to the human being's realm over and over again. Instead, people try to leave this cyclic existence by achieving full enlightenment. The human being's realm is a good space to practice its way, because happiness and suffering are balanced in this realm: during suffering, one finds the importance of enlightenment and, during happiness, one takes a break from suffering and performs an enlightenment practice (Sainbuyan, 2017).

Buddha taught various ways to reach enlightenment (depending on one's intelligence) with the goal of helping human beings, who want to leave this cyclic existence as rapidly as possible. Accordingly, many different teachings—including some yoga and meditation practices—were developed throughout history[10]. These teachings all have the same goal, but progress toward enlightenment at different speeds. Buddhism in Mongolia originated from "the tantric Buddhism (Vajrayana) of Tibetan lineage (Gelugpa)" (Mongolia Travel and Tours) and followed the teachings of Bogd Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), a renowned teacher who initiated the Gelugpa school of Buddhism, who taught one of the fastest ways to reach enlightenment. His practice is known as *буяны ёс* (*buyanii yos*) in Mongolian, and can be translated as *the good deeds' discipline*. This practice is utilised as a term of meritorious practice for the purposes of this study. Living a meritorious life (by performing many good deeds and avoiding bad deeds[11]) is believed to be a crucial step to escape from the lower realms, stay in the upper realms, and move toward enlightenment. Therefore, any notions

[10] People understood the original teachings in different ways (in their own ways), and developed and taught different practices.

[11] This is known as the process of gaining the meritorious. Phrases of gaining, acquiring, expending, or losing the meritorious are commonly used in daily conversations in Mongolia.

associated with *merit*, good deeds, enlightenment, and Buddhism could be defined as meritorious capital[12] in this study, as it offers a different notion than economic, cultural, social, political, and symbolic capital.

In addition, it is important to note here that meritorious practice is not exclusive to Buddhism, but is an essential human virtue. According to my knowledge and investigation, it is evident in other dominant religions, and in various discourses about human virtues, (e.g. humanity, morality, kindness, love, compassion, and altruism). Therefore, in its simplest form, meritorious capital is about the moral capital of human virtue. In fact, the concept of moral capital has been utilised in numerous studies in different ways (Brown, 2012; Derichs, Fleschenberg, & Hüstebeck, 2006; Kane, 2001; Sison, 2003; Valverde, 1994). For example, Valverde (1994) critiqued Bourdieu's theory, conceptualised moral capital, and argued that "civil society [is] constituted through the interaction of three circuits: economic, cultural, and moral" (p. 218). As such, Valverde (1994) emphasised that "moral regulation ... is not a 'cover' for economic power but is a distinct mode of regulation, is alive and well today" (p. 218). Accordingly, many other scholars have also critiqued Bourdieu's theory in terms of its moral aspects (Sayer, 2002; Warde, 2004; Wilkinson, 2010). For instance, Warde (2004) argued that Bourdieu's theory has tended to emphasise that "all conduct worthy of sociological investigation is strategic and competitive" (p. 15). Warde (2004) thus contends that this renders Bourdieu's concepts "incapable of appreciating non-strategic action, purposeful behaviour in non-competitive circumstances, internal goods arising from participation in practice, and discrepancies between competence and social position" (p. 16). Similarly, Sayer (2002) critiqued Bourdieu's arguments in terms of class, gender, and race inequalities. He contended that it is assumed in Bourdieu's theory that "the subaltern may want some of the goods that the powerful possess, while considering others to be not worth having [therefore] the disadvantaged accommodate to their lowly

[12] The term of capital is never used in this practice; however, as I follow Bourdieu's conceptual tools, I have utilised this term in order to negotiate with different forms of capital. Essentially, I have utilised the symbolic power of the term of *capital* in this study.

position and chose what is chosen for them" (Sayer, 2002, s. 7.2). He, therefore, suggested that "we should not rule out the possibility that some of their refusals of what the powerful value may be reasonable and not mere rationalisation" (Sayer, 2002, s. 7.11).

Moral regulation has also been captured by the use of various other terms in the fields of leadership and educational leadership, such as morality, moral virtue of leadership, and moral leadership (Burns, 1978; Gini, 1997; Hannah et al., 2005; Sendjaya, 2005; Sergiovanni, 1992). For example, in the field of leadership, Hannah et al. (2005) noted that "a highly developed moral leader is expected to act in concert with his or her self-concept, to achieve higher levels of agency to make the 'right' and 'ethical' decisions" (p. 43). In the field of educational leadership, scholars have discussed morality with regard to social justice, ethics, and the internal goods of women leaders (Aiston, 2011; Blackmore, 2011; Normore & Blanco, 2006; Wilkinson, 2010). For instance, Blackmore (2011) noted that "leadership requires a clear ethical (in the professional sense) and moral (doing the right thing) imperative linked to a strong sense of purpose in order to reduce inequality and promote social justice for all" (p. 26). Aiston (2011) suggested that "bringing about greater equity between male and female colleagues [is an important stage] towards a university becoming ethical" (p. 279, 289). Wilkinson (2010) emphasised that "the assumption of the competitive logic of the field and the notion of self-interested strategising overlooks ... considerations of the human and moral aspects of leadership practice" (p. 52). In these ways, scholars have developed the concept of moral capital and discussed the importance of moral regulation as a distinct mode of regulation in civil societies. This concept of moral capital is helpful in this study; however, it is limiting for the Mongolian context. The reason for this is that the concept does not capture Buddhist spiritual teachings and philosophy about the importance of humans earning *merit* in this life through moral/righteous thoughts, speeches, and actions as part of a cycle of death and rebirth into a new life. These teachings impact on how and why research participants in this study practised their leadership in certain ways, as discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine. For example, moral leadership was the core element of participants' perceptions and practices of leadership in the Mongolian university

field, and the concept of meritorious capital was useful to understand the underlying "moral purpose and values" of leadership (Blackmore, 2011, p. 22). As a result, the concept of meritorious capital was developed and utilised in this study, in addition to the concepts of economic, cultural, social, symbolic, and political capital.

Meritorious capital and other forms of capital. Meritorious capital can also be greatly intertwined with other forms of capital (i.e. economic, cultural, social, political, and symbolic). These capital are sought after, gained, saved, and spent in order to survive and live in the human being's realm—as well used to gain more meritorious capital[13]. This is because when people die, they leave everyone and everything behind—including their hard-earned economic, cultural, social, political, and symbolic capital. Therefore, according to Buddhism, individuals' meritorious capital alone can help them move forward in their lives after death.

It is also crucial to investigate the essence of meritorious capital on "the law of naked self-interest and egoist calculation", as argued by Bourdieu (1990, p. 118). This is because it seems that, on the outer surface, meritorious capital represents *naked self*-interest, because people wish to gain it in order to *save themselves* from the cyclic existence, and reach enlightenment. A deeper analysis on this statement, however, would provide a contrasting viewpoint—meritorious capital is for *non-self-interest* in the form of *naked self-interest*. Although this practice could be employed in the pursuit of naked self-interest, it has the essence of non-self-interest because meritorious capital is only gained when the intention of an action extinguishes its self-interest. Therefore, the main rule of this tacit practice is to gain as much as meritorious capital as possible by living in the form of naked self-interest[14], but having the essence of non-self-interest. Accordingly, the concept of finding a balance

[13] It does not mean a linear relationship between the other forms of capital and meritorious capital. Instead, the rules are broad, deep, flexible, and inclusive.

[14] Living in the form of naked self-interest is fundamental for people to survive and live in the human being's realm.

between two extreme points (dualisms) in everything[15] is vital to this practice, which should be truly dependent on one's wisdom that consists of various qualities, including intelligence, intuition, sense, feeling, compassion, and morality. In this regard, this practice comes with many ambiguities and uncertainties. For instance, as it is a tacit practice, the evidence of which is not as explicit as in an economic practice, there is always a fine line between transforming other types of capital into meritorious capital and losing meritorious capital in order to gain other types of capital. Therefore, meritorious capital can serve both as a reproduced legitimacy and a meaningful system of relations, whose options are dependent on one's wisdom. In this sense, Bourdieu is partially correct in terms of symbolic and religious capital in his assertion that "symbolic capital is this denied capital, recognised as legitimate, that is, misrecognised as capital ... which, along with religious capital, is perhaps the only possible form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognised" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 118). However, his explanation is not fully accurate when applied to the logic of tacit practice that some people in some parts of the world produce—and reproduce—in their meaningful systems of relations.

In addition, it is important to note here that not everyone in Mongolia believes in this tacit logic of practice—as is the norm in other nations, where people with different interests and beliefs coexist. It is also crucial to remark here that there could be many people who do not believe in this tacit practice consciously, but still perform it unconsciously. Therefore, the concept of meritorious capital has been conceptualised and utilised in this study, in addition to the concepts of economic, cultural, social, symbolic, and political capital.

[15] Finding a balance between two extreme points in everything is similar to the dualist concept of Yin Yang in Chinese philosophy. It is known as *арга билиг (arga bilig)* in Mongolian, meaning *acumen* and *acuity*. The Fifth Noyon Khutagt, the Lama of the Gobi, D. Danzanravjaa (1803–1856), one of Mongolia's most respected and multi-talented monks, referred to *acumen* and *acuity* as "both birth and death, both built and broken, both father and mother, and both acumen and acuity" (Sainbuyan, 2017, p. 258). Thus, balances between any dualisms are sought after in this practice.

This section has discussed Bourdieu's conceptual tools (field, habitus, and capital) as the theoretical framework for this study and a new conceptualisation of meritorious capital regarding Mongolian traditional culture and human virtues.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that this study is a feminist qualitative study with a critical inquiry, which aims to conduct a study to create knowledge for women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field. The ontology of the study follows feminist scholarship, and the epistemology of the study is built on a feminists of colour thought and transnational feminism. This study contends that Mongolia has created its own specific problems for women in academic leadership, with regard to Mongolian geography, tradition, culture, history, and the current political situation. Therefore, this study intends to investigate the phenomenon systematically with the help of Bourdieu's conceptual tools: field, habitus, and capital. These tools are helpful to systematically analyse power relations.

Field denotes the Mongolian university sector. Habitus represents the life trajectories of the women academic leaders featured in this study. Capital indicates economic, cultural, social, political, symbolic, and meritorious capital which are worth seeking and owning in the Mongolian university field. In particular, in addition to Bourdieu's concepts of capital, meritorious capital has been newly conceptualised in this study, based on Mongolian tradition and culture. By investigating these concepts, this study will reveal how the women academic leaders in this study joined, participated, and played in the Mongolian university field. The study will also examine what rules of the game or logics of practice—particularly logics of gender practice—these women encountered.

In order to conduct a systematic and comprehensive study on women and academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities, I will now turn to a discussion of the research design of this study.

Chapter Five

A Feminist Qualitative Comparative Case Study

Introduction

Chapter Four discussed the methodology and theoretical framework of this study, and showed that the study followed feminist qualitative methodology and utilised Bourdieu's conceptual tools. Chapter Four also illuminated the study's added consideration of cultural appropriation, and described new conceptualisations with regard to Mongolian tradition and culture. In this regard, this chapter interrogates the research design of this study, and shows how the methodology and theoretical framework were put into practice.

This study is a feminist qualitative comparative case study, which utilised feminist qualitative interviews and secondary data documents for data collection, and thematic analysis and document analysis for data analysis. Ethical conduct was implemented with regard to feminist qualitative methodology. These are discussed in the following sections: (a) Research design; (b) Research methods; (c) Data collection; (d) Data analysis; and (e) Ethical conduct.

Research Design

In order to conduct comprehensive studies, researchers are advised to develop appropriate research designs (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2009). A research design is "*a logical plan for* getting *from here to there* … dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyse the results" (Yin, 2009, p. 26). Research purposes are crucial in this process for deciding appropriate perspectives, methods, and tools (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2009). For example, in qualitative studies, inductive reasoning is suggested if researchers intend "to extend existing theory into a new setting or to develop understanding and theory where none currently exists" (Fox, 2008, p. 430). Inductive reasoning is particularly important for feminist qualitative studies because they aim to deconstruct subjugated knowledge, create knowledge *for* rather than *about* women, and contribute to "create change to the benefit of those oppressed by power" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 114). Therefore, this study adopted an

inductive approach, as it is a foundational study for the context of women and academic leadership in Mongolia, and aimed to conduct a study to create knowledge for women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field. In this process, this study did not bring an existing theory and test it in the context of women's academic leadership in Mongolia. Instead, this study commenced with research questions, then designed a research process, and finally collected, analysed, and interpreted data. Existing theories were helpful in the process of explaining and interpreting data. In this way, this study built the foundation and established "patterns, consistencies, and meanings" for women's academic leadership in Mongolian university field (Gray, 2014, p. 18). As noted in Chapter One, the research questions of this study were:

- How do women construct and enact academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities?
- How can we understand the differing representation of women in academic leadership at Mongolian public versus private universities?

Scholars note that when a phenomenon encounters *how* and *why* questions, and when "one or a few instances of a phenomenon are studied in depth" (Blatter, 2008, p. 68), a case study is an appropriate approach (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2009). A case study is a distinctive form of an empirical inquiry and research design, which "investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). A case is variously defined depending on the context, such as "a *decision* or set of decisions [or] individuals, organisations, processes, programs, neighbourhoods, institutions, and even events" (Yin, 2009, p. 17).

In feminist research, case studies are widely adopted as "a theory and a research practice; a framework that can be used to examine, analyse, and critique the lives of women" (Wallace, 2010, p. 2). Feminist research aims to deconstruct subjugated knowledge and contribute to "create change to the benefit of those oppressed by power" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 114). As such, a case in feminist research is defined as "any group or situation in which one or more individuals are considered to be

the ‘other’, that is, dominated or oppressed in some manner, or who are located outside of the mainstream” (Wallace, 2010, p. 2).

There are two major approaches in case study research, i.e., single- and multiple-case study. Creswell (2014) and Yin (2009) contend that multiple-cases provide more robust findings Feminist scholars contend that multiple-case study approaches are powerful because they provide multiple voices and truths of the social world (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Olesen, 2018; Wallace, 2010). By hearing, analysing, and delivering multiple voices, feminist scholars suggest that such studies allow us to recognise “differences among women” and dismantle “the notion of ‘woman’ as the unified and foundational subject” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 3, 4).

In addition, a distinct form of a multiple-case study is the comparative case study approach (Yin, 2009). Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) critiqued the traditional approach of a comparative case study and developed a new approach that “attends simultaneously to macro, meso, and micro” (p. 5). They regarded the traditional approach as the logic of “compare and contrast” that separates cases from their surroundings, “rather [than] looking at connections” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 7). Thus, they recommended a new approach and advised the following:

> Comparison across three axes: a horizontal look that not only contrasts one case with another, but also traces social actors, documents, or other influences across these cases; a vertical comparison of influences at different levels, from the international to the national to regional and local scales; and a transversal comparison over time. (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 14)

In this way, they introduced more fluid understandings about cases, and their analyses and comparisons. They advised that cases should be “conceptualised as something spatial and relational”, and should be compared, contrasted, and connected at different levels (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 15).

Accordingly, this study adopted a comparative case study approach utilising Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) approach. This brought "the potential to strengthen and enhance" the study's findings (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 15). In particular, the approach allowed multiple women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field to bring their multiple voices through this study (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Olesen, 2018; Wallace, 2010). In this study, *cases* denoted *women academic leaders as a group* wherein *a case* indicated *an individual woman academic leader* at a public or private university in Mongolia. This definition of a case was in line with feminist research, which considers a case as "any group or situation in which one or more individuals are considered to be the 'other', that is, dominated or oppressed in some manner, or who are located outside of the mainstream" (Wallace, 2010, p. 2).

In this regard, different comparisons of the cases were made in this study, which were helpful "to critique past and continuing patterns of male domination" in the field (Wallace, 2010, p. 6). The following comparisons were used over the course of the study:

- Comparisons were made within each individual women's case, i.e., comparisons between the influences that helped to shape the ongoing formation of each woman academic leader's habitus. In other words, I analysed each women academic leader's habitus separately (their pasts and present, career trajectories and perceptions and practices of gender and academic leadership). This process fulfilled the role of traversal comparisons in this study, which are part of "a comparison over time" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 14).
- Comparisons were made between the cases. In other words, I compared the women academic leaders' habitus with each other, and found many similarities and differences in their pasts and present. This process fulfilled the role of horizontal comparisons in this study, which "not only contrasts one case with another, but also traces social actors, documents, or other influences across these cases" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 14).

- Comparisons were conducted between the university types, i.e., between public and private universities that the women academic leaders attended and worked at. In other words, I compared the women academic leaders' habitus with regard to their university types, and found many similarities and differences depending on their university types of public or private universities. As noted in Chapter One, public universities are considered more prestigious than private universities in Mongolia; therefore, it was crucial to compare the women academic leaders according to their university types. This process fulfilled the role of vertical comparisons in this study, which were about "influences at different levels, from the international to the national to regional and local scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 14).

In order to set the number of the cases in this study, a purposive sampling technique was utilised, which is discussed below.

Purposive sampling. This type of sampling is commonly used in qualitative research, and is helpful to "build up a sample that is satisfactory to [the research's] specific needs" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 115). In order to set the number of the cases, a ratio between public and private universities was calculated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

A Ratio between Public and Private Universities in Mongolia

#		Number of institutions	Number of employees	Number of students
1	Public universities	13	7,045	82,441
2	Private universities	18	2,192	42,928
	Ratio (1÷2)	0.7	3.2	1.9
	Geometric mean		1.6	

Note. The numbers in this table are adapted and calculated from the statistics provided in Table 3.16 in "*The 2016-2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector,"* by MECSS, 2017.

Table 5.2

Statistics of Women at Public and Private Universities in Mongolia

Occupation	Public universities			Private universities		
	Total	# of women	% of women	Total	# of women	% of women
Rectors	13	2	15.4	20	11	55
Vice-rectors	37	9	24.3	33	14	42.4
Deans of faculties	59	20	33.9	29	19	65.5
Vice-deans of faculties	22	12	54.5	1	1	100
Heads of departments	275	120	43.6	147	90	61.2
Full-time lecturers	3778	2150	56.9	1291	764	59.2
All employees	7045	4273	60.7	2192	1385	63.2

Note. The statistics in this table are adapted and calculated from the statistics provided in Table 3.16 in "*The 2016-2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector,"* by MECSS, 2017.

The ratio in Table 5.1 indicated that public universities were statistically 1.6 times larger than private universities in Mongolia. Therefore, the sample in this study included five women ($3*1.6 = 4.8 \approx 5$) from public universities, and three women from private universities. Table 5.2 shows statistics of women at public and private universities in Mongolia, and displays the number of potential participants in this study.

In this regard, three main decisions were made in order to set out the purposive sample of the participants' positions in this study. Firstly, the sample of this study drew on women academic leaders at senior management at Mongolian public and private universities. The concepts of senior management and middle management like leadership are very new to Mongolian higher education and require further explication. Typically, in the current field of Mongolian higher education, senior management incorporates the positions of rectors, vice-rectors, directors of academic units[16], and

[16] Although the positions of directors of academic units are not included in Table 5.2, anecdotally, these are widely regarded as senior management positions in Mongolian universities (i.e., third level from the most senior position – directly below rectors and vice-rectors).

deans of faculties. Middle management includes the positions of vice-deans of faculties and heads of departments (see Table 5.2).

Secondly, the sample included women who held comparable positions in both Mongolian public and private universities. This was helpful to systematically investigate the logics of practice in the Mongolian university field.

Finally, the sample included women who were at less risk of being identified in this study. Table 5.2 shows that there were only two women rectors and nine women vice-rectors in Mongolian public universities. This small number of women rectors and vice-rectors in Mongolian public universities meant they were in danger of being identified easily in this study.

Therefore, the sample of this study included women academic leaders who held positions of directors of academic units and deans of faculties in Mongolian public and private universities. Their positions are part of the senior management spectrum in Mongolian universities, are comparable with each other, and had less risk of exposure in both Mongolian public and private universities. Thus, the women academic leaders featured in this study were drawn from the positions of directors of academic units and deans of faculties. Further information about the participants of this study is discussed in the section of Data Collection below.

Research Methods

In feminist qualitative case studies, researchers are "not limited to one particular method", but instead use various methods; therefore, they are recommended to "select the method or methods most appropriate for their assumptions about the nature of social reality and the production of knowledge" (Wallace, 2010, p. 7). The commonly used methods are interviews and documents for data collection (DeVault & Gross, 2012), and thematic analysis and document analysis for data analysis (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2007; Hatch, 2002).

In particular, feminist qualitative interviews are commonly utilised in conjunction with document (textual) analysis in feminist qualitative studies. It is because feminist scholars consider that experiences and activities of a particular group are organised both locally and extra-locally. Thus,

it is important not only to explore local (personal) experiences of a particular group but also to examine "how they are connected with or 'hooked into' activities occurring elsewhere" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 21, 22). In this regard, feminist qualitative interviews help researchers to find out local experiences of a particular group, whereas documents explain "the complex and interlocking institutional formations that organise contemporary societies, putting in place 'ruling relations' that reach into [women's] daily (and nightly) activity" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 22). Accordingly, this study utilised feminist qualitative interviews and secondary data documents for data collection.

These data were analysed by the methods of thematic analysis and document analysis. Thematic analysis is commonly used for feminist qualitative studies because it offers greater "flexibility—not simply theoretical flexibility, but flexibility in terms of research question, sample size and constitution, data collection method" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). A technique of document analysis, i.e., "engagement of literature", is commonly used in feminist qualitative studies (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). This technique helps researchers to look beyond women's local experiences to understand factors that have influenced and shaped women's experiences and activities (DeVault & Gross, 2012).

In addition, feminist qualitative interviews are "never matters solely related to collecting, analysing, or presenting data. Instead, they are modes of thought and action that continually inform these mutually constitutive stages of the research process" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 6). Accordingly, I utilised several feminist qualitative interview techniques in the process of both data collection and data analysis in this study. The techniques included having cultural and contextual understandings of participants; building rapport and keeping collective interests with participants; being attentive to power relations; delivering women's voices openly; active listening; and being reflexive of data (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Olesen, 2018). In the following sections, I discuss how I implemented the methods of data collection and data analysis, and how I utilised the techniques for the purposes of this study.

Data Collection

Feminist qualitative interviews aim "to find the social power structure … to discover the truth" in order to contribute to social justice (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 119). In this regard, "open-ended, semi-structured" questions are commonly used in these interviews (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 6). Open-ended questions allow research participants to deliver their voices openly and freely, whereas semi-structured questions are helpful to cover necessary topics in accord with the researcher's theoretical framework (Cohen et al., 2007; DeVault & Gross, 2012). Therefore, open-ended, semi-structured questions allow feminist qualitative interviews to "gather data on the more intangible aspects of the [institution's] culture" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 97). This study utilised feminist qualitative interviews with open-ended, semi-structured questions for data collection. Table 5.3 outlines the interview questions used, and how they were interconnected with Bourdieu's conceptual tools. In the following sections, I discuss how I collected data for this study.

Table 5.3

Interview Questions and Bourdieu's Conceptual Tools

#	Interview questions	Bourdieu's conceptual tools
1	Tell me about yourself, your background and any key influences in your life.	Habitus and capital
2	How did you come to pursue a path into higher education? Were there any people and/or critical incidents that were important in shaping this path into higher education? Tell me about this.	Field, habitus, and capital
3	Tell me about how you came into this position. Were there any people and/or critical incidents that were important for you in reaching this position?	Field, habitus, and capital
4	What do you understand leadership to mean?	Field and habitus
5	What do you see as the most important opportunities and obstacles/challenges that you face in this position?	Field, habitus, and capital

	What can these opportunities and obstacles/challenges be attributed to? (For example, your gender, your background, your class, the positions themselves or other factors?). Can you give an example to illustrate?	
6	What do you see as the main responsibilities of your role? Do you feel any added responsibility/pressure because you are a female in this role? If so, how does such pressure operate and influence your actions in your current role? Is this pressure similar or different to what you experienced past positions of responsibility you have held?	Field, habitus, and capital
7	In your current position, have you attempted to make changes within your institution? If so, could you give some examples of these changes and how they have worked out? Do you feel it is important to work within institutions as they stand in order to bring about change, or are there other ways of achieving change?	Field, habitus, and capital
8	Statistics show that women are under-represented in higher educational leadership in Mongolia in public universities in particular, but less so in private universities. What is your opinion about this?	Field and capital
9	Do you have any interest or passion to contribute to changing the current leadership practices in higher education in Mongolia? If yes, what would it be and why?	Field, habitus, and capital
10	What would you suggest for future leaders in higher education in Mongolia? Particularly for women?	Field and capital
11	An opportunity for you to add extra information or thoughts.	Field, habitus, and capital

Approaching participants. When approaching my research participants, I utilised my social networks in Mongolia, including colleagues, family members, and friends, to initiate communication with potential participants. I informed my social networks about the criteria of my purposive sampling (e.g., women academic leaders at senior management at public and private universities). Because I worked as an academic in the Mongolian university sector for eight years, I had accrued some social capital in the sector. Thus, academic contacts within my social networks introduced my study to potential participants from their social networks and gauged their interest.

This approach is known as *танилын хүрээ (tanilyn khuree)* in Mongolian, meaning *circles of acquaintances.* The approach is commonly used for initiating and building connections for business and work purposes—not only in Mongolia but also in East Asian countries. For instance, it is known in "Chinese as guanxi. Japanese … as kankei; Koreans, kwankye" (Yeung & Tung, 1996, p. 54).

Although it is sometimes criticised as a manipulative approach in the global North, Yeung and Tung (1996) note that this approach has "a special significance in Confucian societies [where] 'who you know is more important than what you know'" (p. 54). Similarly, it is an ordinary practice in Mongolia, and can serve as an ethical approach in certain situations. For example, this approach allowed my potential research participants to learn introductory information about my study as well as myself before meeting me in person. It was also helpful for them to make the decision to participate by themselves without having any discomfort, or direct communication with me as the researcher. Therefore, this approach was consistent with feminist qualitative interview techniques of building rapport and keeping collective interests with participants. Feminist researchers are advised to be committed to "finding and acknowledging common ground with participants" in order to build rapport with them (DeVault & Gross, 2012).

In addition, this approach was particularly necessary in the Mongolian cultural context inhabited by my participants, and was consistent with a feminist qualitative interview technique of having cultural and contextual understandings of participants. It is because Mongolians consider that it is crucial to maintain their reputations, as people tend to know each other due to Mongolia's small population. For instance, in the Mongolian business sector, Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017) emphasise that "it is very important for every Mongolian businessman to maintain their reputation" because "representatives of Mongolian business know each other well, since Mongolia's population is small (3 million), and its large business structure is concentrated in Ulaanbaatar" (p. 21). Thus, this approach was in line with feminist qualitative methodology, which is "highly diversified, contentious, dynamic and challenging" (Olesen, 2018, p. 151).

Recruiting participants. After I was recommended to some potential participants, I contacted them personally. According to my purposive sampling in this study, I contacted six women academic leaders from public universities (the sample was five), and three from private universities (the sample was three). I talked to some of them on the phone and texted with others, as some people in Mongolia prefer written communication to oral communication. In this process, I briefly introduced

my study and myself, and asked if the participants had five minutes to meet with me in person. I told them that I intended to deliver my research documents, including the explanatory statement of the study, consent form, and interview questions. Once I received their permission, I went to their offices, introduced my study and myself in person again, and handed them my research documents. During the meetings, I informed the participants about my research goals, contents, settings (e.g. voice recording), and their roles in my study (Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012). After the meetings, I handed the participants my research documents and asked them to spend some time reading them before they decided whether they wanted to participate in my study. I said I would contact them a week after the meeting in order to make an appointment for the interview (if they decided to participate). If they did agree to participate, I advised each participant to choose a suitable time and place for their interview, with the aim of making them as comfortable as possible (Cohen et al., 2007). There were three basic intentions for those *in advance* meetings, according to the practice in Mongolia.

1. My potential research participants received introductory information about myself from my referees; therefore, the initial meetings were helpful for them to make the decision to participate themselves, after talking to me in person.
2. They had an opportunity to ask me about my study and myself, and ask any questions about my research documents, thus allowing them to make their decision rationally and objectively.
3. Because we had met and talked to each other in person during these meetings, it was comfortable for us to meet for a second time and conduct our interviews, which was the main goal of our conversations (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this regard, this approach was also consistent with feminist qualitative interview techniques of building rapport and keeping collective interests with participants, as well as having cultural and contextual understandings of participants (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017) note that “getting to know each other informally over drinks or a meal is common practice and a good way to establish relationships. The common characteristics for Mongolian and other Asian cultures is high

context" (p. 21). Thus, "intuition and the situation, as well as traditions, play an important role in interpersonal relations" (Lepeyko & Gavaa, 2017, p. 21), which allowed my participants to make their decisions. After the initial meetings, one of my potential participants (at a public university) ceased communication with me. This was a polite way to express her decision not to participate in my study. As such, she was an example of how my in advance meetings helped my potential research participants to make their decision rationally, objectively, sensibly, and intuitively.

In the end, I conducted interviews with eight women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field—five from public universities and three from private universities. Their occupations and pseudonyms are shown in Table 5.4. With regard to the five women academic leaders at Mongolian public universities, three of them were in the positions of directors of academic units and two of them were in the positions of deans of faculties. All three women at Mongolian private universities were in the positions of deans of faculties. As discussed previously, the concepts of senior management and middle management are very new to Mongolian higher education; however, typically, in the current field of Mongolian higher education, senior management incorporates the positions of rectors, vice-rectors, directors of academic units, and deans of faculties. Therefore, the women academic leaders featured in this study were drawn from the positions, which were included in this senior management spectrum.

Table 5.4

Cases of This Study

Case	Subfield	Occupation	Pseudonym
1	Public	Director of an administrative unit	Gegeen
2		Dean of a faculty	Iveel
3		Dean of a faculty	Maral
4		Director of an administrative unit	Ankhil
5		Director of an administrative unit	Khaliun
6	Private	Dean of a faculty	Saruul
7		Dean of a faculty	Bulgan
8		Dean of a faculty	Gerel

When recruiting participants in my study, I gained their consent by informing them about the study's goals, contents, and settings. In this process, they were given the right to protect their privacy (e.g. to not participate in my study, or not respond to my questions). In addition, I used pseudonyms and general terms for their names, titles, and institutions in order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality (Creswell, 2014).

Conducting interviews. During our in advance meetings, I handed my research participants my interview questions in order to provide them with some early warning about the content of the interviews. This proved helpful, allowing them to organise their thoughts before the interviews. Therefore, it was important for me to conduct the interviews by employing a feminist qualitative interview technique of active listening (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012). Active listening is "more than just physically hearing or reading; rather, it is [about] not only taking in information via speech, written words, or signs but also actively processing it" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 16, 17). Thus, during the interviews, I changed my questions and asked new and more in-depth questions according to my participants' responses. In this way, this approach helped me to hear what my participants wanted to recount in this study.

In addition, I also decided not to push my research participants to respond in particular ways, because uncovering and exposing their voices openly and freely was fundamental to this study. This was also consistent with feminist qualitative interview techniques of being attentive to power relations, encouraging greater openness for women's voices, and active listening (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Olesen, 2018). At the end of each interview, I also asked if there was anything they would like to add. In this way, I attempted to open up participants' voices, which in turn helped me to create knowledge *for* rather than *about* the women I studied (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 20).

Moreover, as it was a feminist qualitative study, I tried to build a conscious awareness of gender issues (DeVault and Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Olesen, 2018). At the end of each interview, I shared some information and knowledge on how women in different countries

collectively exercise their power for gender equity and women's empowerment. For instance, I mentioned how institutional policies and practices support equal employment opportunities in higher education in several countries. I hoped it would be helpful for some of my participants to build their gender awareness knowledge, and work as change agents in their institutions of their own accord.

Collecting documents. As noted previously, feminist qualitative interviews are commonly used in conjunction with documents in feminist qualitative studies (DeVault and Gross, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2007). Documents "enter the social field as receptacles (of instructions, obligations, contracts, wishes, reports, etc.) [as well as] as agents in their own right" (Prior, 2008, p. 230). A document is defined as "a text-based file that may include primary data ... or secondary data ... as well as photographs, charts, and other visual materials" (Schensul, 2008, p. 232). Primary data is "collected by the researcher", whereas secondary data is "collected and archived or published by others" (Schensul, 2008, p. 232). Secondary data documents are "important in describing the historical background and current situation in a community or country where the research is being conducted" (Schensul, 2008, p. 232). In particular, secondary data documents help feminist researchers to look beyond women's local experiences, and understand the factors that "organise contemporary societies" and shape women's experiences (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 22). In this regard, I collected, used, and analysed extensive literature reviews and various kinds of secondary data documents in this study (e.g. reports, statistics, policy documents, legislations, and historical documents). Such documents provided this study with "another level of public narration" that existed beyond my participants' local experiences (Fitzgerald, 2007, p. 278). They were particularly helpful in Chapter Six, and were used to investigate the Mongolian university sector as a cultural field and unpack its historical foundation and structure, as well as its logic of practice in the field.

In this way, feminist qualitative interviews produced the primary data for this study, and secondary data documents were useful in providing further information or evidence regarding certain crucial statements and topics. In the following section, I discuss how these data were analysed.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was utilised for the feminist qualitative interview data, and document analysis was used for secondary data documents. These concepts are discussed below.

Thematic analysis. The main goal of thematic analysis is "to summarise the data content" and "to identify, and interpret, key … features of the data, guided by the research question" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). In this regard, thematic analysis was conducted in this study through the consideration of recommendations and guidance provided by Braun and Clarke (2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest six main phases of thematic analysis. The manner in which I implemented these phases during the study are discussed below.

1. *Familiarising myself with the interview data.* Thematic analysis "provides accessible and systematic procedures for generating codes and themes from qualitative data" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). Codes are "the smallest units of analysis that capture interesting features of the data", and themes are "larger patterns of meaning, underpinned by a central organising concept" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). Accordingly, an initial step of conducting thematic analysis is to become "familiar with the depth and breadth of the content" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). As I conducted my interviews with the women academic leaders in Mongolia, I initially transcribed these interviews in the same language. I subsequently translated the interviews from Mongolian into English. This transcription and translation process took approximately five months. Consequently, by the time I started the data analysis, I had already familiarised myself fully with the interview data. Importantly, this long process of transcription and translation—particularly the translation process, which necessitated constant thought about the meanings of words and sentences from the interviews—ensured that I had already started to generate initial codes and themes of the data in my mind.
2. *Generating initial codes.* As noted previously, in qualitative studies, inductive reasoning is suggested if researchers intend "to extend existing theory into a new setting or to develop understanding and theory where none currently exists" (Fox, 2008, p. 430). Inductive

reasoning is particularly crucial for feminist qualitative studies because they aim to create knowledge *for* rather than *about* women, which further "create[s] change to the benefit of those oppressed by power" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 114). Therefore, this study adopted an inductive approach, as it is a foundational study for the context of women and academic leadership in Mongolia, and aims to create new knowledge for women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field. As such, I utilised an inductive thematic approach rather than a theoretical thematic approach in this phase of the data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach is known to be a useful method for "investigating an under-researched area, or ... working with participants whose views on the topic are not known" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). I developed codes from data by using inductive reasoning that were "systematically tested against fresh data to progressively develop [themes and larger themes]" (Fox, 2008, p. 432). In this way, I generated the initial codes that were "strongly linked to the data themselves" for each women academic leader in this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83).

3. *Searching for themes (themes for each women academic leader in this study).* Based on the initial codes, I built initial themes for each women academic leader who was examined for the purposes of this study. During this process, I prepared both "a rich thematic description" of my data set, and "a more detailed and nuanced account of one particular theme ... within the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83).
4. *Reviewing themes (comparisons of the themes).* This phase of the analysis provided me with "a rich thematic description of [the] entire data set [and] a sense of the predominant or important themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). Comparisons of the themes—comparing, contrasting, and connecting the themes—at different levels were conducted in this phase (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Firstly, I did comparisons of the themes within each case—comparisons of the influences that shaped the women academic leaders' habitus (their pasts and present). Secondly, I did comparisons of the themes between the cases— comparisons of the women academic leaders' habitus with each other. Thirdly, I conducted comparisons of

the themes across the university types— comparisons of the women academic leaders' habitus with regard to their university types (public and private universities). In this way, I found many similarities and differences in the women academic leaders' habitus, and those depending on their university types. For example, I found similar patterns in the interviews of the women academic leaders from public universities (e.g. government involvement in public universities through political appointments of senior leaders).

5. *Defining and naming themes (revisiting, rethinking, and revising the themes).* During this phase, I needed to rethink and revise my key themes several times. I also needed to reconsider the research questions, as well as the theoretical framework of the study—Bourdieu's conceptual tools. Therefore, during this phase, I developed my key themes at a latent level in order to "identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations—and ideologies—that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). Thus, the key themes involved "interpretative work, and the analysis that is produced is not just description, but is already theorised" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84).
6. *Producing the report (writing the findings chapters).* "Writing is an integral part of analysis, not something that takes place at the end" because "analysis involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data ... and the analysis of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). Therefore, the process of writing the findings chapters of this thesis further developed and strengthened the findings of this study. In this process, I considered feminist qualitative interview techniques of assisting women's voices to be heard and being attentive to power relations between me as the researcher and my participants (Cohen et al., 2007; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Olesen, 2018). I honoured my participants' voices by quoting them often in this study. However, during this phase, I also considered other feminist qualitative interview techniques including having cultural and contextual understandings, active listening, and being reflexive of the data. These techniques helped me

to “be attentive to histories, experiences, and perspectives that [were] unnoticed, unfamiliar, or too easily neglected or misrepresented” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 17, 20). In addition, these techniques helped me to understand that my participants’ stories were not “straightforwardly a source of truth” because “both telling and listening are shaped by discursive histories” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 9, 10). As such, extensive literature reviews (see Chapter Three, as well as the findings chapters) and secondary data documents provided additional information and evidence for this study. By being reflexive of these forms of data, I examined “the discourses at play and the subject ‘positions’ constructed by those discourses” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 9). For example, in Chapter Eight, I interrogated some of my participants’ perception that “gender was not an issue in leadership” through using a range of feminist and Bourdieuian theoretical insights. It was because I found out that some of my participants were not perceptive of how the patriarchal representation of the state and its education system in Mongolia helped to at least indirectly shape women’s academic leadership habitus. Therefore, using these theoretical insights during this phase of the analysis developed and strengthened the findings of this study.

Moreover, in the process of the analysis, I utilised online interactions through emails with my participants in order to conduct member checking of transcripts and carry out follow-up interviews on points that initial analysis revealed required further investigation (Olesen, 2018). This was consistent with techniques of member checking and follow-up interviews (Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Gray, 2014). Due to global and transnational practices, online interaction has become a new approach for data collection, and is commonly used for follow-up interviews (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Firstly, I sent my participants their interview transcripts in order to validate the contents of the data in this study (Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Gray, 2014). This was helpful for my participants, as it gave them an opportunity to make sure I was using their voices accurately, and had deleted any confidential or personal information. Next, I sent some of my participants follow up emails to acquire further information on certain topics that they had not discussed—or that other

women had discussed, but their interviews had missed. This type of follow-up interview facilitated a proper data analysis process for this study. Finally, I sent my participants an initial draft of my research findings. In particular, this process was in line with feminist qualitative interview techniques of building rapport and keeping collective interests with participants.

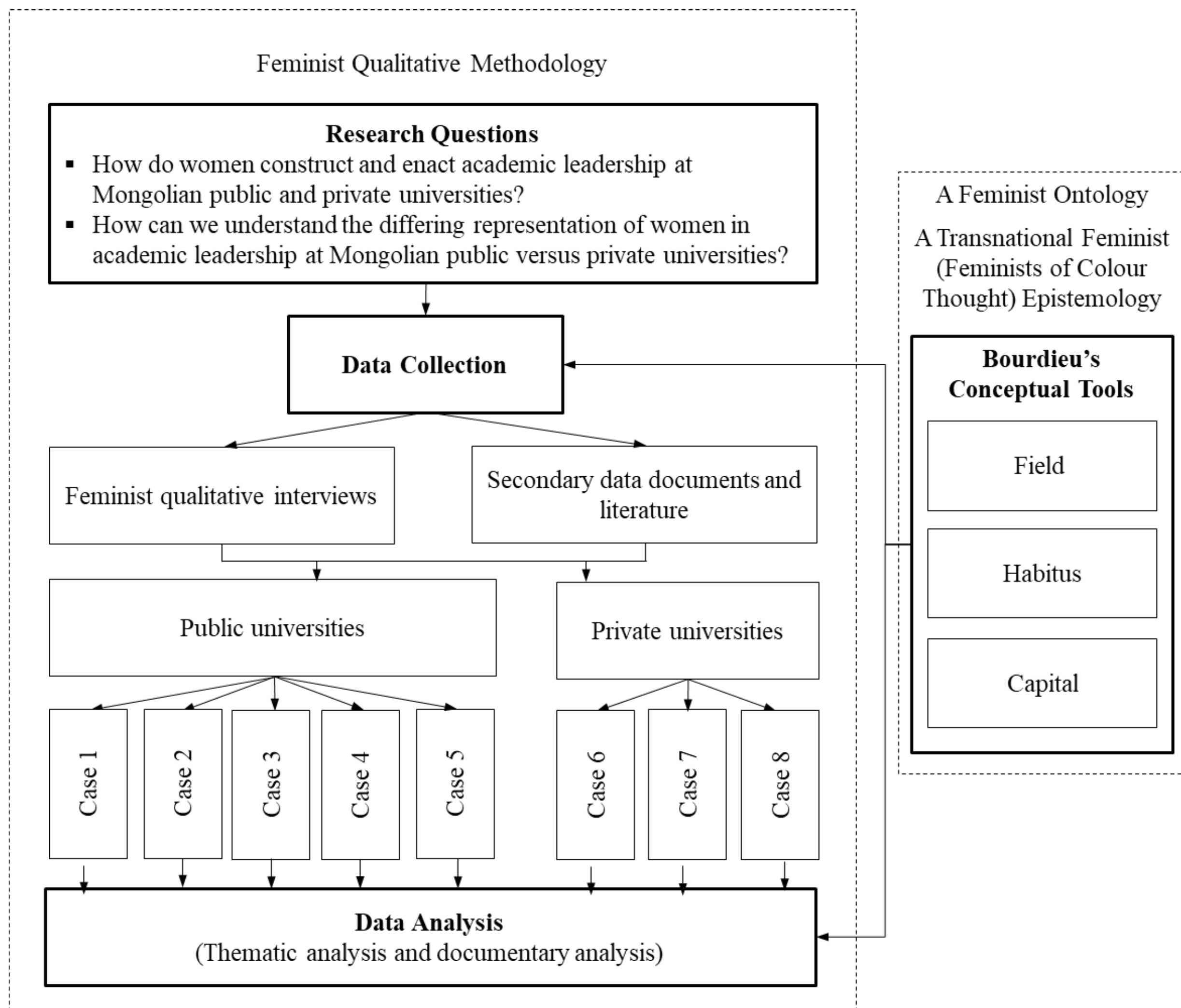
Document analysis. In the process of document analysis, secondary data documents were utilised and analysed as "engagement of literature" in this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). In other words, a simple technique was utilised in the process of analysing documents, as this study utilised an inductive approach. Scholars argue that "a more inductive approach would be enhanced by not engaging with literature in the early stages of analysis" and "engagement with the literature can enhance [the] analysis by sensitising [it] to more subtle features of the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86).

In addition, some of the secondary data documents in this study were historical documents; therefore, biases, subjectivities, and goals in the production of these documents were considered in the analysis process. Scholars suggest that "documents as agents are always open to manipulation by others ... what is written is inextricably locked into what is done" (Prior, 2008, p. 231). Thus, "three specific moments of documentation in social action: moments of production, consumption (or use), and circulation" were considered in the analysis process of the secondary data documents and historical documents used for this study (Prior, 2008, p. 231).

In particular, as it is a feminist qualitative study that aims to create knowledge for the women academic leaders in this study, it was crucial to adopt a feminist qualitative interview technique of being reflexive of the data. Feminist research rejects "the idea that social realities are simply 'there' for researchers to find. Instead … social contexts of people's lives [are] historically situated and constituted through people's activities" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 5). Therefore, I was reflective of the potential biases, subjectivities, and goals in the production of the secondary data documents that were utilised in this study as noted, for example, on page 112. The detailed research design process of this study is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1

Research Design Process of This Study



The preceding sections of this study have demonstrated that this study commenced with research questions, then designed a research process, and finally collected, analysed and interpreted the data. The study is a feminist qualitative comparative case study, which investigated the logics of practice in relation to the production and reproduction of gender relations in the Mongolian university field. The following chapters this in relation to:

- how power and patriarchy have been produced and reproduced in the Mongolian university field;
- how gender matters in terms of the rules of the game; and
- how women have constructed and enacted particular kinds of academic leadership practices at public and private universities in Mongolia.

This investigation process was conducted through an inductive approach with the help of feminist qualitative methodology, transnational feminist epistemology, and Bourdieu's conceptual tools. This study utilised the methods of feminist qualitative interviews, secondary data documents, thematic analysis, and document analysis. I now turn to discuss the question of ethics in relation to the conduct of this study.

Ethical Conduct

This study was considered low risk, and approved by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. The approval number is 11,283; the certificate is attached as Appendix I.

There are various terms that qualitative and quantitative studies utilise in the current literature; for example, qualitative terms of "transferability, credibility, dependability, and confirmability", as opposed to quantitative terms of "generalisability, internal validity, reliability, and objectivity" (Given, 2008, p. 895). In particular, trustworthiness is a preferred term in qualitative studies, as well as in feminist qualitative studies (Creswell, 2014; Olesen, 2018), and which ensures "findings and interpretations are accurate" (Creswell, 2014, p. 258). Trustworthiness is also called validity (Olesen, 2018) and accountability (DeVault & Gross, 2012) in feminist qualitative studies. In addition, the terms ethics, ethical concerns, and ethical conduct are commonly used in feminist qualitative studies (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Intemann, 2012; Olesen, 2018). Feminist scholars consider that "ethical conduct is not just a procedural matter but also involves the substance of the research–questions … interpretations … allegiance" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 30). Thus, this study utilised the terms ethical conduct and validity, which were interconnected concepts in this study. In other words, ethical conduct ensured validity of this study. How I conducted these concepts in this study are discussed in the following parts of this section, in terms of confidentiality, the politics of representation, and the validity of this study (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Given, 2008; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Intemann, 2012; Olesen, 2018).

Confidentiality. In order to maintain ethics in this study, I protected my participants' privacy (Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Gray, 2014; Olesen, 2018). Mongolia is a small country with a population of only three million, and there was a risk that my participants could be easily identifiable. In order to protect their privacy, firstly, I informed my participants about my research goals, contents, and settings (e.g. voice recording), and shared my research documents with them, such as the explanatory statement of the study, consent form, and interview questions (Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012). In this way, I received their informed consent to participate in this study (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Olesen, 2018).

Secondly, I used pseudonyms and hid their identifiable information (e.g. academic disciplines and units) to protect their privacy (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Olesen, 2018). For example, in Chapter Eight, I use general terms for the participants' academic disciplines (i.e. humanities, social sciences, applied sciences, and natural sciences) rather than more discipline specific terms that could reveal their identities. In addition, in the quotes used in the findings chapters, I delete any identifiable information, substitute [X], and explain that "the information was deleted in order to maintain her anonymity". Overall, I was careful to minimise any exposure risk throughout my research process.

Politics of representation. As noted in Chapter Four, I am an inbetweener— both an insider and outsider—to this study (DeVault and Gross, 2012; Milligan, 2016; Olesen, 2018). As an *insider* to both Mongolia and the Mongolian university sector (I have worked as a lecturer at a private university), I bring a deep knowledge and understandings about my participants' "contexts and the histories", and was able to "analyse and present interview material with an eye to [their] historical context" (DeVault and Gross, 2012, p. 32). This subject location also meant that I was able to consider my participants "as agents [not victims] in their own lives" (DeVault and Gross, 2012, p. 33). In this way, my insider status was helpful for me to follow transnational feminism—the epistemology of my study, and recognise that "multiple identities and subjectivities are constructed in particular historical and social contexts" (Olesen, 2018, p. 152). In addition, my insider status was helpful for me to explore the Mongolian university field as a new terrain, find culturally appropriate research

approaches to this terrain, and suggest new approaches to the current literature on feminist qualitative methodology (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Olesen, 2018). For example, in the section of Data Collection (see page 100), I discussed how I utilised an approach of *танилын хүрээ (tanilyn khuree)* in Mongolian, meaning *circles of acquaintances* to initiate and build connections with my participants. I also explained why I arranged *in advance* meetings with my participants before the interviews (see page 102).

My *outsider* status was also helpful in this study. As noted previously, I have not served in an academic leadership position in the Mongolian university field, and have not attended or worked at a Mongolian public university. In particular, I was not an employee at my participants' organisations; therefore, power relations arising from hierarchical positions and institutional formations were less of a risk in my study. Thus, my outsider status to this study allowed me to be attentive to power relations, and avoid "hierarchical power relations" between me as the researcher and my participants according to feminist research methodology (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 15).

All these advantages that came with my inbetweener status—both an insider and outsider—to this study have helped me to surface subjugated knowledges and create new knowledge for and with women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field. However, my status also came with the potential for bias in this study (Acker, 2000, Creswell, 2014; DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Olesen, 2018). How I managed these risks is discussed in the following part.

Validity. The notion of validity refers to whether "the research findings accurately represent the phenomenon" (Bush, 2007, p. 98), or if "the interpretations and findings match the data" (Given, 2008, p. 895). The techniques of member checking, eliciting women's voices, active listening, reflexivity, external audit, and peer support reduced the potential for bias and increased the validity of this study (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Milligan, 2016; Olesen, 2018; Wallace, 2010; Young, 2003). How I conducted all these are interrogated below.

Member checking. This was consistent with feminist qualitative interview techniques of building rapport and keeping collective interests with participants (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Olesen, 2018). As noted previously, firstly, I sent my participants their interview transcripts in order to validate the contents of the data in this study. This was helpful for my participants, as it gave them an opportunity to make sure I was using their voices accurately, and had deleted any confidential or personal information. Next, after conducting initial analysis, I sent some of my participants follow up emails to acquire further information on certain topics that they had not discussed—or that other participants had discussed, but their interviews had missed. Finally, I sent my participants an initial draft of my research findings to elicit their feedback. In this way, I conducted "a collaborative moment of making knowledge" for the women academic leaders in the Mongolian university field (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 15), which increased the validity of this study.

Women's voices. Feminist scholars have "long worried ... how to avoid exploiting or distorting women's voices" (Olesen, 2018, p. 160). To ensure I captured the women's voices, I quoted them frequently in the study in this study (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Milligan, 2016; Olesen, 2018). This helped me to "avoid exploiting or distorting" my participants' voices (Olesen, 2018, p. 160). This was consistent with feminist qualitative interview techniques of delivering women's voices openly and being attentive to power relations. In particular, as this was a comparative case study, my participants delivered multiple voices and multiple truths in this study (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Gray, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Olesen, 2018; Wallace, 2010). For example, in Chapter Eight, I discuss participants' different perceptions of gender in leadership employing their multiple voices. For instance, five of the eight participants (coming from both public and private universities) thought that "gender was not an issue in leadership" while three argued that "gender was an issue in leadership" (representing both public and private universities). Their differential perceptions and reflections are investigated and interrogated in depth in Chapter Eight. Therefore, this collaborative process of hearing and presenting multiple voices increased the validity of this study.

Active listening and reflexivity. I also considered other techniques of active listening and reflexivity in this study (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Milligan, 2016; Olesen, 2018; Young, 2003). It was because my participants' stories were not "straightforwardly a source of truth" because "both telling and listening are shaped by discursive histories" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 9, 10). As such, extensive literature reviews (see Chapter Three, as well as the findings chapters) and secondary data documents provided additional evidence and explanations for this study. My reflections on these forms of data, as well as my reflections on my subject location as the researcher (Chapter Four) and my research perspectives, methods, and tools (Chapters Four and Five) increased the validity of this study.

External audits and peer support. My research milestone panel's feedback[17] and thesis examiners' feedback[18] constituted external audits of this study. For example, according to my first milestone panel's feedback, I added some interview questions to capture my participants' career trajectories. This was helpful to investigate the logics of (gender and academic leadership) practices in the Mongolian university field systematically. The findings regarding participants' career trajectories are interrogated in Chapter Seven. In addition, feedback from my colleagues and friends on my milestone presentations and comments on conference presentations[19] formed peer support of this study. Therefore, external audits and peer support also increased the validity of this study (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014; Gray, 2014). In particular, this process fulfilled the role of following practices of certain scientific communities in order to increase the validity of this study (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Intemann, 2012).

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[17] I have had three milestones during my candidature: confirmation, progress review, and final review. Each milestone had three examiners who were experts in this field and who provided me with both verbal and written feedback.

[18] I have had two thesis examiners who were experts in this field.

[19] I participated and presented my study at four international conferences during my candidature: MERC Conference 2017 at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia; AARE 2017 (Australian Association for Research in Education) in Canberra, Australia; AARE 2018 in Sydney, Australia; and NZARE 2019 (New Zealand Association for Research in Education) in Christchurch in New Zealand.

In this chapter, I provided detailed explanations of the research design, methods, and ethical conduct in this study. The additional research documents, such as the explanatory statement (in English and Mongolian), consent form (in English and Mongolian), and case protocol (in Mongolian), are attached as appendices in this thesis (see Appendices F, G, and H).

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that this study explored the phenomenon of women and academic leadership in the Mongolian university field through an inductive approach. As such, this study is a feminist qualitative comparative case study. Cases denoted eight women academic leaders at senior management: five from public universities and three from private universities in Mongolia. The cases were compared, contrasted, and connected at different levels according to Bartlett and Vavrus (2017)'s approach: 1. Traversal comparisons of the themes within each case—comparisons of the influences that shaped the women academic leaders' habitus, 2. Horizontal comparisons of the themes between the cases—comparisons of the women academic leaders' habitus with each other, and 3. Vertical comparisons of the themes across the university types—comparisons of the women academic leaders' habitus with regard to their university types (public and private universities).

In terms of method, this study utilised feminist qualitative interviews and secondary data documents for data collection, and thematic analysis and document analysis for data analysis. In this process, the research questions, feminist qualitative methodology, and Bourdieu's conceptual tools were all considered. In addition, several techniques were utilised to implement ethical conduct and ensure the validity of this study.

In order to situate the findings of this study, I now move on to the contextual chapter of this study: *The Mongolian University Sector as a Cultural Field.*

Chapter Six

The Mongolian University Sector as a Cultural Field

Introduction

Chapter Four set out the theoretical framework for this thesis, explicating Bourdieu's conceptual tools (i.e., field, habitus, and capital) as a means through which to conceptualise this study of women and academic leadership at public and private universities in Mongolia. As the Mongolian university sector has been rarely studied and its historical and current formations may not be known to those outside East Asia, this chapter provides an overview of the Mongolian university field and in so doing, also maps gender implications in Mongolia throughout the twentieth century.

This chapter draws on Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field and capital in order to situate and contextualise the subsequent findings chapters. Bourdieu himself (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) notes the importance of conducting a historical analysis in order to study a cultural field, stating that:

> We cannot grasp the dynamics of a field if not by a synchronic analysis of its structure and, simultaneously, we cannot grasp this structure without historical, that is, genetic analysis of its constitution and of the tensions that exist between positions in it, as well as between this field and other fields, and especially the field of power. (p. 90)

Thus, this chapter attempts a historical analysis of the university field and its structure, transformation and interaction with other dominant fields in Mongolia. In particular, it draws on Bourdieu's analysis of the formation and reproduction of state bureaucracies (Bourdieu, 1998a), which helpfully characterises Soviet era governments. In addition, this chapter draws upon his book section *The 'Soviet' Variant and Political Capital*, which examines the particularities of Soviet governments (Bourdieu, 1998b). These resources are drawn upon because they are very helpful in understanding how, in Soviet era Mongolia, higher education was formed and reproduced as a key part of the maintenance of the authority of the socialist government.

The chapter commences with a historical analysis of the Mongolian university field, followed by a genealogy of the field in the socialist and market economic eras. The former section examines the government field and the university field during the socialist era. The latter section discusses the government field, the business field, and the university field (and its subfields in the market economic era). Throughout each section, the position of women in relation to these fields is discussed. This chapter is organised thus: (a) A historical analysis of the Mongolian university field; (b) The socialist era; and (c) The market economic era.

A Historical Analysis of the Mongolian University Field

Bourdieu contends that cultural fields are dynamic, fluid, and complex, noting that:

> Every field constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are dynamic borders which are the stake of struggles within the field itself. A field is a game devoid of inventor and much more fluid and complex than any game that one might ever design. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104)

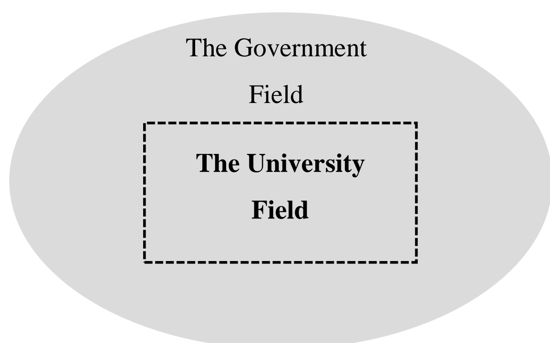
In this regard, the dynamism, fluidity, and complexity of the Mongolian university field can be captured via historical analysis, commencing with the field's inception. This occurred under a socialist regime which built the foundation of the university field in the twentieth century—a regime under which a number of the women academic leaders featured in this study were born and raised. The field underwent major transformations as Mongolia transitioned into a market economy, commencing in 1990. As such, the majority of the participants in this study have been *pioneers* of both eras (two received higher education during the socialist era and the rest—six—received higher education at the beginning of the market economic era). I now turn to a map of the genealogy of the university field, commencing with the socialist era and then moving into the market economic era.

The Socialist Era

Inspired by Bourdieu's technique of representing a social space visually (Bourdieu, 1996), an illustration of the socialist social space in Mongolia is shown below.

Figure 6.1

Socialist Era in Mongolia: Government Field and University Field



The government field. Bourdieu (1998b) addresses a significant distinction in Soviet countries, where state bureaucracies existed and constituted a form of political dynasties. He notes, therefore (Bourdieu, 1998b):

> Taking into account not only in positions in the hierarchy of political apparatuses (in the first place, that of the Socialist Party itself), but also the seniority of each agent and of his lineage among the political dynasties—would have no doubt enable us to construct a representation of social space capable of accounting for the distribution of powers and privilege, as well as of lifestyles. (p. 17)

Bourdieu (1998b) also states that such dynasties continued their power and privilege for generations and held a form of political capital, "which guarantees its holders a form of private appropriation of goods and public services (residences, cars, hospitals, schools, and so on)" (p. 16). Bourdieu (1998b) gives an example:

> As in the case of Scandinavian countries, a social-market economic "elite" has been in power for several generations; one then sees how the political type of social capital, acquired through the apparatus of the trade unions and the Labour Party, is transmitted through networks of family relations, leading to the constitution of true political dynasties. (p. 16)

Accordingly, a type of a political dynasty was formed in Mongolia during the socialist era, and created an elite class which consisted of high ranking officials of the Socialist party. The political dynasty in Mongolia therefore produced a bureaucratic, hierarchical apparatus to maintain their power and privilege, in which all high-ranking positions were appointed by the socialist government and supported the bureaucratic apparatus. Notably, power was in the hands of a group of men, and this state of affairs continued for generations in Mongolia. Therefore, not surprisingly, the government field of Mongolia was a bureaucratic institution during the socialist era.

In particular, in order to maintain its power and privilege, the government field "incarnates itself simultaneously in objectivity, in the form of specific organisational structures and mechanisms, and in subjectivity, in the form of mental structures and categories of perception and thought" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 40). In the case of objectivity, it built a structure through which it could exercise power over diverse fields, as such a structure was helpful for gaining and strengthening the statist capital easily. Bourdieu (1998a) notes:

> Concentration of the different species of capital ... leads indeed to the emergence of a specific, properly statist capital which enables the state to exercise power over the different fields and over the different particular species of capital, and especially over the rates of conversion between them. (p. 41)

In the case of subjectivity, the government created "mental structures and impose common principles of vision and division ... thereby [contributing] to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 46). In this regard, the university field is doubly important for the government field of Mongolia in the following two ways:

1. In terms of specific organisational structures and mechanisms (objectivity), university education contributes to strengthening the government's statist capital.
2. As a major element of mental structures and categories of perception and thought (subjectivity), university education constructs and reproduces the government's legitimacy by

producing and spreading particular forms of knowledge. For example, Marxist-Leninist ideologies were taught during socialism in order to spread socialist ideologies in the country.

Accordingly, the socialist government made a major effort to launch a socialist higher education system in Mongolia, and the university field was totally dependent on the government field (see the next section). Initially, the socialist government implemented educational reforms in order to create openness and maintain local culture and tradition. Teachers were well educated (i.e. studied in Russia, Japan, and China) and spoke foreign languages well (e.g. Russian, English, German, Japanese, and Chinese). In 1926, for instance, 170 secondary school students, including girls, went to study in Germany, France, and Russia. However, in 1933, the socialist government adopted the standardised education system of the Soviet Union, stopped its open-door policies, and immediately recalled Mongolian students from Western countries (Metropolitan Education Department, 2014). Therefore, this made the government field a more bureaucratic institution.

In terms of gender, the socialist government supported women's political involvement. Women were trained for politics and appointed into decision making positions. As a result, women's involvement reached 30 percent in high ranking positions, and 20 percent in the People's Great Hural[20] (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009). However, women's status and power did not have a strong impact on actual decision-making processes (Tseden, 2009). In particular, the socialist government's later policies aimed to reconstruct Mongolian women both "as workers and mothers" (Kay, 2007, p. 2). The following factors also contributed to this situation:

- From the 1950s, the socialist government initiated labour norms with regard to its centralised planning, thereby producing highly sex-segregated occupational preferences (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009). As a result, Mongolian women have participated mostly in *lighter* industry, services, and commercial organisations (Tseden, 2009).
- The socialist government implemented a policy to increase the population, therefore, Mongolian women reached their highest birth rate of the twentieth century between 1969 and

[20] The socialist government

1979 (Bumaa, 2001). Women were motivated to bear and raise many children by receiving honorary titles and medals known as *Maternal Glory*. In this regard, frequent pregnancies, maternal leave and childcare duties may have negatively affected women's jobs and work performance (Adiya, 2010).

Therefore, it could be argued that although Mongolian women participated in socialist society, their representation was more symbolic rather than actual in the government field. In particular, although the socialist government claimed a classless and equal society, it exercised its symbolic power over Mongolian women and constructed a gender division in its vision of socialist culture.

The university field. Prior to 1921, when it became a socialist country, Mongolia had only Buddhist teachings and infrequent home schooling. People did not have any understanding of or exposure to higher education (Bumaa, 2001; NUM, 2014). In particular, women were not educated at that time—except for a few women of the elite class, who attended home schooling (Tseden, 2009). Therefore, in order to establish a new regime in Mongolia and spread socialist ideologies and beliefs, the socialist government banned Buddhist teachings and established a whole new education system at the beginning of the 1920s. The first primary school was founded in 1921. The Ministry of People's Enlightenment was set up in 1924 to develop the education sector in Mongolia (Metropolitan Education Department, 2014). With the help of stated aim to build a classless and equal society, the socialist government supported gender equality in education (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009; World Bank, 2010). As a result, girls received equal rights with boys to attend schools; in 1931, 40 percent of all students attending school were female (Skapa & Benwell, 1996).

The first initiative to establish a university in Mongolia was made during the Tenth State Great Hural of the MPRP in 1940 (NUM, 2014). Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal—the general secretary of the MPRP, the Prime Minister of Mongolia and the Chairman of the Presidium of the State Great Hural—pioneered this decision and supported and administered the planning, development, and implementation process. As part of this process, professionals[21] from the Soviet Union were invited

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[21] Those who were qualified in the area, therefore, appointed by the Soviet Union.

to participate in the formation of Mongolia's first university. Accordingly, the National University of Mongolia was founded in 1942, with Pedagogy, Medicine, and Zoo-Veterinary faculties. The opening ceremony was held at the Lenin Club, and the honourable leaders of the ceremony were Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Khorloogiin Choibalsan, and Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal. The main slogans were Khorloogiin Choibalsan's, "*Courage is greatly needed. Courage, which is put forward to learn well can achieve everything",* and Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal's, "*The high product of labour needs to be foregrounded as exemplary in the front*[22] *of studying"* (NUM, 2014). The participation of the Soviet Union in setting up a university in Mongolia shows its major influence on the country—both ideologically and in terms of where state power lay.

In 1947, the Faculty of Social Sciences was established at the university, with the departments of Marxism-Leninism and Philosophy; Political Economy; and History. In addition, a Socialist Party's administrator position was created in order to increase the Party's involvement in the university. Its role was to administer and organise the Party's support for the university's development, and encourage students to have more patriotic and civilised viewpoints and disciplines that aligned more closely to the Party's agenda of building a successful socialist system in Mongolia (NUM, 2014). This demonstrates that a socialist and military culture dominated in the early history of the establishment of universities in Mongolia.

From the 1950s, the faculties of the original university started to separate into independent institutes and colleges. These (i.e., National University of Mongolia; Mongolian University of Science and Technology; Mongolian National University of Education; Mongolian University of Life Sciences; and Mongolian National University of Medical Sciences), in turn, became the top public universities in Mongolia (see Table 6.1) (UniRank, 2020). In order to define the Mongolian university ranking, UniRank (2020) used factors of accreditations, undergraduate and postgraduate programs, and course delivery modes (traditional or face-to-face formats). In addition, according to the MECSS (2017), these public universities had the highest number of students in the 2016-2017 school year,

[22] A military word was used to express the essence of studying.

e.g., the National University of Mongolia had 20,176 students. This indicates that all the top universities in Mongolia have the same origins—namely, in the socialist and military culture which dominated their foundation. These origins are reflected in the tight coupling that continues to this day between the government and public universities. For example, the government of the day decides who should be the administrator or rector to lead Mongolia's public universities, in contrast to liberal democracies in the global North where the rector or vice-rector is chosen by a committee with no government involvement. This practice of government appointment of the top university administrator in turn influences the choices and leadership practices of women leaders in public universities. This key point will be explored further in the following findings chapters.

Table 6.1

Institutes branched out from the National University of Mongolia

Year	Institute Name	Current Name
1951	Pedagogical Institute	Mongolian National University of Education
1958	Institute of Agriculture	Mongolian University of Life Sciences
1961	Medical Institute	Mongolian National University of Medical Sciences
1969	Poly-Technic Institute	Mongolian University of Science and Technology
1979	Institute of Russian Language	University of the Humanities (a private university)

Source: A History of the National University of Mongolia, by NUM, 2014.

Moreover, teaching was more highly valued in Mongolian higher education than research, because the higher education sector was developed separately from its research and technology sectors. Adopting Soviet-style centralised planning, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1961 in order to govern the research and technology sector (MAS, 2017). In this regard, research at higher education institutions became "a marginal resource for industrial and agricultural development, except for the crucial function as a supplier of educated manpower" (Baark, 1996, p. 194). As a result, during the socialist era, research was devalued and teaching was more highly valued at higher education institutions. The implications for current Mongolian university education are that

research and development produce minor income at public universities, and almost no income at private universities, and continue to be less valued. This is in contrast to liberal democratic universities in the global North, where the opposite tends to be true, and where research performance becomes "the pathway to promotion and academic seniority ... in the global research prestige economy of higher education" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 4). In turn, this has an impact on the women leaders' practices and career trajectories. Different kinds of capital rather than research performance were helpful for the women in this study to construct and enact their academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities. These forms of capital included cultural capital (knowledge, education, and work experiences), insider capital (graduates working at their graduated universities), and political capital (gaining appointments due to political connections) at public universities, and cultural capital, insider capital, and public university capital (public university work experiences) at private universities in Mongolia. These will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Seven.

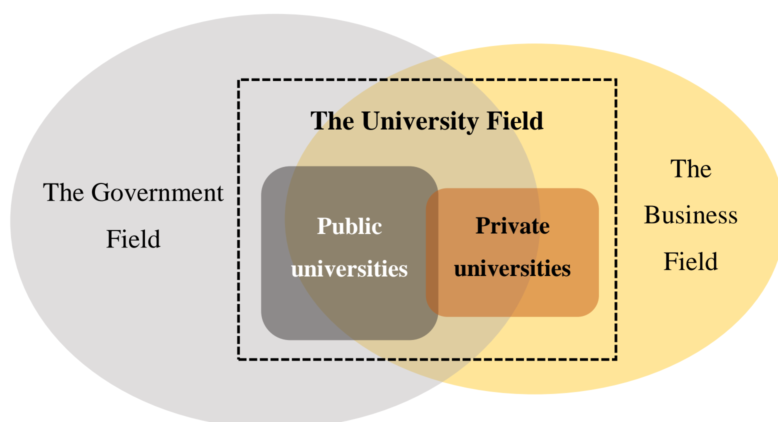
Governance. As noted previously, during socialism, higher education institutions in Mongolia were managed through centralised governance. The socialist government was the top authority, and the Ministry of Education (previously the Ministry of People's Enlightenment) was its authorised organisation. The socialist government, therefore, appointed ministers, who would further appoint rectors of higher education institutions. As such, higher education institutions were totally dependent on the goodwill of the ministry, government, and MPRP. Research suggests that the influence of this top-down and government-driven approach remains in Mongolian public universities today (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013). This has a considerable bearing on the kinds of leadership practices that are privileged in public universities. Perhaps not surprisingly, the university field was essentially governed by males during the socialist era. I now turn to mapping these interactions in the market economic era.

The Market Economic Era

In 1990, Mongolia transitioned from socialism into a market economy, thereby creating a new field of business/private sector. The university field—and its interactions with other dominant fields—changed completely. For instance, prior to the rise of the market economy, there was only one public university, a number of public higher education institutions, and no private sector institutions. However, during the market economic era, the first private higher education institution was established in 1992, and the number has increased sharply since then. In 2017, Mongolia had 13 public universities, 18 private universities and a number of higher education institutions (see Appendix C). This major shift is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2

Market Economic Era in Mongolia: University Field and Other Dominant Fields



In comparison to Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2 demonstrates that the business field is a relatively new addition, and has transformed interactions between the government field and the university field, establishing the new subfields of public and private universities. Although the business field has emerged quickly, it has not become as powerful as the government field in Mongolia—primarily due to the latter's long and powerful socialist history. Therefore, in Figure 6.2, the business field is drawn smaller and depicted as less powerful than the government field. Similarly, its subfield of private universities is smaller, and carries less symbolic capital than public universities.

The government field. Although Mongolia established a multi-party system in 1990 (elections are held every 4 years), the state bureaucracy has continued. Bourdieu (1998a) addresses the formation and reproduction of state bureaucracies in the following quote:

> The construction of the state proceeds apace with the construction of a field of power, defined as the space of play within which the holders of capital (of different species) struggle in particular for power over the state, that is, over the statist capital granting power over the different species of capital and over their reproduction (particularly through school system). (p. 42)

The state bureaucracy is reproduced because the government field produces "material or symbolic profits of universalisation" by exercising its legitimised power over a country (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 60). Accordingly, those who seek such profits join the government and create a bureaucratic structure—based, according to Bourdieu, on their "selfish (especially economic) interests", that is, the "private use of public services" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 59, 60). In this process, Bourdieu argues, they nominate themselves to government, institutionalise that government, and then produce all necessary discourses to legitimise their subsequent power and positions.

In this regard, seven different governments have been formed in Mongolia since 1990; however, these governments have implemented inconsistent policies in the university field (see Appendix J). This is because the two main political forces in Mongolia have long competed with each other for power, privilege, and profit. These two parties are:

- The MPRP (known as the Mongolian People's Party [MPP] since 2010): the oldest party in Mongolia, and a descendent of the socialist era government.
- Democratic parties: newer parties, which are a representation of democratic and liberal government, and which provide greater support for the private sector.

On the whole, the MPRP governments have implemented socialist-like centralised policies in the university sector, whereas the democratic governments have implemented more open and liberal policies, which favour the private sector. This shows that political forces in Mongolia competed to

either maintain or dismantle the power of the political dynasty at the beginning of the market economic era. However, since the 2000s, governments have competed to gain more power, privilege, and profit in the university field. Therefore, the government field has continued its bureaucratic power over the university field in Mongolia.

In terms of gender, women's status and their living standard decreased quickly at the beginning of the market economy, as did their political involvement (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009). Previous socialist policies for women were stopped in 1990, and the quality of social and childcare support was considerably reduced. In this regard, family burdens on women's shoulders increased. Subsidised society's childcare was returned to the private sphere, and was replaced by mothers and grandparents. It was noted that "whereas the previous system rewarded women with many children, the present system penalises them" (Skapa & Benwell, 1996, p. 139). Numerous NGOs were established in Mongolia in order to raise and solve gender issues (Tseden, 2009). However, these NGOs' legal enforcements have been weak, and financial difficulties have become a major challenge to implementing national policies on gender (Tseden, 2009).

In addition, a socialist quota system to stipulate women's involvement in government was thrown out in 1990 (Ginsburg & Ganzorig, 1996). As a result, "the nation's leadership elite has become conspicuously more male in composition" since the beginning of the market economy (Skapa & Benwell, 1996, p. 138). This is an issue that was raised and discussed for many years in Mongolia; however, it took 21 years for the government to take action and bring the old quota system back. The government added a provision in the Election Law in 2011, which states that a minimum of 20 percent of the candidates nominated by a party or coalition should be women (s. 27.2). Therefore, it can be concluded that women could not maintain even their symbolic participation in the government field during the market economic era; instead, they have been marginalised for many years.

The business field. The business field is a newer force in Mongolia in comparison to the government field, and it has developed the private sector and transformed the university field completely. For instance, the number of private higher education institutions has increased sharply since 1990. Several public higher education institutions were privatised, and many foreign branch schools were founded, at the beginning of the 2000s. As a result, competition has increased and transformed the rules of the game in the university field—from government only rules into government-and-business (for profit) rules. For example:

- A large number of private universities were founded, reaching 18 in 2017 (for a population of three million). In order to lower their costs, most of these institutions were in low cost fields (e.g. humanities and social sciences) (Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013).
- Tuition fees became a key source of income at both public and private universities. Consequently, the government started to control the cost of tuition in 1997. Nonetheless, both public and private universities increased their income by recruiting more students with low tuition fees (Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013; Okhidoi, 2016).
- An issue of university education quality was raised due to the large number of universities that had been created. Accordingly, an education accreditation organisation was founded in 1998, and implemented a policy to reduce the number of institutions in 2011. However, although the number of institutions has decreased, the number of students has increased (Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013). Thus, universities have continued to increase their income by recruiting more students with low tuition fees.

This shows that the business field has become an inseparable heteronomous force in the university field.

In terms of gender, the introduction of the private sector to Mongolia has caused many issues for women. When transitioning into a market economy, most industries—including many female-dominated industries of the socialist era, such as the light industry, services, and commercial

organisations—went bankrupt. In addition, discrimination based on gender, maternal responsibilities, age, and physical appearance became more prevalent in the labour market (Tseden, 2009). In this regard, women encountered unemployment issues, and it became difficult for women to find jobs, particularly young women or women with children (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009).

Facing more vulnerability in terms of unemployment, women have increased their education considerably since 1990. Nonetheless, their increased qualifications have not solved Mongolia's gender inequality issues. For example, most women continue to work in more *feminised* occupations—such as education, health, and tourism—and receive lower wages than men (Begzsuren & Aldar, 2014; Khan & Aslam, 2013). Importantly, women tend to work in service type jobs rather than managerial positions (Begzsuren and Aldar, 2014; Munkhbat et al., 2014; Skapa & Benwell, 1996). This makes the achievements of women's academic leadership all the more remarkable. The business field has created new, business-driven issues for women in Mongolia.

The university field and its subfields. The impact of the ongoing competition between the two political parties/coalitions has been harmful to the university field in Mongolia. For instance, in order to reinforce their power, privilege, and position in the university field, the political parties made significant changes to the Education Law and Higher Education Law in 1991, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2006, and 2016 (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008). For instance, they switched university governance legislation (see Appendix K) and university status (both public and private) between non-profit and profit several times (see Appendix L). As a consequence of this constant change and destabilisation, since the market economic era, the Mongolian university field has encountered significant issues: poor management and weak leadership; insufficient financing; low quality education and research; graduates' unemployment and skills mismatch; and unequal access to education (Batsukh, 2011; Yano, 2012).

In addition, interactions between the government field and the business field have created subfields in the Mongolian university field, and caused disparities at public and private universities. Bourdieu notes that "a field does not have parts, components. Every subfield has its own logic, rules,

and regularities, and each stage in division of a field entails a genuine qualitative leap" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104). In this regard, public universities tend to maintain their old rules or logic of practice with regard to the government field, albeit with some changes such as charging of tuition fees. Conversely, private universities have developed their own rules/logic of practice with the business field in mind. This phenomenon is made obvious by the major differences in their legal environments. For example, public universities are governed by Education Law and Higher Education Law, whereas the management of private universities is regulated by Company Law (Higher Education Law, s. 11.7) (see Appendix M for further details). The implications of this differential governance are discussed in the following sections.

Public universities—the government field. The vertical administration of socialist governance has been maintained at public universities. As such, public universities are highly dependent on the ministry, which in turn represents the government and ruling party. This dependence has been detrimental to these universities' management and operations; therefore, independence of public universities from government has become a major issue (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013; World Bank, 2010). The resulting problems include:

- *Inconsistent management.* Elections, government changes, and ministerial replacements impact detrimentally on public university management. For example, eight out of nine members of the NUM's Board of Trustees were replaced by the new government after the 2000 election. Similarly, seven out of nine were replaced in 2004 (Lkhamsuren, 2008).
- *Weak authority.* These changes in Board of Trustees after elections were not legal. The Education Law states that one third of Board of Trustees should be replaced every three years in order to provide a continuity of policy (s. 36.5). However, public universities are not powerful enough to enforce this legal provision (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008).

- *Poor financial independence.* Although management of public universities is highly dependent on the government, that same government grants them little financial support. In addition, although they have a non-profit status, their operations are not significantly different from private universities, which have either non-profit or profit status. For example, at public universities, tuition fees account for 95 percent of income, while their research and project income constitutes only 1–2 percent (Javzan, 2018).

As such, the top management of public universities is in the hands of a certain group of people (the government, ruling party, and the ministry). As a consequence, power accumulates in the top management tier of public universities, and the middle management has become a reporting body between top management and employees (Lkhamsuren, 2008). This has implications for women leaders in public universities, as they are underrepresented in top management and equally represented in middle management (see Table 6.2).

Private universities—the business field. Private universities experience freedom and authority than public universities (World Bank, 2010). In this regard, they have had more consistent management, primarily because their legal environment allowed them to be dependent on their owners. However, despite this independence, the quality of private university education has become a major issue. These universities have not produced much research, and have a higher number of part-time lecturers and a lower number of lecturers with doctorate degrees (15 percent at private universities vs. 24 percent at public universities) (World Bank, 2010). Notably, women are equally represented in senior management and over-represented in middle management in private universities. Table 6.2 shows *Statistics at Mongolian Public and Private Universities* and provides a snapshot of gender and seniority in Mongolian universities. As discussed in Chapter Five, typically, in the current field of Mongolian higher education, senior management incorporates the positions of rectors, vice-rectors, directors of academic units, and deans of faculties. However, in terms of the gendered dimensions of leadership, women remain significantly underrepresented in these roles in public universities compared to private universities, which have double the percentage of women in

these roles (see Table 6.2). In other words, men occupy these roles in public universities, whereas women occupy these roles in private universities. Therefore, this suggests that there is a gendered element in Mongolian universities regarding who occupies senior management roles. In this regard, diverging operations and the development of subfields in the Mongolian university field has created further conflict between public and private universities, which is discussed below.

Table 6.2

Statistics at Mongolian Public and Private Universities

	Public universities			Private universities		
	Number of employees	Number of women	% of women	Number of employees	Number of women	% of women
Rectors	13	2	15.4	20	11	55
Vice-rectors	37	9	24.3	33	14	42.4
Deans of faculties	59	20	33.9	29	19	65.5
Vice-deans of faculties	22	12	54.5	1	1	100
Head of departments	275	120	43.6	147	90	61.2
Fulltime lecturers	3,778	2,150	56.9	1,291	764	59.2
All employees	7,045	4,273	60.7	2,192	1,385	63.2

Source. "The 2016–2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector," by MECSS, 2017.

Symbolic domination in the university field. Although both public and private universities in Mongolia have faced diverse issues, public universities possess better reputations and greater cultural and symbolic capital due to their roots in the socialist era. They are considered more prestigious and first-class. In contrast, private universities have poorer reputations, lack the public universities' cultural and symbolic capital, and are considered second-class (Yano, 2012). These distinctions play out in this study. For example, a woman academic leader who was educated at a private university faced considerable hostility, snobbery, and opposition when she gained employment in a public university. In addition, these influences are borne out by contradictory statements made by some of

the participants in this study in relation to public and private universities (refer to Appendix N). Bourdieu addresses the differing weight that capital accrues:

> The forces that are active in the field—and thus selected by the analyst as pertinent because they produce the most relevant differences—are those which define the specific capital. A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field. It confers a power over the field, over the materialised or embodied instruments of production or reproduction whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field, and over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits engendered in in. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101)

Therefore, public universities produce much more capital (e.g. symbolic [prestige], economic, cultural [experience and expertise], and social [wider network] capital) in comparison to private universities. Essentially, public universities possess political capital, which has always been the most powerful capital, considering Mongolia is a former socialist country. Accordingly, agents have typically preferred to participate in public universities rather than private universities, and have produced discourse in favour of public universities. Consequently, public universities have assumed symbolic domination in the Mongolian university field. Importantly, women's academic leadership careers have been shaped differently at Mongolian public and private universities, which suggests a need to investigate the phenomenon further. The women academic leaders' career trajectories in the Mongolian university field are discussed in the following chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted a genealogy of the Mongolian university field, in which the women academic leaders featured in this study are situated. The chapter commenced with the field's inception in the socialist era (1921–1990) when the public universities were founded, and built their positions and logic of practice in the university field. The chapter then mapped the field's major transformations during the market economic era (since 1990), when private universities were established, and gained their positions and logic of practice in the field. In particular, the chapter revealed that public

universities produce much more capital than private universities, due primarily to their longer history and stronger position in the Mongolian university field. Therefore, public universities have assumed symbolic domination in the field.

In this regard, women's academic leadership careers have been shaped differently at Mongolian public and private universities. Although women constitute more than half of the labour force in higher education, they tend to work in middle-management at the first-class public universities, but in top management at the second-class private universities. Therefore, the following findings chapters of this study focus on women academic leaders and their habitus in the Mongolian university field, and also how their habitus encounters, wrestles with, and negotiates the differing logics of practice at play in the subfields of Mongolian public and private universities.

I now turn to Chapter Seven, in which I examine how the women academic leaders (from now on—the women leaders) built academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities. We will then move on to Chapter Eight, which examines the logics of gender practice, and Chapter Nine, which investigates the logic of leadership practice.

Chapter Seven

Capital and the Women Academic Leaders' Habitus

Introduction

This chapter examines the career trajectories of the women leaders in this study; in particular, what kinds of capital were influential in shaping/forming/developing their academic habitus. Not surprisingly, the most fundamental capital that enabled the women leaders to start their academic careers—and construct their academic leadership careers at both Mongolian public and private universities—was their cultural capital. In Chapter Four, cultural capital was conceptualised as the knowledge, education, and work experiences of the women leaders. For example, all the women were high achievers, and received relevant educational qualifications, doctorate degrees, and extensive work experiences (except for Bulgan, who did not receive a doctorate degree but had 23 years of academic work experience).

Although this appears to be a meritocratic practice on the outer surface, the findings of this study further supported the current literature that contends meritocracy is a highly problematic concept (Aiston, 2011; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Morley, 2014; Thornton, 2013). Thornton (2013) argues:

> Merit comprises an amalgam of objective and subjective elements. The objective element comprises a candidate's qualifications, employment history, grants, publications, teaching areas, PhD completions etc.—the type of information appearing on an academic's CV—but a literal approach makes no sense without interpretation. (p. 129)

In this regard, the women leaders in this study experienced objective elements of meritocracy with regard to their cultural capital, e.g. "qualifications, employment history ... PhD completions" (Thornton, 2013, p. 129). However, they also had differential opportunities and diverse career trajectories due to the impact of other forms of capital, i.e., insider capital, public sector capital, social capital, and political capital, which may have served as subjective elements of meritocracy. Bourdieu

(1973) supports this argument, and notes that “academic hierarchy is at the basis of the meritocratic illusion” (p. 68). Bourdieu (1973) further contends:

> The appearance of a justification for meritocratic ideology, according to which academic justice provides a kind of resort or revenge for those who have no other resources than their "intelligence" or their "merit," only if one chooses to ignore, first, that "intelligence" or academic goodwill represents but one particular form of capital which comes to be added, in most cases, to the possession of economic capital. (p. 67)

However, this study diverged to a certain extent from Bourdieu’s arguments on this matter because “Bourdieu's work is based on the French educational system. This is a system which is ostensibly egalitarian and meritocratic in a way” (Moi, 1991, p. 1044), which was essentially different to systems and relations in Mongolia. As discussed in Chapters One, Four, and Six, Mongolian political, economic, and social systems have transformed enormously throughout its history. Such transformations altered social hierarchies considerably, and political capital was the strongest capital during Mongolia’s socialist era. Accordingly, Bourdieu’s arguments with regard to “clear-cut class-based divisions” (Moi, 1991, p. 1044) and the strongest power of economic capital were not fully applicable to this study. Instead, political capital and public sector capital replaced economic capital in Bourdieu’s above assertion that “one particular form of capital which comes to be added, in most cases, to the possession of economic capital” (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 67).

This chapter examines the influence of additional forms of capital which enabled the women leaders’ academic career trajectories in the Mongolian university field. This chapter utilises an intersectional analysis to investigate how various forms of additional capital intersected with cultural capital, providing the women leaders with differential opportunities. These are separated into the following themes:

- Theme One: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Insider Capital
- Theme Two: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Public Sector Capital
- Theme Three: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Political Capital

In this way, this chapter interrogates the logics of practice and gender practice in building and constructing academic and academic leadership careers in the Mongolian university field. I now turn to Theme One.

Theme One: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Insider Capital

The findings of this study suggested that graduating from, working at, and becoming academic leaders at the same university was found to be a logic of practice in the Mongolian university field. The majority of the women leaders in this study—five of the eight participants (Gegeen, Iveel, Ankhil, Khaliun, and Gerel) held this form of capital. In particular, the findings of this study suggested that constructing academic and academic leadership careers with the help of insider capital seemed a more common practice at public universities than private universities (only one of the three women leaders at private universities built her career this way, whereas this path was undertaken by four of the five women leaders at public universities).

Firstly, becoming a leader at the same university from which one graduated and was employed by could be related to the historical foundations of Mongolian public universities. As noted in Chapter Six, the top public universities in Mongolia all have the same origins—they were faculties of the only university, the National University of Mongolia, of the socialist era. They specialised in certain disciplines, and later branched out to become independent institutes (NUM, 2014). Accordingly, public university education in Mongolia today still implies certain specialisations. It implies that academic employment opportunities in certain specialisations are *embodied* and *institutionalised*[23] at certain public universities in Mongolia. For example, graduates of the Mongolian National University of Medical Sciences hold a much greater chance for academic employment at their specialist university than graduates of other universities[24]. Although there is a paucity of previous research

[23] Three forms of cultural capital. *Embodied* means that it exists “in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”, *objectified* means “in the form of cultural goods” and *institutionalised* means “a form of objectification, e.g., in the form of academic qualifications” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17, 20).

[24] There are few other private universities and colleges that provide medical education in Mongolia, but the Mongolian National University of Medical Sciences is the most dominant player.

evidence to support this practice in Mongolia, anecdotally, as an academic in Mongolia, I am aware that graduates of a specialist university are more likely to be appointed as academics at their graduating university. This has been a common practice in Mongolia since the socialist era. In this study, Maral (public university) provided evidence for this practice when she stated, “There is a saying at our university that goes *blood getting closer*. Students, who graduated our university, become academics here”. However, this situation is different at private universities, because private universities were established mostly in the disciplines of social sciences and humanities, whereas public universities maintained their specialisations in diverse disciplines (Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013). Therefore, insider capital could also denote cultural capital of the specialist disciplines that are embodied and institutionalised at certain public universities. Those who hold insider capital could be seen as “fish in water” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127).

Secondly, becoming a leader at the same university could be due to the fact that the prestige of universities (in this study, prestige of public universities) provides graduates with prestige, recognition, and privileges, thereby creating structural inequalities in the academic labour market (Burris, 2004; Clauset, Arbesman, & Larremore, 2015). As discussed in Chapter Six, public universities in Mongolia produce much more capital than private universities, and have symbolic domination in the university field. Therefore, public university graduates hold more cultural and symbolic capital in the Mongolian academic labour market, which provides more chances for their insiders to maintain symbolic domination in contrast to outsiders. In this regard, insider capital enabled the women leaders’ academic and academic leadership careers at public universities. This theme is outlined in the following two subthemes: 1.1 Insider capital enabling academic careers; and 1.2 Insider capital facilitating academic leadership.

1.1 Insider capital enabling academic careers. The current literature supports this phenomenon of internal hiring in academia (Clauset et al., 2015; McKenney & Cejda, 2001; Oyer, 2007; Smolentseva, 2003). Clauset et al. (2015) note that "faculty hiring network—who hires whose graduates as faculty" is a common practice in the USA (p. 1). In Russia, it is decried as "the most serious problem [of] the low influx of new blood" (Smolentseva, 2003, p. 422). This study offers two explanations for this practice. Firstly, that it is related to the quality of the women leaders' cultural capital. As noted previously, the women leaders were high achievers; therefore, their cultural capital of exemplary knowledge and education were fundamental for starting their academic careers at their graduated universities. For instance, Ankhil, who graduated from the only specialist public university in her discipline[25], started her academic career with the help of her knowledge and expertise. In other words, her cultural capital of the specialist discipline played out at the strongest rate. Ankhil (public university)[26] noted:

> Well, at first, I came to the university to study for a master's degree. When I first came here to give an enrolment test for a master's degree, I was examined as there was a vacancy for an assistant specialist here. Thus, I did that. No one pushed me to work in this university.

Secondly, however, it is crucial to emphasise the importance of these women leaders' insider capital. It could be argued that these women leaders' cultural capital was the key that opened the gates for their academic careers, in which their insider capital played out as additional capital and provided them opportunities for their merits to be utilised at their graduated universities (Bourdieu, 1973). These women leaders' insider capital provided them with the advantages of better information and knowledge of work practices, and internal networks and relationships that were accessible to them, but not to outsiders. For instance, in Khaliun's case, her foreign language skill was an advantage in starting her academic career—even in comparison to peers who held the same insider capital as her. However, this may not be the only explanation. As an insider, Khaliun's lecturers had the opportunity

[25] In order to maintain her anonymity, her discipline is not revealed in this study.

[26] The women leaders' university types are noted in brackets in this study.

to learn about her foreign language skills, which provides evidence of the importance of insider capital. Khaliun (public university) elaborated:

> My advantage was that while other students were reading in Mongolian, I received more information by reading in English, Russian, and Mongolian. The advantage of learning more was the language barrier. My advantage was helpful for my lecturers, therefore, I stayed at this university as an intern lecturer.

Similarly, Gegeen and Iveel had advantages in building and maintaining their social capital (i.e. their internal networks and relationships) while they were students. For instance, Iveel (public university) noted:

> When I was a freshman, our university had a secondary school lyceum. When I told that I used to participate in Olympiads, my lecturers sent me to teach students in the lyceum ... I worked as a lecturer at the university after my graduation in 1997.

Gegeen (public university) stated:

> In 2001–2002, I taught lessons of my professor, then, in 2002, I decided to become a lecturer at this university ... On the 1st of September 2002, I became an assistant lecturer here.

In this way, these women leaders started their academic careers using either their cultural capital of the specialist discipline or their cultural capital and insider capital—which provided them with better opportunities and advantages in contrast to outsiders. I now move on to a discussion of how these women leaders built their academic leadership careers.

1.2 Insider capital facilitating academic leadership. This study revealed that these women leaders, who started their academic career with the help of their cultural capital and insider capital, had linear career paths toward their academic leadership positions. For example, Ankhil (public university) stated:

> It is possible to say that my career began in 1998. I have been working at this university for 20 years ... I worked as an intern lecturer for 2 years, and then in 200[X], I was promoted into a full rank ... I worked as an assistant specialist for a total of 6 years for one person and then

> I became a senior specialist ... I awarded my PhD ... I worked as a senior specialist for around 3 years since 201[X]. Then, I was assigned as Director of [Unit][27] ... Thus, I worked for that position for 2 years. Then our school introduced a new structure ... When the university adopted such a new structure, I became a director.

Similarly, Gegeen (public university) noted about herself:

> My career was rising, yes? Assistant lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor ... I was chosen from my colleagues, recognised as a person who would go further and then people supported me every time.

In addition, Gegeen, Ankhil, and Gerel (public and private universities) achieved their current leadership positions with the help of their colleagues and top management teams (Iveel and Khaliun's cases [public universities] will be discussed in Theme Three). This is supported by the current literature, which contends that the insider advantages of internal networks, mentoring, and patronage can provide better opportunities for internal mobility and academic promotion (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Oyer, 2007; Schrodt, Cawyer, & Sanders, 2003; Thornton, 2013).

Nevertheless, they hesitated to accept their leadership job offers at first. The roles causing them to hesitate were their current leadership roles—directors of administrative units (Gegeen and Ankhil at public universities) and a dean of faculty (Gerel at a private university). As noted in Chapter Five, these positions would be considered highly prestigious senior management roles at both public and private universities in Mongolia. However, in terms of the gendered dimensions of leadership, women remain significantly underrepresented in these roles in public universities, whereas they are equally represented in these roles in private universities (see Table 6.2). In other words, men occupy these roles in public universities, whereas women occupy these roles in private universities. Therefore, this suggests that there is a gendered dimension in Mongolian universities regarding these senior management roles. As such, encouragement, support, and advice from others were necessary

[27] The unit name was deleted in order to maintain her anonymity.

for Gegeen and Ankhil to take up their leadership positions at public universities, because they did not see themselves as being ready to take on the roles. Gegeen (public university) commented, "I undervalued my capacity and I was not self-confident"; Ankhil (public university) stated, "It was not in my mind". But later, they received encouragement from others, including their colleagues, top management teams, family members, and friends. Gegeen (public university) elaborated:

> Generally, since 2014, people had been suggesting me to take this job. Psychologically, I was not prepared for this. The top management proposed me to become a director of research or director of staff development since 2014 ... I have done a conclusion to myself that I was not self-confident. My colleagues believed in me long time ago that I could do this job and told me not to refuse it but I refused the proposals. It seems like that I undervalued my capacity and I was not self-confident.

Similarly, Ankhil (public university) noted:

> Frankly speaking, for myself, I was not that happy to receive the offer. I said my response of "No" in first place that way (laughed). I do not know why but it was not in my mind. It seemed like that. I said, "No". Then, all people advised me, "You are the person. Experience can be learned. You can do it. People believe in you". Thus, I accepted the offer. After 14 days, I said, "I will try it anyway. Please support me". Then I started.

Gegeen and Ankhil's situations are noted in the current literature regarding women's low self-confidence in applying for promotions and career advancements (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013). For instance, Baker (2010) remarks that "colleagues sometimes 'shoulder-tap' applicants and candidates' potential assimilation" (p. 320).

Gerel's case (private university), however, had minor differences in contrast to Gegeen and Ankhil's cases (public universities). Gerel (private university) similarly hesitated to accept a leadership job offer at first. However, her intention was to avoid heavy responsibilities. She commented that "I wanted to do my allocated work peacefully". After being persuaded by others, she took on the leadership roles. Such a situation is also remarked upon in the current literature (Baker,

2010; Morley, 2014). Morley (2014) notes that "the rapidly expanding, audited, neo-liberalised, globalised and male-dominated managerialised academy was seen as an unattractive space by a Hong Kong respondent" (p. 119). This study showed that the women leaders at private universities were working under coercive leadership with regard to neoliberal and managerialist policies and practices. They had multiple duties and responsibilities in which their labour rights were breached. For example, Gerel (private university) noted that academics tended to work long hours, including public holidays and non-working hours, but with no additional income such as *penalty rates* as might be expected in other professions. This will be expanded upon in Chapter Nine. In this regard, Gerel's hesitation was tied to the notion of "resistant capital", and was about "knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Thus, for the women, there was a gendered element and a fine line between being *tapped on the shoulder* and *being persuaded* to take on the leadership roles. The women leaders' perceptions of, and experiences of, coercive leadership will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

In summary, this theme has discussed how insider capital provided better opportunities for the majority of the women leaders in this study to start, build, and construct their academic and academic leadership careers in the Mongolian university field.

Theme Two: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Public Sector Capital

Chapters Four and Six introduced the idea that political capital was the strongest capital during the socialist era in Mongolia, as it was associated with greater amounts of other types of capital, such as statutory, economic, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1998b). In addition, Chapter Six noted that public universities in Mongolia produce much more capital than private universities, and have symbolic domination in the university field. In this regard, the findings of this study suggested that the women leaders (Bulgan, Maral, and Saruul at public and private universities) who had public sector capital also had smoother career movements in the Mongolian university field. For example, these women appeared to have had more seamless career movements (2.1) from government agencies to public universities (Bulgan and Maral) and (2.2) from public universities to private universities

(Bulgan and Saruul). However, moving in the opposite direction was far more difficult—Saruul faced difficulties and discriminations when building her career (2.3) from a private university to a public university. Therefore, this theme revealed that public sector capital provided these women with additional capital that played out at a high rate in the Mongolian university field. These are discussed below.

2.1 From government agencies to public universities. Bulgan (private university) and Maral (public university) started their academic careers with the help of their public sector capital (of government agencies). For instance, Bulgan (private university) was a public servant during the socialist era; therefore, not only did she have public sector capital, but she also had great amount of political capital. While she was working at a government agency, she was appointed to work as a lecturer at the only public university in her discipline. Bulgan (private university) noted:

> The Ministry of [X][28] made a decision that the University of [X] would need a lecturer, a lecturer of [X]. Thus, as [I was a public servant], [an appointment] was made to bring me. Therefore, I worked as a lecturer of [X] at the University of [X] ... I worked as a lecturer and a department head at the University of [X] for 18 years.

Bulgan's cultural capital, earned by working at a public university for many years, provided her with the cultural and symbolic capital that facilitated her academic leadership career at a private university, which will be discussed in the next subtheme.

Maral (public university) also had a smooth career movement from a government agency to a public university, although she did not have political capital like Bulgan. Instead, she had imperialist cultural capital[29] (having received a doctorate degree from a university in Russia) in addition to public sector capital. Accordingly, she was invited to work at a prestigious public university. Maral (public university) elaborated:

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[28] The discipline was deleted in order to maintain her anonymity.

[29] Russian cultural imperialism was strong during the socialist era in Mongolia. Receiving education from universities in Russia provided cultural and symbolic capital vis-à-vis more career opportunities during the socialist era and in the beginning of the market economic era in Mongolia.

While I was working for [X], the university made me an offer, “Come here and work as a lecturer now”. In general, the university has to cultivate its personnel of lecturers and invite doctorates, who are working in the practical field, right? Thus, I came at this university by an invitation.

Although Maral started her academic career successfully with the help of her imperialist cultural capital and public sector capital, she faced difficulties when constructing her academic leadership career at a prestigious public university. She actually faced a long journey before she arrived at her current leadership position. When a vacancy for the dean of the faculty was announced at her university, she was in the selection committee from the beginning. The selection process was conducted through a voting system. However, she was nominated as a candidate by her colleagues and told:

More than one person has nominated your name. You should not work in the committee. Why do not you leave the committee and become a candidate? The reason is that there are nominations for you from your colleagues.

Therefore, she made a decision to become a candidate. Nevertheless, she noted that she had encountered injustice and unfairness before arriving at her current position. Maral (public university) stated:

If I can remember exactly ... the first three candidates were chosen. They were sent to the rector, who had to choose one from the three and appoint as the dean. Well then, I was chosen in that process and sent there. After that, the rector sent my application to the Anti-Corruption Agency. Although the response had been arrived, I was not appointed as the dean. I had waited for nine months. Then, a person, who was hired after me, was appointed but not me. I never went, "Why was not I appointed? Why not me?" I left it that way. Then, while that person who was hired after me was working there for a year, the rector was replaced. After that, I heard that the [new] rector called me one day. When I went there, he told me that the dean was promoted to become a vice-rector and our school needed another dean. The rector said,

> "Firstly, you are the person, who has been chosen by the selection process. Secondly, you are a professional in this selection. Therefore, I am offering you to work as the dean". Therefore, I agreed with these justifications and I accepted the offer. Thus, I have been working here. I have gone through a long way.

She further clarified that the other candidate was not a former lecturer at her faculty but arrived from a different faculty, and had fast career advancements through different faculties, reaching a vice-rector's role. She noted, "To tell the truth, I do not understand exactly what was happening that led to her fast career advancement". Maral's last sentence implied that there could have been some inducement related to this process of appointment.

Maral's case revealed that public sector capital and insider capital were not as strong as the forms of capital that the other candidate held, because Maral could not be appointed to the leadership position even after she was nominated by, voted for, and supported by her colleagues. Instead, it appears that there was an additional form of capital that played out at the highest rate—perhaps it was political capital, which will be discussed in the next theme. Maral's interview supported Bourdieu's argument that "academic hierarchy is at the basis of the meritocratic illusion" and that academic capital (cultural capital) is not enough, and an additional capital would be necessary (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 68). In addition, Maral commented that the other candidate was also female; therefore, she emphasised, "Gender does not influence much in the middle level". Her perception of gender and leadership will be discussed in the next chapter. I now turn to discuss the next subtheme.

2.2 From public universities to private universities. Similar to the findings in the previous subtheme, Bulgan and Saruul (private universities) had seamless career movements from public universities to private universities, as both of them had public sector, in particular, public university capital. This capital helped them build their academic leadership careers at private universities. In Bulgan's case, she wanted to change her life completely and challenge herself in the private sector due to her husband's death. Bulgan (private university) stated:

> My husband passed away in 200[X] ... That was a big shock to me. Therefore, to get out of this shock, I immediately decided to get out of my [sector] ... In addition, I renovated my house to make it a different place ... I did my decision in August 201[X] suddenly and submitted my retirement request. My age was not reached for the retirement age but a number of years that I served ... Then I saw a newspaper ad of "looking for a [specialisation] subject lecturer at [X] University" ... I have submitted my request according to the ad and they hired me directly. Of course, [they] would hire me ... From the beginning, I was hired as a senior lecturer.

Bulgan's decision to work in the private sector was based on personal reasons. In particular, the following comment in her interview implied that she had enough cultural and symbolic capital and privilege to work at a private university, as she emphasised, "of course, [they] would hire me". Her previous role as a middle manager at a public university suggested that she had amassed strong cultural and symbolic capital which was viewed as highly desirable in the private university[30]. In addition, she received a leadership job offer a short time after commencing her career at the private university. Similarly to Gerel (private university), she hesitated in accepting the job offer, but was ultimately persuaded by her top management to accept.

In Saruul's case (private university), she directly received a leadership job offer from a private university while she was working at a public university. Saruul (private university) elaborated:

> While I was doing all these work [of a public university], the Rector of [X] University, [name], offered me a job. The job offer was for exactly what I could do. The offer was, "Come here and work as Director of the School of [X]" ... To make my decision personally, I have received advice from many people ... I took my supervisor's advice a lot when I made my decision. In addition, the salary and other benefits were better than my previous job. Thus, I made my choice.

[30] Her current private university has a much lower reputation than her previous public university. In order to maintain her anonymity, her university details are not revealed here.

Therefore, Bulgan and Saruul (private universities), who had public university capital, had accumulated enough privilege, and cultural and symbolic capital to take on academic leadership roles at private universities. However, moving in the opposite direction was difficult, which is discussed below.

2.3 From a private university to a public university. In contrast to the findings in the previous subthemes, Saruul encountered fierce discrimination at a public university, having started her academic career at a public university with a private university background. In fact, she received her relatives' support to commence this job at a public university. Saruul (private university) shared her story:

> While I was studying for a master's degree, I saw a newspaper's advertisement of, "Looking for a part time lecturer at the Department of [X], University of [X][31]" ... Frankly speaking, my relative's brother was working at the Ministry of Education at that time. I asked for his help, "I want to go there" ... Well, I respected his name at that time and just asked his support for having the job. I did not know what happened between individuals. He advised me on how to give a test ... [As a result], I worked as a lecturer at the Department of [X] of University of [X], which was considered as one of the best universities in Mongolia ... I worked there for 10 years.

Perhaps, if she had not received her relative's support, it would have been impossible for her to have a job at a public university as a private university graduate. This was evidenced by her interview, in which she shared stories of how she was discriminated against because of her private university background, suggesting that she was a lack of public sector or insider capital. She shared an example:

> There was a conference, which was announced for university and college lecturers in 200[X] ... I received the 3rd place, a lecturer of University of [X] ... At that time, a big academic of that time, [name], who was the first author of [X] textbook of University of [X], got the next

[31] A public university

> place after me. Well then, she told me very unpleasant words at a big reception where university and college lecturers were gathered. She told me, “You are a person from a private university but you have stepped in front of me in this competition. The [X] Mountain has blessed you”. Inside her words, there was a huge disrespect.

Although she received a doctorate degree from a well-known university in East Asia and gained additional cultural capital in the university field, her situation did not improve at her workplace at a public university. Therefore, her case suggested that public sector capital is played out as legitimate cultural and symbolic capital at public universities in Mongolia. As such, her case showed that the system has perhaps been appropriated at public universities in Mongolia toward “the apprehension and possession of cultural goods as symbolic goods” that would further reproduce and maintain the symbolic domination of public universities in the Mongolian university field (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 57).

Such tensions between public and private universities were also demonstrated in Appendix N. The women leaders participating in this study had contradictory perceptions of quality of education and capability of human resources at Mongolian public and private universities. Some participants reproduced the symbolic domination of public universities, whereas others resisted such domination (See Appendix N).

In summary, this theme has discussed how public sector capital allowed some of the women leaders to experience seamless career movements in the Mongolian university field. This capital held symbolic power at both public and private universities, and two women leaders constructed academic leadership careers at private universities with the help of this capital. However, this capital was not enough for building academic leadership careers at public universities, where an additional form of capital was played out at the highest rate. This was perhaps political capital, which is discussed in the following theme.

Theme Three: Intersections of Cultural Capital and Political Capital

This study made it clear that political capital was played out at the highest rate, which allowed political appointments to senior leadership positions at public universities in Mongolia. This practice occurred only at Mongolian public universities, due to heavy government involvements and the socialist foundations of the universities. Two disparate methods of political appointment were remarked upon: one method was based on both cultural and political capital (with expertise of education—where Iveel and Khaliun belonged), and the other was based solely upon political capital (without expertise of education—without cultural capital). None of my participants belonged in the second group, because I approached them through their academic social networks. In addition, Gegeen, Khaliun, and Iveel (public universities) referred to both methods as "going with the team", which was called the "team-approach to leadership" in a Kazakhstani study (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). This is interrogated in the following subthemes: 3.1 Cultural capital and political capital; and 3.2 Political capital.

3.1 Cultural capital and political capital. Iveel and Khaliun (public universities) had similar career trajectories to the cases that were discussed in Theme One. They were high achievers, and had insider capital vis-à-vis linear career paths. However, in contrast to the previous cases, both Iveel and Khaliun built their academic leadership careers with the help of political capital (political networks). They built their political capital while working on ministry[32] projects, where they were exposed to external political networks. Interestingly, both these women were appointed to leadership positions during a period of the structural change at public universities[33] in 2014. Khaliun (public university) shared her story:

> One big project from the ministry was held at this university and I managed that project. We had worked on a project for [X] in a state scale and carried out [X]. Well then, the minister

[32] The Ministry of Education, Culture, Science, and Sports of Mongolia.

[33] In 2014, restructuring happened in Mongolian public universities. For instance, many faculties were integrated within universities in order to avoid repeated specialisations.

saw how I worked and finished this work. A new director of the [X] unit saw as well. Then, the university went under the restructuring and my colleagues nominated me for the head of the department. There were two nominated candidates for the position, people voted for us and 80% of them voted for me. Then, the top people said, "It is okay if you would work as a head of the department but coming to the administration would be more effective". The [X] unit was established at this university, therefore, I was asked to work as its director. The offer was made last year. Therefore, I have started to work here from this year. The [Y] unit has become the [X] unit: the [Y] was closed down, all the people including its director and staff were fired and I was given this unit. This means that I have been doing two units' work. I am very tired (laughed).

Khaliun handled the integration of units after her appointment; similarly, Iveel managed the integration of faculties. Iveel (public university) remarked:

When I came here in 2014, the ruling party was changed to the Democratic Party and Gantumur became the minister ... our school had structural changes integrating previous schools into [X]. Our school is an integration of [X] schools ... I received the work of [X] schools. A new structure. Curricula, management and everything was new. Such a thing happened for the entire educational system of Mongolia; it was not only for this school.

Khaliun and Iveel's appointments may suggest that internal candidates with cultural capital were needed for political appointments in order to bridge the gap between the university and politics, manage heavy structural changes, and calm any contradictions that might arise between academics and politically appointed outsiders. Future research to investigate this phenomenon further could be recommended.

In addition, Khaliun and Iveel (public universities) supported the practice of the team leadership approach. Khaliun noted that "our rector talks that there are only two people that he appointed by himself and they would become his team and assist him". Similarly, Iveel (public university) elaborated:

> According to my observation, in Mongolian society, even though one has good education, doctorate degree, foreign language skills and capability, that person would not have a chance to go into a policy-making position. Ah, what that person would need is to be a part of a political party, a community, network or something like this ... It could be called a network ... However, such a group does not have to be negative. For example, if my director, who works with me as a team, goes to a very high position, he would think, "Ah, Iveel is there". Then he would have me in his team to work together, learn together, fulfil each other's disadvantages and be in one tempo with the team. Therefore, this is how one can grow a career. This is how I see it.

Iveel's statement of "to work together, learn together, fulfil each other's disadvantages and be in one tempo with the team" demonstrated this practice. This is reflected in the current literature on gender and educational leadership. Scholars note that professional networks and informal networks facilitate academic promotions both in the global North and South; however, men tend to predominate in such networks, and commonly exclude women according to the practice of masculinities (commonly referred to as *the Boys' Club*) in the global academy (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Thornton, 2013; Yu & Wang, 2018). Therefore, although Iveel did not suggest that there was a gendered aspect to this practice, the practice of masculinities and feminisation of middle management roles in the global academy do suggest a gendered aspect to this practice (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; O'Connor, 2014).

In addition, Iveel's insistence that "even though one has good education, doctorate degree, foreign language skills and capability, that person would not have a chance to go into a policy-making position" complies with the current literature on meritocracy is a highly problematic concept in academic leadership (Aiston, 2011; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al.; Thornton, 2013). Aiston (2011) notes that "women experience the higher education system differently

precisely because of hidden discrimination ... subtle, deeply embedded and almost intangible" (p. 287). This suggests that Iveel had already been exposed to the rules of the game in her field, and knew that meritocracy is a highly problematic concept to achieve senior management and leadership at public universities. This helped make sense of why Maral (public university) encountered difficulties in her academic leadership career journey.

Moreover, it was evident that although Iveel (public university) was appointed into her position and went with her political team, she was not confident when taking on the leadership role—a similar phenomenon to what was discussed in Theme One (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013). Iveel (public university) commented:

> I was not self-confident about this position and said, "I can never do this. I am an executive level person and will do your paper works under your supervision[34]. I will not take a position carrying a responsibility on my 'black head'"[35]. However, a decree was issued, as I said earlier, I was appointed. We work as a team and he supports me in terms of the policy. So I find my way to work ... I was lucky indeed. If I received a position from a retiring professor, it could have been hard. As a woman, it would be risky to introduce innovative ideas. Probably, I could not do it ... So, I was a part of the reform and found my way in the flow. Otherwise, if everything were old, I would have faced issues and contradictions.

Iveel's statement that "as a woman, it would be risky to introduce innovative ideas" suggested that her low self-confidence in leadership was related to her gender. This is reflected in Aiston and Fo (2020)'s study on *The Silence/ing of Academic Women* in Hong Kong. Aiston and Fo (2020) note that women academics are silenced due to the consequences of micro-inequities and micro-politics in the practice of masculinities. Micro-inequities include "small events, which are hard-to-prove, covert and often unintentional"; however, "the cumulative effect of micro-inequities at the level of the individual can damage self-esteem and lead to withdrawal" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 7). Thus, Aiston

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[34] His political team supervisor

[35] Individual responsibility

and Fo (2020) discuss how women do gender by having internal and external silencing, which was evident in Iveel's case. In fact, Iveel had a patriarchal viewpoint regarding gender and leadership, and believed that "powerful and educated men are driving the society in reality nowadays". The women leaders' perceptions of gender and leadership will be discussed in the next chapter. I now turn to a discussion of the second type of political appointment at public universities.

3.2 Political capital. One of the practices observed by the women leaders, Gegeen, Iveel, Maral, Ankhil, Khaliun, and Gerel (public and private universities), was that when rectors of public universities were appointed by the government, they were typically members of the ruling party and brought with them their teams of political allies whom they appointed to key positions within the universities. However, this practice of political appointments has been claimed to be detrimental to the management and operations of public universities (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013). The current literature emphasises the importance of public universities gaining independence from government in Mongolia, with political appointments of rectors becoming a major issue (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013; World Bank, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Six (on page 132), elections, government changes, and ministerial replacements have led to a constant turnover of new political appointments in senior university positions. This then leads to inconsistent management, illegal changes in Board of Trustees, weak authority, and poor financial independence (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008). Maral (public university) stated:

> (Sighed) well, now a public university is ... when the government is changed, university rectors are replaced. Then, it may follow, when a rector is changed, the management team would be changed. For this, it is the main impact that has happened.

Khaliun further explained that this practice occurs at public universities because political appointments can be rewards for those who supported and worked for politicians and political parties. Khaliun (public university) commented:

> Those who are at high level positions and senior directors all are appointed by the political parties. They are the people who gave money to the party, or did a good job during election, or held 'briefcases' of big chiefs, or prepared chiefs' words. So, offering a position is a reward for them from the party. In fact, at our university, there are chiefs who came in regard to the restructuring.

In particular, Khaliun remarked that this practice elevated unskilled people to senior leadership positions at public universities. She noted that such people tended to be under qualified for their positions; therefore, those who were qualified had to take on additional responsibilities. Consequently, both Khaliun and Iveel (public universities) were forced to shoulder multiple responsibilities—more so than the study's other participants (at public universities). For instance, Khaliun (public university) noted:

> Frankly speaking, those who were appointed by the minister or the prime minister do not work or are not skilful. So, for the duration of former rectors, I have worked on academic and organisational works. I was asked to work on a lot of things outside the academic area. I was told that only I could do. Now I am in the ministry's two working areas.

Similarly, Iveel was even responsible for managing maintenance work, although her main role was as an academic leader. Iveel (public university) stated:

> The responsibility of this building is not directly on the shoulders of the coordinator, accountant or head of department; thus, they bear a responsibility in general. Ah, what happens to me is that for three years, since I became a director, I have never had a vacation in summers. I just guard the maintenance work ... I spend a lot of my labour for this.

These statements help make sense of how the first type of political appointment happened in Khaliun and Iveel's cases (public universities)—both of whom had cultural and political capital—but those with only political capital seemed to enjoy their privileges and take advantage of others. Therefore, the first type of political appointment might occur at public universities in order to compensate the second type of political appointment. This was evidenced by Khaliun's following

statement. She implied that if she had possessed any of the following kinds of privileges, she might had a different trajectory. Khaliun (public university) stated:

> So, in fact, I have no party, no money and no siblings—none of my siblings work at government organisations. In fact, I have been accepted by my colleagues and worked with my effort. Until here, I have been going like this.

Moreover, it was evident in Gegeen, Iveel, Khaliun, Saruul and Bulgan's (public and private universities) interviews that this practice has caused gender inequality in senior leadership at Mongolian public universities, because political appointments are mostly granted to men. Undoubtedly, politics is a highly masculinist field in Mongolia, in which men predominate. Gegeen (public university) supported this idea, and noted that "at public universities, that politics usually comes in and appointments occur. That goes to men indeed". This practice could be related to the professional networks and informal networks that facilitate academic promotions, but men tend to predominate these, and commonly exclude women (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Thornton, 2013; Yu & Wang, 2018). However, the aforementioned studies in the global North do not discuss political networks and government involvement in academia, which was the case in this study. Therefore, the findings of this study are consistent with the studies in the global South (in Asian contexts)—Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017)'s study on *Female Academic Leadership in the Post-Soviet Context* and Yu and Wang (2018)'s study on *The Making of Female University Presidents in China*. Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) state that in Kazakhstani higher education, "the 'team-approach to leadership' and corruption as the main barriers to [female academics'] advancement" that "was not predictable from the available literature, was related to the influence of informal institutions on female leaders' experiences" (p. 194). They explain further:

> In Kazakhstan the position of a university rector is very important from the point of view of national-level politics ... Rectors do not perform their responsibilities alone. They start and

leave the position with their teams ... As a result the top positions at the universities are not easily attainable for outsiders. (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194)

In addition, Yu and Wang (2018) note the Chinese socialist government's involvement in university management. They state that being a member of the Communist Party of China is a crucial factor for being appointed into leadership positions at Chinese universities. Nevertheless, they do not discuss whether only political capital (without cultural capital) is convertible to senior leadership positions, which was the case in this study.

This theme has discussed the fact that there are two disparate methods of political appointment to senior leadership positions at Mongolian public universities. The first is based on both cultural capital and political capital (with expertise of education), and the second is based on only political capital (without expertise of education—without cultural capital).

In summary, the following tables show what types of capital were utilised for building the women leaders' academic and academic leadership careers at Mongolian public and private universities.

Table 7.1

Capital and Career Trajectories at Mongolian Public and Private Universities

Subfield	Building an Academic Career	Constructing Academic Leadership
Public	Cultural capital Insider capital Imperialist cultural capital (symbolic capital) Public sector capital (symbolic capital) Political capital (political appointment) Social capital (public servant's support)	Cultural capital Insider capital Political capital (political appointment)
Private	Cultural capital Insider capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)	Cultural capital Insider capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)

Table 7.2

Women Leaders' Capital and Career Trajectories

Subfield	Pseudonym	Building an Academic Career	Constructing Academic Leadership
Public	Gegeen	Cultural capital Insider capital	Cultural capital Insider capital
	Iveel	Cultural capital Insider capital	Cultural capital Political capital (political appointment)
	Maral	Cultural capital Imperialist cultural capital (symbolic capital) Public sector capital (symbolic capital)	Cultural capital Insider capital
	Ankhil	Cultural capital Insider capital (specialist knowledge)	Cultural capital Insider capital
	Khaliun	Cultural capital Insider capital	Cultural capital Political capital (political appointment)
Private	Saruul	*At a public university:* Cultural capital Social capital (public servant's support) *At a private university:* Cultural capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)	Cultural capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)
	Bulgan	*At a public university:* Cultural capital Political capital (political appointment) Public sector capital (symbolic capital) *At a private university:* Cultural capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)	Cultural capital Public university capital (symbolic capital)
	Gerel	Cultural capital Insider capital (specialist knowledge)	Cultural capital Insider capital

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the career trajectories of the women leaders in this study, and the influences of different forms of capital (i.e. cultural capital, insider capital, public sector capital, symbolic capital, social capital, and political capital). This chapter has discussed symbolic power of insider and public sector capital in the Mongolian university field.

In particular, this chapter has revealed that political capital plays out at the highest rate at public Mongolian universities, which allows their players to go with their teams. However, some players—like Khaliun and Iveel (public universities), who built their political capital with the help of their cultural capital—may not hold much privilege in this game, but compensate for others' participation. Importantly, this practice was responsible for gender inequality in senior leadership at public universities in Mongolia.

Overall, this chapter has showed how meritocracy is a highly problematic concept in academic leadership, and additional capital is necessary for women to build academic and academic leadership careers at both public and private universities in Mongolia. I now move on to Chapter Eight, which investigates the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field.

Chapter Eight

Gender and the Women Academic Leaders' Habitus

Introduction

Chapter Seven examined the career trajectories of the women leaders featured in this study, and the influences of different forms of capital (i.e. cultural capital, insider capital, public sector capital, social capital, and political capital) upon their leadership habitus. It demonstrated how the women leaders built and constructed their academic careers and leadership by drawing on these varying forms of capital. In particular, the chapter discussed how meritocracy is a highly problematic concept to achieve senior leadership in the Mongolian university field (Aiston, 2011; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; O'Connor, 2014; Thornton, 2013). The chapter interrogated that "merit comprises an amalgam of objective and subjective elements" (Thornton, 2013, p. 129). In terms of subjective elements, "women experience the higher education system differently precisely because of hidden discrimination ... subtle, deeply embedded and almost intangible" (Aiston, 2011, p. 287). Therefore, the diverse forms of capital discussed in Chapter Seven were crucial in building senior leadership trajectories. However, the chapter did not explicitly discuss the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field. Bourdieu (2001) notes, with regard to gender:

> The paradoxical logic of masculine domination and feminine submissiveness, which can, without contradiction, be described as both *spontaneous and extorted,* cannot be understood until one takes account of the *durable effects* that the social order exerts on women (and men), that is to say, the dispositions spontaneously attuned to that order which it imposes on them. (p. 38)

In this regard, this chapter focuses on gender, and investigates *the durable effects* of the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field. Bourdieu (2001) contends that gender differentiations and divisions are formed due to "biological difference between the sexes" and "anatomical difference between the sex organs" (p.11) vis-à-vis "the economy of economic

production" and "the economy of biological reproduction" (p. 46). Therefore, he argues, these differences feed into masculine domination and structure relations between the dominant and dominated which in turn produce symbolic power, symbolic domination, symbolic imposition, symbolic violence, and symbolic revolution (Bourdieu, 2001). Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter Seven, this study departs to a certain degree from Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, the latter of which are based on a different culture, institutional system, and social system than Mongolia. Therefore, Bourdieu's (2001) arguments are utilised in this study to suggest the differing cultural context and gender relations inhabited by Mongolian women in academic leadership. As such, this chapter discusses three themes arising from analysis of the data. These are as follows:

- Theme One: Women Leaders' Perceptions of Gender in Leadership
- Theme Two: Women Leaders' Reflections on Gender and Leadership
- Theme Three: Intersections of Private and Public Sphere

The first two themes examine the public sphere of the women leaders, and investigate their perceptions (Theme One) and reflections (Theme Two) on how gender and leadership are constructed in the Mongolian university field. Theme Three investigates the influence of the private sphere on the women's academic leadership habitus in the public sphere. As Bourdieu (2001) argues:

> The effect of symbolic domination ... is exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousnesses but through the schemes of perception, appreciation and action that are constitutive of habitus. (p. 37)

As such, this chapter examines symbolic domination in the Mongolian university field, and how the women leaders variously contested, challenged, and/or accepted this domination. I now turn to Theme One.

Theme One: Women Leaders' Perceptions of Gender in Leadership

The women leaders in this study had different perceptions of gender in leadership in the Mongolian university field. As such, I divided them into two groups: those who thought that "gender was not an issue in leadership" (the majority of the participants, coming from both public and private universities) and those who argued that "gender was an issue in leadership" (representing both public and private universities). Various factors contributed to these perceptions. These factors are interrogated in the following two subthemes: 1.1 Gender domination in academic disciplines; and 1.2 Gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences.

1.1 Gender domination in academic disciplines. Like the majority of women academics in other nations (Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Harris et al., 2013; Morley & Crossouard, 2016; Thornton, 2013), most of the women leaders in this study specialised and worked in female-dominated disciplines, such as humanities and social sciences (five in female-dominated and three in male-dominated). The following table shows this gender domination and the participants' perceptions of gender in leadership.

Table 8.1

Women Leaders' Perceptions of Gender in Leadership

Subfield	Public universities					Private universities		
Case	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pseudonym	Gegeen	Iveel	Maral	Ankhil	Khaliun	Saruul	Bulgan	Gerel
Disciplines	Applied sciences	Natural sciences	Social sciences	Applied sciences	Humanities	Social sciences	Social sciences	Humanities
Gender domination	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female
Perceptions of gender in leadership	Gender is an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is an issue	Gender is an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue

As shown in Table 8.1, two of the three women located in male-dominated disciplines perceived that gender was an issue in leadership, whereas four of the five located in female-dominated disciplines thought the opposite. On the surface, it appears that the women leaders in female-dominated disciplines may not have perceived gender as an issue because they were surrounded by females, and thus may have experienced their disciplinary field as "fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). For instance, Gerel remarked that she did not perceive any obstacles and challenges in regard to her gender because at her faculty, "most people, 99%, 97% or 98%, are women". However, it is crucial to move beyond this conclusion, because educational systems such as universities are argued to be major agencies that "continue to transmit the presuppositions of the patriarchal representation" (e.g. "between the various schools or faculties, between the disciplines ... between specialisms") (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 86). When investigating why more women were located in more feminised disciplines in Mongolia, Bourdieu refers to "the role of the state [as one of] the institutional factors of the reproduction of the gender division" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 87).

Gender divisions in academic disciplines were formed in Mongolia due to the labour force governance of the socialist era. As discussed in Chapter Six, this governance produced sex-segregated occupational preferences, with women participating mostly in the lighter industries, services and commercial organisations (Skapa & Benwell, 1996; Tseden, 2009). This segregation in turn influenced the particular higher education specialisations women could select in Mongolia, which was evident in Maral and Bulgan's cases (public and private universities) who received higher education degrees during the socialist era. For instance, in Maral's case (public university), she passed her university enrolment exam with a high score and went on to study engineering in Russia; however, she could not pass the medical examination because of her bad eyesight. Maral (public university) stated:

When I got a medical examination, they issued an act[36] that I could not study at the School of Technics due to my bad eyesight. The Rector called me, showed me the medical examination report and made me an offer, "As you are a good student, you may stay at this institution, or you can change your institution to the humanities".

Although it looked like Maral could not pass the medical examination, a quote about her family revealed that this decision was not all about her physical health. Maral (public university) commented:

I consulted with my teacher and called my family in Mongolia. They all told me, "From the beginning, [I] told you that engineering is not good for a girl. Change your major". Thus, I [chose social sciences] in that occasion.

Maral's quote suggested that she could not become an engineer—not because of her physical health, but because of her gender. Essentially, her physical health was used as an excuse to push her into a feminised field. In Bourdieuian terms, this was a form of misrecognition that revealed the workings of symbolic violence in pushing Maral toward a more feminised career choice.

In Bulgan's case (private university), although she was one of the top performing students, she could not pass the enrolment exam because the exam rules were changed when she graduated her high school. Bulgan (private university) noted:

When I graduated from 10th grade, I was one of the best students ... I decided to become a [technologist]. Thus, I took an enrolment test, which covered engineering fundamentals ... However, the test result was not good enough. At that time, university enrolment tests and regulations were changed a little bit, and they were different from what I had prepared for. Therefore, I could not enrol in [a technology degree] … At that time, there was only one university and four colleges. Thus, I took the first quota of a technikum[37] because the red line was cut right above me. Accordingly, I became the first person in the technikum.

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[36] A report

[37] Vocational education schools

Both of the above examples suggest how the "durable effects" of gender domination (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38) were reproduced through the women's subsequent career choices. When choosing their majors and institutions, they both faced difficulties in terms of gendered attitudes toward what careers might be suitable for women; as a consequence, both of them specialised in the feminised discipline of social sciences.

In contrast, the women leaders who received higher education degrees during the market economic era had a broader range of study options (e.g. Gegeen, Iveel, and Khaliun joined and specialised in more male-dominated disciplines). For instance, Gegeen—who studied in applied sciences—stated that "there was only one female lecturer at the department who taught us lessons. The others were males. I was the only female student in my class".

The women leaders' interviews were not sufficient to draw overall conclusions about the gendered nature of the Mongolian university field. However, there is certainly a suggestion that the women leaders' specialised disciplines were shaped by the socialist government's gendered policies in the Mongolian university field and the implications of these policies on individual women leaders' career decisions. Accordingly, this study suggests that the patriarchal nature of the state and its education system helped to at least indirectly shape the women leaders' academic leadership habitus. This in turn meant that their habitus came to embody "the historical structures of the masculine order in the form of unconscious schemes of perception and appreciation" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 5).

In other words, it would be impossible for the women leaders to escape from patriarchal structures, despite their assertion that gender was not an issue in leadership. This implies that the participants did not perceive the objective patriarchal structure in the Mongolian university field, in which the majority of them were located. I now turn to a discussion of other influential factors in the following subtheme of 1.2 Gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences.

1.2 Gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences. In Gegeen, Khaliun, and Saruul's cases (public and private universities), previous gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences appeared to sharpen their critical thinking skills and shape their perceptions of gender as an issue in leadership. This sharpened consciousness helped them to think beyond the current objective structures of the field: to reconstruct their cognitive structures and to critically question the social structures of the Mongolian university field. Critical thinking skills are "higher-order cognitive skills: rather than define, list, and solve" but include "interpret, criticise, and evaluate" (Feiner & Roberts, 1995, p. 367). In this sense, critical thinking "allows individuals and communities to identify what is good for them and resist what might harm them" (Sellars et al., 2018, p. 24). For instance, Saruul previously worked on research that had given her an awareness of gender issues. An example of her perspective can be seen when she said that "the simplest example was that when we say a sentence including both male and female, it should include both genders equally". In addition, as discussed in Chapter Seven, she encountered severe discrimination based on her private university background at a public university; therefore, she changed her place of work from a public university to a private university. As a result, she was in a position to observe gendered practices critically, despite joining a female dominated environment. She noted, "I have been through many incidents where I had to be just quiet or just pass as a woman". Saruul (private university) shared an incident in which she felt powerless because of her gender:

> When the rector asked me to do a renovation of the lecturers' room, people in that room could have spent their efforts to make a decision for choosing and sticking wallpapers with and without me. However, I was asked to renovate that room. Thus, in addition to my main work duties, [I had to] renovate that room and choose wallpapers. When I told the rector, "This job will be done anyway, but it is not the right time", he said, "No. Do it. That's it. Do it. Before giving an explanation, do it". When he said this way, there was no more chance to talk about it again. If I treated him exactly like that, there would raise a conflict ... [If I were a man], I

> would express directly. Maybe, I could express myself, and tell it as a joke while having a cigarette or having a beer after dinner like a man.

Saruul's situation is reflected in much of the current literature on the practice of masculinities and feminisation of middle management in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; O'Connor, 2014). For instance, in UK higher education, Burkinshaw (2015) notes that women predominate in middle management and perform roles of "a form of housekeeping rather than a decision making and influencing activity" (p. 32). In Chinese higher education, Gaskell et al. (2004) argue that "beliefs in the nurturing, supportive and sexual characteristics of women legitimise pushing women in universities into support roles and into teaching" (p. 52). In this regard, it was evident that Saruul (private university) conformed "to masculine norms and power relations" and adopted "silence and conformity as an 'inner' strategy" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 10). She, therefore, considered that gender was an issue in leadership despite the fact that she was at a private university in a female dominated discipline.

In Gegeen and Khaliun's cases (public universities), they read books on gender issues and gained knowledge and understanding of gender and sexism. For example, Khaliun noted that "I have read many biographies where women sacrifice their personal lives to come through hardships. It is a common thing". In addition, they encountered unwritten gender rules at their workplaces, as they were located in male-dominated disciplines. For example, Gegeen learned "a method of giving up" from her female lecturers. Gegeen (public university) elaborated:

> For instance, a [fellow female lecturer] said, "If you want a salary raise, express yourself correctly for why it should be raised. Tell them that you are a woman and need this salary raise because of such things. Use such methods. Otherwise, don't get into an argument just saying, 'It must happen'... They[38] will grind you in their teeth and they will not support your request. So, express yourself correctly and conveniently to make them understand, 'I plan to

[38] Male directors

do such a thing. I do it this way. Or I can assist your work.' To make them understand by a sort of giving up. If you fight, they will do such and such things later on your every step. I faced it in my experience, so you should escape such mistakes" ... While I was intending to say, "Why don't you raise my salary? I have done such and such things", she suggested other methods to express my request.

According to Gegeen, "a method of giving up" was an important gender rule when negotiating with male directors. This echoes Bourdieu (2001)'s study of the shaping of Kabyle women's habitus of "female submissiveness", which he observes was "a natural translation in bending, stooping, lowering oneself ... and the associated docility being seen as appropriate to women" (p. 27). This is also consistent with women's "silence and conformity as an 'inner' strategy" in the practice of masculinities in Hong Kong higher education (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 10). This gender rule of internal silencing was essential in the practice of masculinities in the Mongolian university field because, as Khaliun's example revealed, when she did not observe the rules of the game as noted above, she was "ground in her male director's teeth". Khaliun (public university) elaborated:

> Our former director and I used to teach the same course. He kept teaching in the 60s and 70s style. So, I reported this at a meeting. I am very straightforward, and criticise anyone. This is my disadvantage, honestly. I told him, "You are now teaching in the 60s and 70s style. This is how the style has changed in Australia, America, and Finland ... We cannot continue doing it this way ... Let's teach this way". Well, how he received my criticism was that he spoke up immediately at the meeting: "Well, Khaliun is a very up to date person. So, I will not send this very up to date person to any local and international trainings and seminars anymore". So, he did not include me in any training or seminars in the six years he was a director ... Our school sends its academics overseas a lot and has contracts with many countries, including Japan, Russia, America, and Germany. Everyone around me went to Germany ... but I did not go ... I thought that I had given him helpful feedback to improve his work, but he thought that it was very shameful and humiliating thing to experience in front of others. But actually, his

> treatment had a positive impact on me. During that time, I received large grants, went overseas, and implemented major projects and programs. So, he influenced me a lot. It had a positive effect on me. A positive effect.

Khaliun's situation (public university) echoes with Aiston and Fo (2020)'s findings on the practice of masculinities in Hong Kong higher education. They emphasise the importance of women's internal silencing as a strategy; otherwise, those who do not conform to masculine norms encounter "external silencing—the consequences of speaking out", as "women who try to be heard are in turn silenced" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 11). Therefore, they argue that "the organisational culture of higher education continues to expect women to 'fit in' ... Paradoxically, women's silence is both an enabler and a barrier to their career progression" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 15). In this regard, Khaliun encountered sexist practices and a form of symbolic violence, which had a major impact on the formation of her academic leadership habitus. This way, the women leaders who were more gender-aware perceived unwritten gender rules and discriminatory practices, and were clear in their perception that gender was an issue in leadership. I now turn to discuss Theme Two.

Theme Two: Women Leaders' Reflections on Gender and Leadership

The women leaders' reflections on issues regarding gender and leadership—and their subsequent actions arising from these reflections—may *reinforce and reproduce* or *resist and restructure* symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 2001). Differing levels of reflection and action were embodied in the women leaders' academic leadership habitus. As shown in Table 8.2, three of the eight women considered that "women should be qualified for leadership" (this reflection is elaborated in the subtheme 2.1). They contended that in order for women to qualify as leaders, they needed to overcome their internal barriers (e.g., perceived lack of courage and resilience) and demonstrate traits/norms that they saw as more suitable for academic leadership roles (e.g., being responsible, self-confident, and moral). In addition, two of the eight women considered that "men should dominate in leadership", two perceived that "gender equality in leadership should be supported", and one was silent on this topic. The following table summarises these points.

Table 8.2

Women Leaders' Perceptions of and Reflections on Gender and Leadership

Subfield	Public					Private		
Case	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pseudonym	Gegeen	Iveel	Maral	Ankhil	Khaliun	Saruul	Bulgan	Gerel
Disciplines	Applied sciences	Natural sciences	Social sciences	Applied sciences	Humanities	Social sciences	Social sciences	Humanities
Gender domination	Male	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female
Perceptions of gender in leadership	Gender is an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is an issue	Gender is an issue	Gender is not an issue	Gender is not an issue
Reflections on gender and leadership	Gender equality in leadership should be supported	Men should dominate in leadership	Men should dominate in leadership	Women should be qualified for leadership	Gender equality in leadership should be supported	Silent	Women should be qualified for leadership	Women should be qualified for leadership

The women leaders' differing reflections on gender and leadership were highly relevant to gender domination in their academic disciplines, constituting their different habitus. In addition, various contextual situations—such as public or private universities, patriarchal structures, masculine domination, and the women's internal values—diversely shaped their reflections. In this regard, Blackmore (2011) noted that "context does matter ... when leadership is decontextualised and all leadership is invested in the exemplary practice of a good leader, then leaders are set up for failure" (p. 31). The women leaders' differing reflections are interrogated in the following subthemes: 2.1 Female-dominated disciplines; and 2.2 Male-dominated disciplines.

2.1 Female-dominated academic disciplines. The women leaders in female-dominated disciplines tended to have simpler explanations regarding questions of gender and leadership. For instance, Ankhil, Bulgan, and Gerel (public and private universities) considered that "women should be qualified for leadership". They discussed women's internal barriers and constructions of women in leadership, and suggested that feminine traits/norms do not comply well with leadership roles,

which they felt require specific traits/norms (their perceptions and practices of leadership will be discussed in Chapter Nine). The stereotypes evident in their reflection are consistent with the current literature on socialisation and gender stereotyping (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011; O'Connor, 2014; Sinclair, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). For instance, scholars argue that applying biological sex categories to currently defined leadership contexts is insufficient because leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon and practice of masculinities has long persisted in the global academy (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007).

Ankhil, Bulgan, and Gerel's reflection (public and private universities) that "women should be qualified for leadership" reinforced sexist stereotypes about women's leadership in the academy. For example, they suggested that women typically may display less courage and less resilience in terms of making *hard* decisions. They argued that there are particular traits/norms that are more suitable for leadership roles, e.g., being responsible, self-confident, and moral. They provided examples of particular attitudes associated with being women that in turn may negatively impact on women's leadership. For instance, Ankhil (public university) noted:

> I think that I should talk about my opinion based on my principles. There may be cases where females tend to stand behind males because women are soft and sometimes lack the courage to say, "Let's do this. It will be okay".

Ankhil's comments are reflective of the stereotypes that can be held towards women leaders. In a similar theme, Gerel (private university) commented that sometimes women leaders allow their emotions to get in the way of their work and this may negatively impacts their leadership responsibilities. For example, Gerel (private university) stated:

> In some cases, women should not forget that they are at their work positions and are responsible for their positions instead of being women. Sometimes, there may be times when

> women show their emotions. It is important to keep their emotions and work separate: "I am a woman, but I am here to be responsible for this kind of job".

Stereotypes such as women's low self-confidence have been examined in academic women's research (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Baker, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Harris et al., 2013; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017). For example, in a Hong Kong study of women academics, Aiston & Fo (2020) refer to how socialisation silences women and constructs stereotypical notions of the *feminine*. They argue that women's "internal barriers can play a significant role in women's sense of themselves as academics and as academic leaders [and] manifest themselves ... in a variety of ways, such as a lack of confidence or a fear of failure" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 8).

Similar to Ankhil and Gerel, Bulgan (private university) also noted women's less courage and less resilience. In addition, she suggested that women had a less collectivist mindset. Bulgan (private university) commented:

> When bringing too many women, what are their characters? They tend to make excuses for small things and give up easily. Men are not like that. Thus, I like to work with men (laughed) ... Our women are very strong. We just need to be together. However, we tend to pull each other down instead of encouraging each other. When some of us do better, we say, "Oh, was she like that?" I see this as someone's personal attitude.

Bulgan's statement that "we tend to pull each other down instead of encouraging each other" echoes Bourdieu (2001)'s contention that "women are their own worst enemies" (p. 39), and Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova's (2017) finding in a Kazakhstani study, in which "women become less collaborative with other females" (p. 192). In particular, however, it seemed that Bulgan had absorbed more patriarchal perceptions of gender and leadership, as she stated, "Thus, I like to work with men", suggesting another form of socialisation and gender stereotyping (Aiston & Fo, 2020). These attitudes were not evident in Ankhil and Gerel's interviews, but Maral (public university) also had a more patriarchal view of leadership. Maral reflected that men should dominate in leadership because she believed they had more visionary mindsets. Maral (public university) noted:

To think in anyway, men can see further. Firstly, they may see further and think more broadly. However, men are negligent on small matters in the short term. Ah, women can fill those out. I see it like that ... This is also my opinion.

Maral's point was also made by a participant in a Kazakhstani study, who observed that a top "position is viewed as suiting males better, because they are 'better strategic and global thinkers', are not 'subject to the influence of emotions' and are 'more appropriate as a representative of the organisation in external circles'" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194). Similar tropes were evident when Maral talked about two different types of women. She explained that "if women are educated and have the right ethics, they can be more honest, fairer and can see life from different angles ... Ah, if they are not and do not have morality, it is very toxic". Thus, she advised that the first type of women should aim for leadership.

Overall, these four women leaders suggested that in order to achieve leadership, women should be responsible, self-confident, moral, educated, and work collectively with each other. One contribution of this study is to provide nuanced examinations of women's perceptions and experiences of leadership, contributing to an understanding of the formation of these kinds of attitudes and behaviours. This suggestion is consistent with Bourdieu's (2001)'s idea of the need to unpack "the durable effects that the social order exerts on women (and men), that is to say, the dispositions spontaneously attuned to that order which it imposes on them" (p. 38).

In this regard, these women leaders' reflections could be understood in two distinct ways due to different types of socialisation. Firstly, they can be understood as a form of socialisation due to patriarchal values (Bulgan and Maral's) which devalue women in leadership and impede women's academic leadership careers. Feminist research conducted across a range of national contexts has reacted to this common trope in a variety of ways (Aiston & Fo, 2020; Morley, 2005; O'Connor, 2014). For instance, in a Hong Kong study, Aiston and Fo (2020) refer it to the consequences of socialisation and gender stereotyping, in which "the effects of differential expectations—that is who will be a leader (= male) and who will not (= female) are also cumulative, and over time the

differences become real" (p. 9). In an Irish study, O'Connor (2014) argues that "there is widespread evidence of depicting women's own attitudes, lifestyles and priorities as 'the problem', thus implicitly legitimating their under-representation in senior management positions" (p. 97). In an international study focusing on the global North, Morley (2005) emphasises that "we need a theory of male privilege rather than female disadvantage" (p.115).

Secondly, they can be understood as arising from critiques of particular kinds of masculinities in leadership and re-constructions of women in leadership. This reflection is supported in the current literature on the remaking of academic leadership—new ways of understanding and practising academic leadership (Aiston, 2014; Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Wilkinson, 2010; Yu & Wang, 2018). Feminist scholars argue that women have "the capacity and tenacity to progress and transform university leadership, hierarchies and culture" (Fitzgerald, 2014, p. 116). In this way, women have been working as change agents and contributing to the remaking of academic leadership, despite the fact that they face a wide range of obstacles and challenges in their academic leadership journeys (Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Wilkinson, 2010).

In Saruul's case (private university), she was silent in her reflection on gender and leadership—although she did perceive that gender was an issue in leadership. In fact, Saruul had different perceptions of the logics of gender practice at public and private universities, because she had worked in both sectors. She noted that, "I have seen that women can lead in private universities in reality"; however, she also felt that an unwritten law against women's leadership applied at public universities. Her perception of the logics of gender practice at public universities is interrogated in the following subtheme, as it was crucial to explain the rest of the women leaders' reflections.

2.2 Male-dominated academic disciplines. Saruul (private university) perceived different logics of gender practice at public universities, and explained:

> I have seen from my work, as well as some results of my research, that women cannot lead in public universities. Only men can lead there. The reasons are political parties and power of

> gender. In addition, I cannot deny that any interests for profit may exist ... There is a trend, which has become like a normal thing, like an unwritten law. For example, if a Rector is male and then someone else is hired to fill that position after maybe four years, only another male would be appointed. It's like an unwritten law ... Women do not even think about competing.

Saruul's statement that "women do not even think about competing" implied masculine domination at public universities, in which "the dominated, often unwittingly, sometimes unwillingly, contribute to their own domination by tacitly accepting the limits imposed" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38). This phenomenon may occur in Mongolian public universities in male-dominated disciplines because women academics are avoiding *glass cliff* situations (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Morley, 2014; Ryan & Haslam, 2004). It is crucial to note that glass cliff situations might not be exclusive to women in male-dominated disciplines, however, this was the case in this study. Therefore, future research should investigate glass cliff situations with regard to discipline types (male- or female-dominated disciplines). The glass cliff is "one where the incumbent has little chance of success" and "even if women are successful in glass cliff roles, they can experience negative consequences such as stress" (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 61). This phenomenon is well-explained in Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017)'s study of Kazakhstan—a post-Soviet, Central Asian context, and therefore relevant to this study—in a postsocialist East Asian context. Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) explain that:

> It is possible to be promoted, to become a member of a rector's team, but such an appointment assumes a long-term commitment to the team versus the institution and academia in general. An individual should be ready to move with the team to another appointment, including an appointment in another city and outside academia. In addition, top level positons are associated with the necessity to engage in corruption and higher risks of losing jobs and freedom in case of exposure. (p. 194)

Therefore, Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) note that this situation in Kazakhstani higher education is more troubling for women because it comes with "risks and to sacrifice the career of their spouses, as well as the well-being of their children, in order to commit to a team" (p. 194). They remark that women have "few opportunities to achieve promotion to top level academic positions" and "few females are willing to take these risks" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 194).

In addition, women may potentially value different things (e.g. their families, happiness, or well-being) over leadership aspirations, and this can lead to glass cliff situations (see Iveel's case below as an illustrative example). The value women place on traditional caregiving roles over leadership aspirations has been noted in the current literature in Asian contexts (Dang, 2012; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Morley, 2014). Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) note that "all the [Kazakhstani] women interviewed continue to be influenced by the traditional society belief in the primary role of the female as care-provider. They view their role of mother as being more important than the role of leader" (p. 193). A similar phenomenon is examined in Dang (2012)'s study on *Vietnamese Women in Academic Leadership*. Dang (2012) found that Vietnamese "women sometimes do not want to hold high-level positions [because] they are more concerned about their family responsibilities and happiness" because "Vietnamese people in general, and women in particular, marriage and family are still the most important parts of their lives" (p. 190). In this regard, Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) emphasise that "the available Western theories explaining the experiences of female academic leaders do not account for the importance of the informal institutional influences. They tend to focus on individual socio-psychological and organisational levels" (p. 194). Iveel's case, to which I now turn, provides an example of this phenomenon.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, Iveel (public university) built her leadership career with the help of her political capital—political network. However, she took on multiple responsibilities, and was even responsible for maintenance works, despite the fact that her main role was as an academic

leader. She stated, “Since I became a director, I have never had a summer vacation. I just guard the maintenance work”. In addition, she developed workplace stress, remarking, “I never had a heart issue of pounding or low or high blood pressure before ... When I visit doctors, it cannot be diagnosed at a hospital. It is directly related to stress”. Accordingly, her case demonstrated a glass cliff situation, which is “one where the incumbent has little chance of success” and “even if women are successful in glass cliff roles, they can experience negative consequences such as stress” (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019, p. 61).

In the meantime, Iveel (public university) had personal problems that challenged her internal values, and made her leadership role more challenging. It was evident that she valued her traditional family responsibilities more than her leadership career, which is similar to cases examined in Dang (2012) and Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017)’s studies. Iveel (public university) detailed the hardships she experienced as a consequence of focusing too much on her career:

> Women are not necessarily to become chiefs and resolve others’ problems. Now I am talking to you about my personal troubles. Is it right or wrong to sit here and resolve problems of people? ... I am not generally jealous of other women, but I am jealous of those who get the *Maternal Glory Medal*. I gave birth to my younger daughter when I was 37. After 40, it is too risky. Reproductive age is from the twenties to the thirties. When spending this period of time doing other things, [one] would lose that time ... There are women who dedicated their lives to the wealth of the country and sacrificed something for that. It is very hard to do both.

Iveel (public university), therefore, appealed to women to make fewer sacrifices (e.g. personal time, happiness, health, and values) and implied that women should avoid senior leadership roles because she had found herself in a glass cliff situation where she faced hardships and challenges of her internal values. She advised that women should be more self-confident, think bigger, and have visionary mindsets if they aspire to work toward leadership; at the same time, she concluded that men should dominate in leadership because “it should ease the burdens on women’s backs”. Iveel (public university) suggested:

> I tell our secretary (paused to think), "You do not need a good career. Women do not need a lot of education. Be beautiful, be nice. Make your husband responsible and live off if needed". So it seems as it is not good for women to criticise and blame such things of men. We have a tradition, a Mongolian custom. The wife makes tea in the morning and prepares food in the evening.

On the other hand, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) held different views to Iveel (public university). Similar to Iveel, they were in male-dominated disciplines at public universities. In contrast to Iveel, they did not mention any issues with regard to bearing children. In addition, they had gender awareness knowledge, and had experienced discriminatory practices. In this regard, they believed that gender equality in leadership should be supported.

Firstly, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) emphasised that intelligence is not gendered, and that women are as capable of working in leadership as men. Gegeen noted that men and women are the same, but women are still considered the *second sex*. Gegeen (public university) remarked:

> I do not think we were born less physically or intellectually developed than men. I think that we are the same human beings. We are the same. I look for ways to change this situation step-by-step—the situation that puts women in second place, and puts down women all the time.

Similarly, Khaliun (public university) elaborated:

> Nature made men and women different form each other. But that does not mean that men are genius and women are not. Generally, this is determined by what they have read. The reason why men talk about women like this is that women pay more attention to household chores, and that historically, women used to see and read less than men. Nowadays, women go abroad, meet people and read books. Nowadays, women talk and think at the same level. But when they are at the same level, it is common in our society to let men start from a different level. Well, now I think that women are more skilful and not less than men ... [but] the fact of the 1980s has still been discussed.

In this regard, Gegeen and Khaliun resisted “the male/female opposition” of “the social relations of domination and exploitation” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 30).

Secondly, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) denied notions of women’s natural characters in leadership, which was interrogated in the previous subtheme. However, this denial emphasised the importance of consistency in leadership. For example, Gegeen (public university) argued that women were not soft in leadership if they followed certain rules and regulations consistently. She (public university) observed:

> I do not think that women would be soft [in leadership]. If I know the rules and regulations, and if I know what I have to do or resolve, I stand my ground strongly. If I decide not to do something, I would not do it ... It is right to be consistent.

Khaliun (public university) gave an example of how she handled the *gossip* of her female employees by enacting consistent leadership. Khaliun (public university) stated:

> [It is said that] women cannot make decisions, and work by listening to gossip. When I got this job, [I saw that] it was related to one’s family education, upbringing or conscience. I manage twenty women of the library. All of them come in one by one. They hear a piece of gossip and pass on a piece of gossip or weep and argue with each other. So, what I did at first was listen. Then, I told the first person, “You say this about [X], so you should tell [X] exactly what you have told me. Then you two should come to a solution. I'm a busy person and such a small thing is not important. I am here to resolve important things, not listen to your arguments. If you want to tell me the same thing again, you should not come to me next time. I will not listen. Please come here to talk about your job. Please talk about how you have done your task”. When I talk this way, people stop coming in. They talk to each other about how I do not listen to any gossip. Then I say, “I do not work according to other people's words. I will see you and know who you are. If you say, “She does this and that”, I will never accept it. This way, I have seen that everything goes into a channel.

Khaliun's case is a good example of how she managed the unacceptable behaviours of her female employees, and how she was responsible and consistent in her leadership. In this sense, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) overturned stereotypes of women's natural characters in leadership, such as the idea that "women cannot make decisions and work by listening to gossip" and that women leaders have less courage and resilience. They remarked that women would not be soft or incompetent leaders if they followed rules and regulations consistently and stood their ground firmly. Their statements are reflected in the current literature, in which scholars argue that applying biological sex categories to currently defined leadership contexts is insufficient because leadership is a socially-constructed phenomenon and practice of masculinities has long persisted in the global academy (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007).

Thirdly, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) stated that political appointments caused gender inequality in leadership at public universities, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Accordingly, Gegeen (public university) suggested that women should be appointed as well in order to build gender equality in senior leadership roles at public universities. She (public university) stated:

> In general, men and women should be at the same level ... Men form management in higher education, which means that politics is involved. Political appointments are done. But I think that women should be in management too. I have mentioned that there are four Vice-Rectors. I wish that at least two of them were women.

However, Khaliun (public university) emphasised that it would take time for women to reach the same level as men in Mongolia, because gender equality has not been accepted in society, which was made evident in the discussions of the previous subtheme. Khaliun (public university) elaborated:

> Gender issues and feminism are not accepted in society here. When there are great women candidates in elections, women themselves do not vote for those women candidates. They always vote for male candidates and say, "Men are better because they make rational decisions

with 'solid back'[39] but women would make emotional decisions; so, women aren't appropriate for becoming politicians". A lecturer and scholar of political science at the National University of Mongolia has said the same thing. Thus, in society, women themselves do not accept other women; therefore, it is true that men would not accept them either.

Khaliun's statement that "women themselves do not accept other women" echoes Bourdieu's (2001) argument that "women [were] responsible for their own domination ... Symbolic power cannot be exercised without the contribution of those who undergo" (p. 39, 40). In this regard, Gegeen and Khaliun (public universities) suggested that gender equality in leadership should be supported, and if it was about political appointments (because meritocracy is a problematic concept), women should be appointed too. Their assertions are consistent with the current literature that draws attention to the practice of masculinities and gendered game of women's exclusions in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). This gendered game of women's exclusions is played out in various ways. For instance, in a Hong Kong study, Aiston and Fo (2020) note that "the absence of women on selection panels ... namely the notion of selection panel (male) members appointing in their own image, or 'cloning', thereby excluding women from the game" (p. 14). This way, they remark that "women are externally silenced simply by exclusion" (Aiston & Fo, 2020, p. 13). Nevertheless, feminist scholars agree that it is crucial to support gender equality in academic leadership because "academic women are well placed to provide leadership as academic citizens and in fostering a more democratic, inclusive notion of the twenty-first-century university" (Aiston, 2014, p. 70). In this way, feminist scholars support a notion of power *with* others rather than power *over* others, and promote more relational, shared, and distributed practices of academic leadership (Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Wilkinson, 2010). I now turn to a discussion of the influence of the women leaders' private sphere on their public sphere.

[39] Stable and consistent

Theme Three: Intersections of Private Sphere and Public Sphere

Women's double burdens of caring and paid work are widely discussed in the current literature. Although there is also a counter-argument (Aiston & Jung, 2015), many studies have provided evidence for how women's family circumstances and caregiving responsibilities often impact women academics' career trajectories, promotions, and leadership opportunities in the global academy (Baker, 2010; Dang, 2012; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; Grummell et al., 2009; Harris et al., 2013; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Raddon, 2010; Thornton, 2013; Yu & Wang, 2018). For instance, in an Irish higher education, Grummell et al. (2009) contend that "the definition of senior managerial posts [is] … as care-less positions" (p. 191). In Australian higher education, Fitzgerald and Wilkinson (2010) note that women academics are expected to occupy *care-free* or *care-less* locations but not caregiving roles in order to take on leadership roles. In US higher education, Diezmann and Grieshaber (2019) state that academic "women who obtained positions reported the difficulty of juggling family responsibilities" (p. 42).

In this regard, the women leaders' habitus was diversely shaped by their roles and responsibilities in their private sphere. Table 8.3 shows the structure of the women leaders' private sphere. Although the structure of the women leaders' private sphere looked similar (2-3 children), their private and public sphere intersected differently. For example, Khaliun (public university) encountered obstacles and challenges (in other words, symbolic violence) in her private sphere. Bulgan (private university) considered her private sphere to be a separate notion. Gegeen, Iveel, Maral, Ankhil, Saruul, and Gerel (public and private universities) all received support from their private sphere. Although the findings in this theme were not enough to make any generalisations, this theme at least implied that there is a certain kind of woman who can work toward academic leadership in Mongolia. For the participants, the private sphere served as an objective structure that constructed cognitive and social structures of gender and leadership in the Mongolian university field. This theme discusses: 3.1 Private sphere as symbolic violence; 3.2 Private sphere as a separate notion; and 3.3 Private sphere as support.

Table 8.3

Structure of Women Leaders' Private Sphere

Subfield	Public						Private	
Case	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pseudonym	Gegeen	Iveel	Maral	Ankhil	Khaliun	Saruul	Bulgan	Gerel
Marriage	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Children	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
Children's Life Stages	1 young adult 2 children	1 young adult 1 child	2 adults	1 teenager 1 child	1 young adult 1 teenager or child	1 young adult 1 teenager 1 child	2 adults	2 young adults 1 child

Note: The life stages are named after the following: Child (3-12 years), teenager (13-17 years), young adult (18-25 years), and adult (over 25 years).

3.1 Private sphere as symbolic violence. It was evident in Khaliun's case (public university) that she was the recipient of symbolic violence from her husband. She encountered obstacles and challenges in her current leadership role due to her family duties. Khaliun (public university) elaborated:

> Almost no support from my home ... When I was a lecturer, I used to cook for my husband and children, stay in bed, and do household chores. Now, I have lost my personal life duties. I have got a bad reputation at home for doing nothing. My husband said that I lived as if I was in a hotel ... I always do my duties on weekends. I gather all the clothes, and arrange and iron them on weekends. But there is nothing that is omitted. Just after I get home in the evening, I put clothes in the washing machine. Then, generally, all my work is done when I get home in the evening. Thus, I get very tired and stressed.

Khaliun's statement complied with Grummell et al. (2009)'s findings in Irish higher education, in that "there is a 'care' ceiling derived from women's caring work in the home, built from the strong moral imperative on women to be primary carers" (p. 204). It is also noted in Gaskell et al. (2004)'s study on Chinese higher education, in which women are expected to be primary care givers.

Khaliun explained that this was associated with Mongolian traditional culture, in which women are expected to be primary carers. Khaliun (public university) noted:

> In fact, a woman doing a managerial job in the Mongolian society means that she is sacrificing herself. This is very difficult ... Because, according to our traditional culture, women should stay home, look after their children, cook, and spend most of their time on their families at home.

Khaliun's statements placed male domination as symbolic domination and feminine submissiveness as symbolic violence. Bourdieu (2001) notes that "the dominated apply categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant to the relations of domination, thus making them appear as natural" (p. 35). In this regard, Khaliun (public university) faced double burdens and symbolic violence from her private sphere, and perceived that gender was an issue in leadership.

3.2 Private sphere as a separate notion. Bulgan (private university) considered her private sphere as separate from the public sphere of paid work. Her husband had impacted significantly upon her life in the past—for instance, she changed her career because she followed her husband to work in the countryside. However, she has since changed her view, and implied in her interview that one's private sphere should be kept separate from one's work. At the time of her interview, in terms of her private sphere, Bulgan was responsible for looking after her parents and granddaughter. Bulgan (private university) stated:

> Do I have a back family? Yes, I have it. My parents, two old people, they get sick ... But, I do not want to talk about family matters at my workplace ... This is my personal life ... Well, if something bad happens, people should handle it by themselves. I say that to my lecturers. I do not like to listen to [family matters]. If [my lecturers] come into my office and tell me... this is a different thing. They should tell me ... Particularly, these things come from my young lecturers. I tell them, "*Teachers*[40], do not do these things. This is a really bad culture. Office

[40] Lecturers

culture should not be like this. Be nice" ... People should think about these things. Where they should talk.

In this regard, Bulgan perpetuated "the opposition between the public, masculine universe and private, female worlds" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 94). Bulgan's statement helped make sense of why she had a patriarchal viewpoint regarding gender and leadership, which was discussed in the previous theme. In addition, Bulgan was a good example of how, in the tertiary sector, "employers believe that they are entitled to workers who are immune from family responsibilities" (Thornton, 2013, p. 135).

3.3 Private sphere as support. The current literature notes that family support has a positive impact on women's career trajectories (Backer, 2010; Dang, 2012; Grummell et al., 2009; Morley, 2014; Yu & Wang, 2018). For instance, "women who felt that they had ... family support seemed more optimistic about their ability to handle the integration of academic and family work" (Backer, 2010, p. 323). The topic of family support was addressed in Gegeen, Iveel, Maral, Ankhil, Saruul, and Gerel's interviews (public and private universities). For example, Gerel (private university) remarked that "because my family and children understand me and support me, I have been managing [my family matters] without any problems". In Iveel (public university) and Saruul's (private university) cases, they received support from their husbands not only during their current leadership roles, but also during their previous research studies abroad. Iveel remarked that her career success was inseparable from her husband's support. Iveel (public university) stated:

> From the beginning, the person who has pushed me forward is my husband. My husband is a sports person. When I graduated, I took an exam to study in Japan. I told him that I would receive a scholarship and go to Japan. He said, "Go, go" ... So, I left my daughter with her father ... I went abroad for over two years ... In the evening, the most important thing was to have a video call with my husband and daughter. He used to cook for her, poor thing, and always kept our daughter with short hair until I came back when she was six.

In Ankhil's case (public university), she adopted gender equality values, shared her family responsibilities with her husband, and sometimes received her mother's help. Ankhil (public university) noted:

> I have been handling my household matters. I do my household chores during weekends. I do not do much during weekdays. Whoever comes home early cooks dinner. My mother is there and helps. However, she does not live with us and does not come very often ... We both are very busy people, so we get found a way to manage our work. I do not think that I could not do this job without someone's help. I could. Ah, but we are a family, and we help each other with certain things.

These women leaders suggested that women should have good understandings with their husbands. They implied that double burdens are often a woman's choice to bear, as women always have opportunities to negotiate with their husbands. For instance, Gegeen (public university) discussed how she handled her conflicts, changed her husband's attitude, and received family support for her leadership role. Gegeen (public university) elaborated:

> If he is living with me, he should live happily, and do what he wants to do. It should be the same for me. If I am living with him, I should live happily on my own. I have understood that ... There were some conflicts in the beginning. From the family side, we explained the situation to him. I am doing a certain job; therefore, he has to support and understand me. My husband specialised in roads and bridges, and graduated in Russia. Then, he understood my position. He works in the countryside, but when he is in the city, he fully takes care of our family matters. He brings me lunch during the daytime, drops me off at work in the morning, and picks me up in the evening. My children understand and help me too. My family understands me. On the other hand, I feel like my family has huge expectations for me. You must do this and that ... My husband expects an outcome a lot. He has become my supporter on one side.

Gegeen's experience was relevant to Bourdieu's argument. Bourdieu (2001) noted:

> So the only way to understand this particular form of domination is to move beyond the forced choice between constraint (by forces) and consent (to reasons), between mechanical coercion and voluntary, free, deliberate, even calculated submission. (p. 37)

Therefore, these women leaders moved "beyond the forced choice between constraint (by forces) and consent (to reasons)" and negotiated these with their husbands (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 37). Maral (public university) remarked:

> Our family has a very relaxing and pleasant environment. That environment influences me positively. When I arrive at home, [I] relax for a while and then get to work on many things ... When I am angry, upset or stressed, [they] calm me down.

In this way, the women leaders received various kinds of support, including emotional and psychological support, from their private sphere.

In summary, this theme has examined the objective structure of a private sphere that has shaped cognitive and social structures of gender and leadership in the Mongolian university field. It outlined struggles—and support—that the women leaders have experienced in their private sphere, and that have impacted on their public sphere. It also implied what kind of women could work for academic leadership in the Mongolian university field.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on gender, and investigated the ongoing effects of the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field. As the women leaders in this study were the embodied forms of various kinds of durable effects, they variously struggled, contested, and/or accepted these effects. The examination of their academic leadership habitus—in particular their perceptions, reflections, and actions—has revealed these conflicts and contestations.

Theme One demonstrated that patriarchal representations of the state and educational system played out for the women leaders, whether they were in female- or male-dominated disciplines. This was the case, no matter their perceptions of gender in leadership. In addition, Theme One proposed

that gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences sharpened some of the women leaders' critical thinking skills, which allowed them to think beyond the current objective structures, reconstruct their cognitive structures, and critically question the social structures of gender in academic leadership.

Theme Two interrogated gender domination in the women leaders' disciplines, and discussed how various contextual situations (e.g., public or private universities, female- or male-dominated disciplines, patriarchal structures, masculine domination, socialisation, past experiences, and internal values) diversely shaped their reflections on gender and leadership in the Mongolian university field. Reflections on gender issues were crucial indicators of the cognitive structures that further contribute to reproducing, reinforcing, or resisting social structures of gender.

Theme Three discussed how the domestic/private sphere served as a key objective structure that constructed cognitive and social structures of gender and leadership in Mongolia. It was more common for women who had family support to work in academic leadership in the Mongolian university field.

Overall, this chapter has shown how the symbolic power of masculine domination has been reinforced, reproduced, or resisted by the women leaders at public and private universities in Mongolia. In particular, this chapter has revealed the cognitive struggles of the women leaders "over the meaning of the things of the world and in particular of sexual realities" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 14). I now turn to a discussion of the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership in the Mongolian university field.

Chapter Nine

Leadership and the Women Academic Leaders' Habitus

Introduction

Chapter Eight focused on gender and discussed the struggles of the women leaders with regard to their differing perceptions and reflections on gender and leadership. It showed how the symbolic power of masculine domination has been reinforced, reproduced, or resisted by the women leaders in the Mongolian university field. However, it did not explicitly investigate how leadership is constructed and practised in the Mongolian university field. Therefore, this chapter focuses on leadership, and interrogates the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership at Mongolian public and private universities.

Over the course of this study, it was made evident that the women leaders understood leadership by connecting with the concept of *манлай* (*manlai*), which means the top, the leader, the best, the head, or the first. This word is strongly associated with Mongolian nomadic culture; for instance, it is often used to illustrate the head of a herd of cattle. Thus, the Mongolian word for leadership, *манлайлал* (*manlailal*), has its roots in the word *манлай* (*manlai*), and carries the meanings of being a head of something, leading others, and role modelling. These fundamental concepts were evident in the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership that was about being a role model of morality; in other words, being the *манлай* (*manlai*)—the top or the best—of morality. Their perceptions and practices were evident in the formation of their leadership habitus.

In addition, the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership are highly associated with paternalistic leadership theory (Cheng et al., 2014; Zhang, Huai, & Xie, 2015; Wu, Huang, & Chan, 2012). Paternalistic leadership originally developed in Chinese society, which is heavily influenced by Confucian philosophy (Cheng et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2012). Traditionally, paternalistic leadership supports "individualised care, maintains moral standard and implies authority on subordinates" (Wu et al., p. 632). The key elements of paternalistic leadership are authoritarian leadership, moral leadership, and benevolent leadership. These are defined as follows:

- *Authoritarian leadership*. Authoritarian leadership is defined as "the hierarchical dynamics between leaders' control, power, and authority, and subordinates' obedience, compliance, and respect" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 83). This leadership method employs a variety of techniques (i.e. leaders' intimidating actions in front of their subordinates, placing pressure on their subordinates, being strict with their subordinates, scolding their subordinates for unsuccessful performances, and disciplining their subordinates for violating certain principles) (Cheng et al., 2014).
- *Moral leadership*. Paternalistic leadership requires leaders to "act as a role model in terms of moral character" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 83). Moral leadership involves various qualities, such as leaders being responsible for their jobs, never avoiding their duties, role modelling, being self-disciplined, and leading their employees in difficult tasks.
- *Benevolent leadership*. Benevolent leadership is about "providing individualised and holistic concern if the subordinates encounter personal and familial problems" (Cheng et al., 2012, p. 83). Benevolent leadership is defined by a range of factors (i.e. leaders showing concern about their subordinates, considering their personal requests, encouraging them in difficulties, understanding causes of their poor performances, and training and coaching them).

Paternalism also has been found to be a dominant leadership style in other East Asian societies, such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, primarily due to their similar cultural roots (Cheng et al., 2014). However, there are some cultural differences between these societies regarding paternalistic leadership. For example, "the Japanese concept *Wa*, which refers to horizontal harmony in a group and collective responsibility, differs particularly from *Guanxi* in China and Taiwan, and from *Inhwa* in South Korea, emphasising interpersonal connectedness including vertical differentiation" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 84). In this regard, this study also identified several cultural differences between paternalistic leadership theory and the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership. This is because Mongolian tradition and culture have been influenced by a range of factors, including the traditional Mongolian nomadic lifestyle, ancestral teachings about the great

kings and queens, Shamanism, Buddhism, socialism, and market economy, all of which were discussed in Chapter Two. The following themes, arising from the data, interrogate these differences, and discuss the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership. These themes are:

- Theme One: Coercive Leadership
- Theme Two: Moral Leadership
- Theme Three: Benevolent and Collectivist Leadership
- Theme Four: Visionary Leadership

Through these themes, this chapter investigates how leadership was constructed, understood, and practised by the women leaders in the study. I now turn to Theme One.

Theme One: Coercive Leadership

Paternalistic leadership is a form of authoritarian leadership, but also differs from traditional notions of authoritarian leadership. According to paternalistic leadership theory, authoritarian leadership is defined as "the hierarchical dynamics between leaders' control, power, and authority, and subordinates' obedience, compliance, and respect" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 83). In particular, "leaders are expected to behave on high moral standards, which enable subordinates to believe in his/her moral integrity and benevolence, and to follow their authoritarian guidance" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 83). In other words, authoritarian leadership is inseparable from moral leadership in paternalistic leadership theory.

However, as noted previously, there exist several cultural differences between different societies—including the society examined in this study—regarding authoritarian leadership. For example, China was found to be "more authoritarian and stress particularistic ties, due to its centralisation, vertical decision-making processes, and the importance of Guanxi" (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 84). In contrast, the women leaders featured in this study preferred less authoritarian leadership, but did value the moral aspects of authoritarian leadership. In this sense, this study uncovered two notions regarding authoritarian leadership: a traditional notion and a moral notion. The women leaders' perceptions of a traditional notion of authoritarian leadership, which is about power *over*

others, are discussed in this theme under the term *coercive leadership*. The women leaders' perceptions of a moral notion of authoritarian leadership are interrogated in the next theme, *moral leadership*.

The women leaders featured in this study had disparate perceptions of coercive leadership. Seven of the eight resisted it, whereas Bulgan (private university) supported it. These perceptions are discussed in the following subthemes of: 1.1 Resisting coercive leadership; and 1.2 Reproducing coercive leadership.

1.1 Resisting coercive leadership. It was made evident over the course of this study that coercive leadership[41] is practised commonly at both public and private universities in Mongolia. The women leaders referred to it as an "old time" approach that had been perpetuated since the socialist era. Various historical documents reveal that socialist societies were built by the military forces and led by a military version of coercive leadership (Baark, 1996; Lewis, 2012; NUM, 2014; Smolentseva, 2003). For instance, Lewis (2012) remarks that "post-Soviet states in Central Asia regularly feature in rankings of the world's most repressive regimes" (p. 115), a fact which was partially relevant to this study as Mongolia is a former socialist country in East Asia. Gerel (private university) compared coercive leadership to the metaphor of sledgehammering. Gerel (private university) explained:

> By leading in old ways (laughed), nothing is there. Leading in a hierarchical system. It is managed through a hierarchical system. A chief is there and says "do it" without listening to a word. A chief does not listen and everything is closed. A kind of discussion is not there. This is known as bureaucratism, and is a method of sledgehammering.

Khaliun (public university) noted that less competent people also use this approach nowadays:

> Less competent people oppress others. For example, there are chiefs who take photos while they are sitting with other people during non-working hours. While talking to them, they record others or take pictures. Such approaches are useless**.** Or when they argue with each

[41] Evidences of coercive leadership are also provided in the following themes.

other, they video tape the arguments on their mobile phones and distribute the footage all over the university's internal network. For me, well, I do not know, it is a bit old-fashioned and was very popular during the socialist era.

In this regard, the women leaders discussed the various ways of how coercive leadership is practised at public and private universities. It occurs at public universities because of the heavy level of government involvement, and the political appointments (as discussed in the previous chapters). This style of leadership also occurs at private universities, but perhaps for different reason (e.g. due to the effects of neoliberalism and managerialism, which appear to encourage more coercive and bureaucratic behaviours by commodifying lecturers, students, and educational programs). In fact, neoliberal and managerialist practices are evident at both public and private universities under the term of *market principles*. However, the consequences appear to be much more harmful for the women leaders at private universities as opposed to those at public universities. These consequences are discussed below.

Coercive leadership at public universities. As noted in the previous chapters, heavy government involvement is arguably detrimental to the management and operations of Mongolian public universities (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018; Javzan, 2018; Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013; World Bank, 2010). As a consequence, the women leaders at public universities encountered various obstacles and challenges. Gegeen (public university) provided an example:

> Well, for example, when enrolment had closed and everything had started, we got a new student. When I explained that we conducted things in accordance with the calendar year, the credit allocations had already been enacted, and it was impossible to take this student, they said that they were sent by a certain parliament member ... I tried to explain, "Well, this time, it is in the middle of the semester. I will admit this student next semester". I tried to make them understand this way. Ah, some reply, "What is the problem? Take it. It is only one student." This is a form of coercion, yes?

Although Gegeen's statement does not suggest a gendered aspect to this type of coercion, more women than men are exposed to the possibility of getting such treatment due to the practice of masculinities and feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field, as evidenced and discussed in the previous chapters. This is also reflected in the literature relating to gender and leadership in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). For example, in UK higher education, Burkinshaw (2015) notes that feminisation of middle management exists as "a form of housekeeping rather than a decision making and influencing activity" (p. 32).

In relation to neoliberal practices, the women leaders at public universities did not perceive major obstacles. In other words, the data analysis of this study did not reveal that the women leaders at public universities encountered significant obstacles and challenges regarding the consequences of neoliberal practices, such as marketisation. Instead, the challenges they described in their interviews were mainly based on the consequences of government involvement, political appointments, and coercive leadership at public universities. This may be because neoliberal practices are new to Mongolian public universities, which still have strong foundations based on the previously centralised, socialist system. The women leaders at public universities described being given the opportunity to learn about and enact market principles rather than being challenged by them. For instance, Iveel (public university) remarked:

> I proportion the budgets differently among departments and allocate more for the departments that earned more money by calculating their expenses and income ... This means that everything would go by the market principle. If they need more money, they take on more students. Follow this principle.

Iveel's statement is supported by Javzan (2018)'s study on governance, finances, and higher education in Mongolia. Javzan (2018) remarks that one of the new issues Mongolian public universities face are the financial issues of a market-based system, as they had previously been reliant

on centralised funding. The dilemmas facing Mongolian public universities are similar to those faced by Russian higher education. Smolentseva (2003) notes that Russian higher education faces challenges of "the improvement of financial support" and "the acquisition of the skills necessary in the current context of the commercialisation and marketisation of higher education" (p. 391). Indeed, these new issues seem to provide opportunities for the women leaders at public universities to learn and grow as leaders in the new market economy of higher education in Mongolia. As such, this study suggests that the consequences of neoliberal practices, such as marketisation, appear to be less harmful for the women leaders at public universities. This is in contrast to the practices of government involvement, political appointments, and coercive leadership, which have presented major challenges to the women's academic leadership at Mongolian public universities.

Coercive leadership at private universities. The current literature discusses various consequences of neoliberalism and new managerialism on academic leadership (Blackmore, 2013; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Grummell et al., 2009; Thornton, 2013; O'Connor, 2014; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017). For instance, in Irish higher education, "the purpose of higher education has effectively been redefined as serving the needs of the market, with a stress on the transmission of employment related skills and the undertaking of commercially useful research" (O'Connor, 2014, p. 11). In UK higher education, "new managerialism jobs are another level of bureaucracy, with never-ending administrative deadlines, normally involving lots of responsibility but very little authority" (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 31). With regard to Kazakhstani higher education, Kuzhabekova and Almukhambetova (2017) state:

> Under the influence of neoliberal ideology, [women] feel pressured to work, to earn good salaries, and to demonstrate career progression. They view themselves as being as capable in leadership as males and attribute failure to advance to personal incapacities rather than to societal barriers. (p. 192, 193)

In this regard, the neoliberal and managerialist principles that underpinned the formations of Mongolian private universities allowed these universities to conduct more coercive leadership. For

instance, coercive leadership as a factor resulting in the commodification of lecturers, students, and educational programs[42] was evident at Mongolian private universities. For example, it was evident that the women leaders at private universities held more roles and responsibilities than those at public universities, suggesting the commodification of lecturers. Saruul (private university) stated:

> I am responsible for many things now. For example, I am in charge of supervising my lecturers' works, working with security guards and cleaners, working on the school's management, working on renovations and services and working with students, representatives of students, management team, and academic council. In addition to these, I have become a member monitoring and supervising team for British Accreditation Council, which is a task that would be completed for a certain period. Therefore, I have to complete a lot of work, and I have been working on how to manage my time without making myself tired.

The commodification of lecturers might have happened at private universities because allocating multiple roles to fewer academics reduces salary expenses. In particular, academics tend to work long hours, including public holidays and non-working hours, to cater to their multiple roles and responsibilities, but with no additional income. Gerel (private university) elaborated:

> There are some complaints from lecturers today. Under the Labour Law, wages should be different when working on public holidays or [during non-working hours]. There come proposals on the wage rates that should be different. But there is nothing like that.

In particular, the women leaders were not given any support to raise these issues, propose ideas to solve these issues, or protect their labour rights, because Labour Unions were inactive at their universities. In addition, their actions were greatly controlled by their duties at work. Gerel (private university) stated:

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[42] The commodification of research was not evident in the women leaders' interviews. As noted in Chapter Six, during the socialist era, Mongolian higher education institutions valued teaching over research because the higher education sector of Mongolia was developed separately to the research and technology sectors. The current implications are that research and development produce minor income at public universities, and almost no income at private universities.

> Ah, I did not have any experience last year, right? I made a wrong move too. I thought that I was responsible for this job and have to give all the responses to my lecturers. My response had gone a bit wrong. What happened was that there was a question related to the Labour Union. I gave a response regarding that, but I was not supposed to give that answer. Eventually, I realised that it was [written] in my job duties ... Well, there is a Labour Union at this university but the union is not very active ... Those are, in fact, very sensitive topics. Yes. Yes.

All these testimonies suggest that the women leaders at private universities faced obstacles and challenges due to neoliberal and managerialist practices under coercive leadership.

Challenges under coercive leadership. Despite the fact that coercive leadership manifested in different ways at public and private universities, it was troubling for the women leaders at both university types to enact their own leadership practices under coercive leadership. In other words, although there were some tensions between public and private universities[43], they faced similar challenges under coercive leadership. The women leaders at both university types perceived limited power in their leadership roles, and held middle management roles. For instance, Iveel (public university) stated, "Policy decisions are made at the top and we are executing them on the ground. So, we are doing managerial work, right? We are managing". Similarly, Gerel (private university) noted:

> I may be working as a Director of the School of [X] but I do not have any right to spend money ... [when] we, as middle level and lower level people, try do to something ... make initiatives, [we] go to the top, but the person does not accept that, or does not listen to, or directly opposes that, or sledgehammers that. I think that it is really poisonous and dangerous for destroying one's motivation and passion in a short time.

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[43] As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, the women leaders had contradictory perceptions of quality of education and capability of human resources at Mongolian public and private universities, in which some reproduced symbolic domination of public universities, whereas some resisted such domination (See Appendix N).

This is consistent with the current literature on the feminisation of middle management in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; O'Connor, 2014). This is known as "a form of housekeeping rather than a decision making and influencing activity" where women predominate (Burkinshaw, 2015, p. 32). Therefore, this concept provides additional reasoning for some of the discussions in the previous chapters (e.g. why Gerel resisted taking on a leadership role [Chapter Seven] and why Iveel appealed to women to make fewer sacrifices by avoiding leadership roles [Chapter Eight]). In addition, this concept explains why the women leaders experienced cognitive struggles over gender and leadership, and why Khaliun emphasised that it would take time for women to reach the same level as men (Chapter Eight). Gerel (private university) explained all these issues clearly:

> Nowadays, lecturers talk about an issue at our university. I hope that it would change. "A stupid person works as a department head". There is such a talk among our lecturers. If "a stupid person works as a department head", it means "a more stupid person than a stupid person would work as a director of a faculty". Try to understand them. It is because there is no support. A discourse is going on there. Make you work so much. As long as you work so much, you are asked to do something else. So, "instead of that, you can work as a lecturer like me and be happy". Yes. So, it is true that there is no support at the management level, isn't it?

Therefore, the women leaders in this study considered that coercive leadership was not leadership, but an "old time" approach. Instead, they supported and enacted moral, benevolent, collectivist, and visionary leadership—topics that are discussed in the next themes. This is relevant to the current literature on (educational) leadership from critical feminist perspectives, which emphasises a notion of power *with* others rather than power *over* others (Aiston, 2014; Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Fletcher, 2004; Sinclair, 2013; Wilkinson, 2010), but with many cultural particularities.

Not surprisingly, it was challenging for the women leaders to enact their own leadership practices under coercive leadership. They had contradictory expectations from their leadership roles as well as from their internal values, a phenomenon which is also noted in the current literature (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Morley 2014). In particular, in a post-socialist East Asian context, the women leaders in this study had "multiple conflicting expectations" due to "the superimposition of three dominant cultures – traditional, [socialist], and Westernised neo-liberal" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 183).

Moreover, these particular experiences cannot be sufficiently understood through Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity", in which agents tend to misrecognise the violence and do not "perceive it as such" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167, 168). In this study, however, the women leaders were aware of the fact that they were under coercive leadership, and that sometimes their rights were breached. Therefore, this study suggests that the women leaders experienced more serious forms of symbolic violence, originating in the bureaucratic structures and practices of the Mongolian university field. As noted previously, gender matters in this practice because more women than men are exposed to the possibility of experiencing such forms of symbolic violence due to the practice of masculinities and feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field, which have been evidenced and discussed in the previous chapters. This is also reflected in the literature relating to the practice of masculinities and feminisation of middle management in the global academy (Aiston, 2011; Aiston & Fo, 2020; Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Gaskell et al., 2004; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007). In particular, while middle management is more feminised, leadership is known as a practice of masculinities; male-dominated leadership has long persisted in higher education, and female academics have traditionally been constructed as *other* in this field (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Blackmore, 2011; Burkinshaw, 2015; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Fitzgerald, 2014; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; O'Connor, 2014; Wilkinson, 2007).

In fact, the Mongolian university field is actually a bureaucratic field, in which public and private universities symbolise its bureaucratic subfields. Therefore, this bureaucratic field exercises its legitimate power over the women leaders for the "material or symbolic profits of universalisation" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 60). In this regard, the majority of the women leaders (except for Bulgan) resisted the violence, and strived to enact their leadership practices more sensibly and morally—which might indicate the strength of meritorious capital in this study. In this way, they were "re-making leadership ... in their practices of organising" in the Mongolian university field (Sinclair, 2013, p. 11), where the differences between public and private universities were not easily discernible in their leadership practices. I now turn to a discussion of Bulgan's case (private university).

1.2 Reproducing coercive leadership. In contrast to the previously discussed cases, Bulgan (private university) supported the concept of coercive leadership. In fact, she had a very different habitus to the other women leaders in this study. She received a higher education degree during the socialist era (only Bulgan and Maral received higher education degrees during the socialist era) and worked as a leader in a highly masculinised sector for many years. After this, she worked as an academic leader at a public university in a highly masculinised discipline for many years. She had just recently moved into a feminised private sector, and had started recently her academic career at a private university. Therefore, she had a very different career trajectory to the other women leaders in this study.

Because of her previous work experiences in a highly masculinised sector, Bulgan was well aware of how coercive leadership worked. Bulgan (private university) noted:

> You are not asked whether you can do a thing or not. You must do it immediately and implement it ... You are given a difficult task in the evening and asked to finish it by tomorrow morning. You are not asked how you could accomplish it. You simply have to finish it.

However, Bulgan preferred, enacted, and reproduced coercive leadership—despite the fact that she started her leadership role at a private university in a feminised discipline. Bulgan (private university) defined leadership as "accomplishing tasks diligently and honestly" and stated:

> Instead of telling according to a theory, I think that [leadership is about] a person who works with a dedication and finds a way to accomplish a task. If he/she thinks that he/she can do it, he/she works at full capacity diligently and honestly. In other words, without having two souls. If one works this way, it is leadership.

In this sense, Bulgan (private university) was comfortable in her leadership role and implemented her top management's decisions by enacting coercive leadership. This was very different to the women leaders in the previous subtheme, who dealt with coercive leadership. For example, when Bulgan was asked to supervise the renovation of her faculty's building, she made the space more open in order to control her employees. Bulgan (private university) elaborated:

> I changed everything, including the building's windows. Classrooms have big windows now ... If it is an educational institution, it has to be open. Otherwise, what happens behind closed doors? Now, all of our classrooms are open (laughed) ... I made this decision alone to make this building like this ... My lecturers wanted to cover up the windows with something. I said, "If I wanted to stick something to it, I would not do it. You should teach your classes interestingly" ... One the one side, Mongolians look at control. If the director is sitting there, they do not go out. When they are out, they come back very fast. They say, "The director is sitting there". Everyone looks at each other. Students too, "The lecturer is there".

Bulgan's statements helped make sense of why she supported patriarchal viewpoints regarding gender and leadership, and perpetuated "the opposition between the public, masculine universe and private, female worlds" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 94), which was discussed in Chapter Eight. Her leadership perceptions and practices were disparate from the other women leaders in this study, who considered that leadership should not be coercive. Therefore, the following themes discuss the other women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership by excluding Bulgan's case. I now turn to a discussion of moral leadership.

Theme Two: Moral Leadership

Morality is an essential concept of Mongolian traditional culture. In fact, morality is understood and supported in various ways in Mongolia. For example, there is a saying that "a broken bone is better than a broken name", which supports the importance of saving face. In the ancestral teachings, Chinggis Khaan strongly supported morality, integrity, and collectivism strongly, and taught, "When it was wet, we bore the wet together, when it was cold, we bore the cold together" (Holiday, 2012). In the nomadic lifestyle, moral actions of respecting and protecting nature, animals, cattle, and neighbours are crucial, as this lifestyle is dependent on these factors. With the help of Shamanism, Mongolians have lived by respecting, worshiping, and protecting nature. In addition, Buddhism in Mongolia has elevated morality to another level, as it is the major method of acquiring meritorious capital, which was discussed in Chapter Four. Moreover, during the socialist era, a moral obligation to protect the common good was crucial; during the market economic era, a moral obligation to consider human rights has become important.

In addition, morality is widely noted in the current literature on both paternalistic leadership and educational leadership from critical feminist perspectives. For instance, in paternalistic leadership theory, moral leadership constitutes one of the three key elements (Cheng et al., 2014; Zhang, Huai, & Xie, 2015; Wu, Huang, & Chan, 2012). It is because of the influence of Confucianism that holds a great importance in morality as human virtue (Luo, 2012; McDonald, 2012; Wah, 2010). Wah (2010) remarks that "five key dimensions of the Confucian values [are] moral character, human-heartedness, human relationship, lifelong learning, and moderation" (p. 280). In educational leadership theory from critical feminist perspectives, scholars refer morality to social justice, ethics, and internal goods of women leaders (Aiston, 2011; Blackmore, 2011; Normore & Blanco, 2006; Wilkinson, 2010). Thus, this study suggests that there are many concurrences of similar discourses, but that they exist in different places and different contexts in the current scholarship (i.e. moral leadership in paternalistic leadership, or moral aspects of women's academic leadership from critical feminist perspectives).

In this regard, moral leadership was the core element of the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership. Firstly, they explained that moral leadership was about being responsible and dedicated, in addition to being ethical and communicating in an ethical manner. Secondly, they noted that the other forms of leadership (i.e., benevolent, collectivist, and visionary leadership) were all, in fact, moral leadership because they all focused on considering and taking care of colleagues and their current and future lives. These are discussed in the next themes. Thus, the women leaders suggested that leadership was about being a role model of morality; in other words, being the *манлай* (*manlai*)—the top or the best—of morality, which demonstrates the importance of the concept of meritorious capital in this study. As discussed in Chapter Four, the concept of meritorious capital was useful to understand "moral purpose and values [of leadership that is] to assist in making the everyday decisions be, not about self-interest, but about mutual needs, aspirations, and values" (Blackmore, 2011, p. 22). The women leaders' moral practices are discussed in the following subthemes of: 2.1 Being responsible and dedicated; and 2.2 Being ethical.

2.1 Being responsible and dedicated. The women leaders emphasised that leaders should be responsible and dedicated to their work, and they considered these qualities to be moral qualities. For example, Gerel (private university) remarked that "the leader should be determined ... one should not fluctuate and should not give up easily". Saruul (private university) elaborated:

> [My responsibilities are] to be loyal and to be dedicated to what I am doing. If I am doing a thing, I should participate by myself. In addition, I should work at my full capacity. If I cannot do something, I should just admit it honestly. These are my ultimate principles ... I am serious about fairness and having a respectful manner. At least, if I make an appointment with someone, be ready at the right time. Avoid telling lies and be responsible for doing these things. I stand firmly behind these principles.

In addition, as discussed in Chapter Eight, Khaliun and Gegeen (public universities) emphasised the importance of consistency in leadership. For instance, Gegeen stated, "If I decide not

to do something, I would not do it. If the duration is over, it is over then. It is the right way to do something. It is right to be consistent" in leadership.

In this regard, the women leaders' statements on moral leadership qualities are consistent with current literature on both paternalistic leadership and educational leadership from critical feminist perspectives. For instance, in paternalistic leadership theory, moral leadership involves various qualities, such as leaders being responsible for their jobs, never avoiding their duties, role modelling, being self-disciplined, and leading their employees in difficult tasks (Cheng et al., 2014; Zhang, Huai, & Xie, 2015; Wu, Huang, & Chan, 2012). Cheng et al. (2014) emphasise that being "responsible on the job" is known as a moral virtue in leadership (p. 86). In educational leadership research that draws on critical feminist perspectives, Gegeen's statement of "the right way to do something" aligns with what researchers refer to as a moral imperative. Blackmore (2011) notes that "leadership requires a clear ethical (in the professional sense) and moral (doing the right thing) imperative linked to a strong sense of purpose in order to reduce inequality and promote social justice for all" (p. 26).

However, as discussed previously, it was challenging for the women leaders at both types of universities to enact their moral leadership practices under coercive leadership. For example, Iveel (public university) talked about how she prepared herself to negotiate with her top management in order to fulfil her lecturers' requests, which would illustrate that she was responsible in her role. Iveel (public university) elaborated:

> Academics suggest establishing centres. This question should go through an academic council's meeting. Then, I have to prepare for that. Each department wants to establish a centre. In order to do that, I would face many oppositions. Well, it is not, as they would disagree with me. Instead, they would question the grounds for establishing the centres. In addition, there would be personal oppositions. So, I have to develop tactics to reason with them, push to have centres, and escape personal oppositions at tomorrow's academic council meeting. Thus, I thought about how to present myself, what to say, and how to reason with others while I was doing my dishes yesterday. Then I drew up a table of how to behave, where

to push, etc. Well, then, whether three centres would be established or not will be decided at tomorrow's meeting. It will depend on "how I tie the centre of the meeting, what to say, and what to do between people".

In this way, the women leaders of this study had the moral characteristics of being responsible and dedicated to their roles, and enacted moral leadership, despite the challenging situations that arose from their limited power under coercive leadership.

2.2 Being ethical. The women leaders suggested that leaders should be highly ethical and have communication ethics, which demonstrated their moral character. For example, Maral (public university) remarked that "my favourite word is ethics, at first. [Leaders] must have high ethics". Gegeen (public university) noted how she stood against bureaucracy and enacted her ethical practices. Gegeen (public university) stated:

> I do not like bureaucracy. It does not matter how high one's position is. If one can resolve an issue with a person, one should try his/her best and solve it fast. If the issue is not applicable to the procedure, I would explain it. Communication is the number one tool.

However, as discussed previously, the women leaders encountered obstacles and challenges to lead in a sensible way under coercive leadership. For instance, Gerel (private university) shared her experience in managing the coercive actions of her top management, and the resistance of her employees. Gerel (private university) elaborated:

> There were things that made lecturers feel stressed. "Give it today and return it tomorrow, give it today and return it tomorrow". Well sorry, give us some time ... Initially, what happened was that I brought about policies to stop things. And now, I have learned a little bit of how to let understand [I] say, "*Teacher*[44], please wait. We are discussing it very well. Look at this. The working group is like this ... What we do today and tomorrow always comes back. If we do it with a good plan, it is reasonable, *teacher*". Just like that. This way I try to let

[44] A respectful term for academics.

understand a bit. Well then, I say to my lecturers, "Well *teachers*, time is given. So, please do it by thinking well".

In this way, the women leaders had the moral characteristics of being responsible and ethical, and learned to lead in a sensible way under coercive leadership. Blackmore (2011) emphasises that "leadership was ... characterised by complexity, contradiction, and ethical dilemma" (p. 32). I now turn to a discussion of the next element of leadership—benevolent and collectivist leadership, which also covers moral leadership.

Theme Three: Benevolent and Collectivist Leadership

Collectivism, unity, and teamwork have been greatly supported and promoted in Mongolian traditional culture. For example, in the ancestral teachings, Mother Alan Gua used a bundle of arrows and taught her five sons that if they got along with and supported each other like a bundle of arrows, they would become invincible. The Mongolian traditional nomadic lifestyle and Shamanism also support collectivism with neighbours, as people work to protect their living environments together. In addition, Buddhism in Mongolia supports collectivism and harmony as these concepts reinforce the equality of all beings in this world. Moreover, socialism supported collectivism extensively by appealing toward the common good. In this regard, benevolent and collectivist leadership practices were evident in this study.

Benevolent and collectivist practices are also noted in the current literature on both paternalistic leadership and educational leadership from critical feminist perspectives. In paternalistic leadership theory, benevolent leadership is one of the three key elements of leading (Cheng et al., 2014; Zhang, Huai, & Xie, 2015; Wu, Huang, & Chan, 2012). Cheng et al. (2014) define it as "providing individualised and holistic concern if the subordinates encounter personal and familial problems" (p. 83). In educational leadership theory from critical feminist perspectives, scholars discuss relational, shared, and distributed practices of leadership (Aiston, 2014; Burkinshaw, 2015; Blackmore, 2011, 2013; Wilkinson, 2010). Blackmore (2013) contends that "leadership is a relational practice built on trust and respect and not just what individual leaders do or how they make decisions

utilising their [emotional intelligence] or disseminating knowledge" (p. 151). This again suggests concurrences of similar discourses, but that they exist in different places and different contexts in the current scholarship (i.e., benevolent leadership in paternalistic leadership, or relational practices of women's educational leadership from critical feminist perspectives).

In this regard, benevolent and collectivist leadership was another key element of the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership, concurrently representing and strengthening their moral leadership practices. In particular, benevolent and collectivist leadership practices were another way of utilising and gaining meritorious capital. Such leadership practices demonstrated moral qualities of considering, supporting, and taking care of others. This theme discusses three subthemes arising from analysis of the data regarding the women leaders' benevolent and collectivist leadership practices: 3.1 Assisting employees in work-related personal matters; 3.2 Creating positive and trustworthy work environments; and 3.3 Building collectivism and teamwork. Paternalistic leadership theory has provided a strong explanation for the first two subthemes, whereas educational leadership theory from critical feminist perspectives has provided an explanation for the last subtheme, but with cultural differences. The discussions in the following subthemes reveal these differences.

3.1 Assisting employees in work-related personal matters. Benevolent leadership is about "providing individualised and holistic concern if the subordinates encounter personal and familial problems" (Cheng et al., 2012, p. 83). However, a cultural difference has been observed in this study, in which support for familial problems was not extensively visible in contrast to work-related personal matters. This is perhaps because of the influence of the socialist era in Mongolia, which was managed by military leaders and separated personal and familial matters from one's work performance. This phenomenon was evident in Bulgan's case, who had a patriarchal viewpoint and perpetuated "the opposition between the public, masculine universe and private, female worlds" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 94), which was noted in the previous chapter and previous theme. In this regard, the women leaders at both types of universities noted that there were no existing policies to regulate gender and familial problems, except for the Labour Law. As such, familial problems were managed in unofficial ways,

which were dependent on the women leaders' subjective decisions; in other words, their benevolent leadership. Iveel (public university) emphasised it "by humane ethics". Maral (public university) stated that "although we have not written it on paper, I try to give my lecturers who have small children a lighter workload".

In contrast to familial problems, support for work-related personal matters were more discernible in the women leaders' perceptions and practices of benevolent leadership. For example, Ankhil talked about her supervisor, saying, "Ah, my supervisor is like that kind of a person, who pushes others and does not have a minor thought of whether someone would become higher than that person". These examples are in accord with the current literature on paternalistic leadership, in which "benevolent leadership signals goodwill towards subordinate's well-being", thus, "it is likely to arouse subordinates' positive reciprocity" (Wu et al., 2012, 635). Therefore, this study suggests that the women leaders' benevolent practices were more about support for their employees' work-related personal matters, rather than their familial problems. This is still a crucial part of benevolent leadership, as benevolent leaders encourage, train, and coach their employees through any difficulties (Cheng et al., 2014).

The women leaders enacted a range of practices to provide employee assistance; in other words, they provided support for their employees' work-related personal matters. This is consistent with the current literature on paternalistic leadership, in which "benevolent leaders allow subordinates to correct mistakes, help them to avoid public embarrassment, coach and mentor them, and take interest in promoting their career development" (Zhang et al., 2015, p. 27). In this study, for instance, Ankhil (public university) stated:

> I now tell my staff, "Okay, you must do this now. You must do your master's degree. Here is such a topic. Let's work on it together. Come here today. Let's work together". Something like that. Well, I am familiar with the problem. My own *teachers*[45] directed me when I had no idea what to do. As I experienced such difficulties a lot myself, I want to help others like my

[45] Lecturers and professors.

teachers helped me. I think that it might be more like leadership if one helps others to do the right thing nicely and pushes them.

Similarly, Gegeen (public university) shared her experiences of how she supported and showed examples to her employees. Gegeen (public university) elaborated:

> I tell people that they should put correct primary source of data, such as, how many students, how many lecturers, how many classrooms, and how many lesson hours. I would like to say that one has to do one's job sincerely and concretely. I try to lead by example. I help them to write a protocol and show them how to enact it. If there is something someone does not know, they should just ask, even if it is a small thing. I ask a lot of questions too, especially of the person who used to have my position. I ask academics questions, and get ideas from young academics. There are a lot of things that people need to learn from each other.

These viewpoints were in line with the current literature on paternalistic leadership, in which "benevolent leaders tend to render individual care to different subordinates" (Wu et al., 2012, 635).

3.2 Creating positive and trustworthy work environments. The women leaders in this study enacted different kinds of leadership practices in order to create positive and trustworthy work environments. For example, Gerel (private university) noted the importance of her role for building "an environment where I trust people and those people trust me". Thus, she talked about how she contributed to positively changing her employees' attitudes. Gerel (private university) remarked:

> Currently, at [this school], most people, 99% or 97%, are women. Then they work from morning until late evening. Thus, we talk a lot about stress at the workplace. Therefore, how to organise yoga or gymnastics courses for these people ... Last year, because of my request, a Zumba class was organised. It might start from the second semester. This year, I have heard that the class recently started. Such things are organised for women. If not, they are the people who experience a lack of physical movement. When they walk in classrooms, they do movements within a room. We need to do things to reduce stress at the workplace, like listening to music and doing physical movements ... *Teachers' Day* has been widely

celebrated. *The New Year* has been celebrated wonderfully as well. Since these events, employees' attitudes have changed completely.

Similarly, Saruul (private university) talked about how she received trust and respect from her employees. Saruul (private university) elaborated:

> For the general meetings, over seventy academics attend. In one of those meetings, I was asked to introduce our work progress. In order to create positive attitudes for everyone, I said, "Our *teachers* are working very well" ... In return, I have received a lot of respect from my employees. They said, "We have never received any compliments. Our work was never appreciated in the last three or four years. When you were asked by the Rector, 'Saruul, talk about your work results', we were worried about what you would say". They thought this because my speech at the school's internal meeting was different. My behaviour at the meeting was like, "Do it. Why have not you done it?" Then my attitude on the stage in front of the university's employees—these two were a bit different. I did not say, "Our employees are not working" ... I said only positive things in my speech for the report. Thus, my employees have become more proactive. They expressed their gratitude that, "A new dean, who can appreciate, respect and support our work, has come here".

Khaliun (public university) also shared her experiences in encouraging her employees. She (public university) noted:

> Our girls say, "This is going like this and that". I communicate with them this way and our work goes in a very nice climate. I sometimes treat them to food and drinks, and sometimes if meat comes to my home[46], I cook meat, call them to come to my office, and say, "have some meat". But during working hours, we do our work like bones[47] ... When working with people by feeling them to a certain level, it has been proven that people work with enthusiasm, and enthusiastic people are valued by their colleagues and can work very effectively.

[46] One's relatives or families in the countryside often send meat to those living in the city.

[47] Work exactly.

These experiences are consistent with the current literature on paternalistic leadership, in which benevolent leaders "have a positive effect on subordinates' trust-in-supervisor" that is "likely to capture the psychological process underlying the reciprocal exchange" (Wu et al., 2012, 635).

3.3 Building collectivism and teamwork. The women leaders in this study enacted various leadership practices in order to build collectivism and teamwork among their colleagues and employees. The previous subtheme (addressing the women leaders' practices for creating positive and trustworthy work environments) represents a significant element of this practice. In addition, the women leaders shared three additional points regarding this practice. In particular, Gerel and Iveel (public and private universities) provided much stronger quotes for this practice in comparison to the other women leaders; therefore, this subtheme uses Gerel and Iveel's quotes to illustrate this leadership practice.

Firstly, the women leaders noted the importance of supporting employee participation in decision making. For instance, Gerel (private university) claimed that she started to see positive change in her workplace after she supported employee participation. Gerel (private university) stated:

> I went to departments, asked what was happening, what was going on and what the problem was. Then, when it came to decide a variety of issues, I gathered people according to their field of expertise. All became one team, discussing issues together and listening to one another. I included them in the decision making process ... When we edited the curricula of the first year's study ... we listened to our academics' suggestions—particularly the professional academics'—very carefully. In this way, we listened to their opinions. All of them had travelled to highly developed countries to receive master and doctor's degrees. Therefore, their opinions were important ... When I changed things by involving their participations and motivating them, I see that it has been getting better ... They started to think that the university started to listen to them.

Secondly, the women leaders made the point that maintaining openness and transparency was crucial. For example, Iveel (public university) noted:

> It has to be very transparent. Activities carried out by departments and faculties should be transparent. There is an example of budget. The budget is allocated as, "this amount of money should go to that school for salary and the rest of money is for annual expenditure of the school" ... I sit together with the heads of the departments, and calculate and discuss this together.

These two notions play into to the concepts of "collaboration, collegiality, strong internal accountability, shared goals, and distributed leadership" in the feminist literature (Blackmore, 2011, p. 32).

Thirdly, the women leaders emphasised the importance of creating amity and building harmony. Iveel (public university) remarked:

> What I did at first was ... mathematics, physics, [X] and [X]; these are the major sciences. When four faculties and four major sciences were integrated, scientists from mathematics would think about those from physics, "who are they?" and then others would think "oh, they are from natural sciences". It was not their personalities that started conflicts, but things in their minds. It seemed it would take a lot to make them into one team. So, the very first thing to do, as I saw it, was to build amity. I saw that I had to make them more flexible and amiable. When doing something like that, it was leadership and could not be overly harsh. On the other hand, if the approach was too soft, the goal would not be accomplished. Thus, to make a principle to keep the amity and give them the correct understanding of the principles and regulations. The work I do now is to meet people of every level and go for them. I have a desk and a computer, but I seldom sit in front of it. I listen to people, explain the principles, and go for them if necessary. Get a decision on some issues. This way, people, my team, understand it indeed. So, this is very important.

This way, the women leaders in this study enacted various practices of assisting employees, creating positive work environments, and building collectivism and teamwork through their benevolent and collectivist leadership practices.

However, in summary, it is crucial to note here that the women leaders might have been overtaking their responsibilities for benevolent and collectivist leadership because they are female. In particular, this type of leadership appeared to be much stronger in Gerel and Iveel's cases (public and private universities). For example, Gerel (private university) addressed her gender and remarked that she might have been "more likely to bring these ideas to the university" because she was "a woman, and lecturers are female". Iveel (public university) also emphasised her gender and stated that "at least, this is the school of natural sciences with a female director".

The current literature also notes that women tend to take on more caring duties due to their caring natures in the global academy (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Gaskell et al., 2004; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Raddon, 2012; Thornton, 2013). Raddon (2012) refers to this as the "caring nature of mothering" (p. 387) and "the caring, pastoral role" (p. 391). In Australian higher education, for instance, it is argued that "women take greater responsibility for administration and pastoral care [such as] pastoral care of students, the mentoring of junior colleagues or the reviewing of books", duties which produce "less weight than research, entrepreneurialism and leadership" (Thornton, 2013, p. 128, 132). A similar phenomenon was detected in Kazakhstani higher education, in which "females tend to be more caring in their approach to leadership as compared to males [and] they are also 'more likely to provide guidance and advice to subordinates'" (Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017, p. 191). I now turn to a discussion of the next element of leadership—visionary leadership.

Theme Four: Visionary Leadership

Visionary mindsets (in terms of both long-term vision and big picture vision) are greatly supported in Mongolian traditional culture. For instance, in the ancestral teachings, Chinggis Khaan taught various principles that involved having an end in mind, and a vision. He said, "There is no good in anything until it is finished" and "without a vision, a man cannot manage his own life, much less the lives of others" (Holiday, 2012). In Mongolian traditional nomadic lifestyle and Shamanism, actions to respect and protect nature, animals, and cattle could be seen as visionary actions, because

people conserve these resources partially for future generations and long-term usage. In addition, Buddhism in Mongolia supports the concepts of reincarnation and enlightenment; therefore, long-term life planning and principled actions are crucial. Lepeyko and Gavaa (2017)'s study on the Mongolian management model emphasises that "long-term considerations are a priority" (p. 21).

Visionary leadership has been discussed in varying ways in the current literature. For instance, it is not widely discussed in paternalistic leadership theory, perhaps because paternalistic leadership is already developed in long-term oriented East Asian cultures (Hofstede, 2001, McDonald, 2012). For instance, Wu et al. (2012) note that "moral and benevolence leadership behaviours are founded on a long-term oriented social exchange process between the leaders and subordinates" (p. 644). In contrast, studies on educational leadership from critical feminist perspectives imply visionary leadership by noting that women possess less visionary mindsets (see constructions of women in leadership in Chapter Three). Scholars argue that women have a lack of long-term career plans, and that this impedes their academic promotions in the global academy (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Doherty & Manfredi, 2010; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Morley, 2014). In this sense, women's double burdens that combine family responsibilities and pastoral caring with paid work are barriers that obstruct their long-term career aspirations (Bagilhole & White, 2008; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2019; Doherty & Manfredi, 2010; Kuzhabekova & Almukhambetova, 2017; Raddon, 2012; Thornton, 2013). In addition, in her international study, Morley (2014) remarks upon the differences in women's visionary mindsets:

> Not all women embraced the reasoning of macro-level economics or located their choices within the 'cultural circuits' of capitalism ... For some, attractions were mainly discussed in terms of the micro-level gains of achievement, financial rewards, and flexible working conditions or the meso-level organisational gains of influence, power and change agency. (p. 118, 119)

In this regard, the women leaders in this study emphasised the importance of enacting visionary actions through their leadership practices. In particular, visionary leadership practices were also another way of utilising and gaining meritorious capital, because visionary leadership practices demonstrated moral qualities of considering others' welfare and wellbeing in the long term. However, it became clear that the scopes of the women leaders' visionary actions differed. For instance, Iveel, Maral, Ankhil, and Saruul (public and private universities) made changes within their universities. Maral (public university) worked on improving the employability of her graduates, and established centres for internship, information archiving, and research development. Ankhil (public university) established and managed centres for online learning and employee development based on effectiveness and necessity. In contrast, Gegeen, Khaliun, and Gerel (public and private universities) enacted visionary actions with wider scopes, contributing to changes inside—as well as outside—their universities, despite the fact that they were working under coercive leadership. For instance, Gegeen (public university) made a contribution to her university's goals and vision which could potentially affect the Mongolian university field. Gegeen (public university) elaborated:

> I studied documents and papers of the university. What did our country plan to do for higher education for this year? What is the plan of [this university]? ... I established a working group for this matter ... We have been developing documents regarding educational policy ... Our university has a goal to become a top university in Asia, which is reflected in our master plan ... When we finish this research and see the conclusion, I plan to contribute something to the policy ... If [this university] wants to reach its goals and become a research university, it needs to be supported by the policy ... Thus, the country should implement relevant projects and programs ... When the light is turned on at [this university], these 1200 academics mean an enormous potential. Thus, this mass would go ahead for sure if they are directed right ... Even if I will not to do something to reach the top, I plan to seed the roots. I think I can influence that.

Khaliun (public university) made a contribution to the development of Mongolia's research sector. Khaliun (public university) noted:

> Every quarter, I invite all the directors of research units in public universities to a meeting, offer them some tea and coffee and tie them together. Our university generally ties them. Then, what I would do is ask, "What conferences are you organising? What conferences could you do cooperatively? What research has been done? What kind of research could we link? Could you spend five million Tugrik? We could spend five million as well. Let's combine these two studies". What I did was that I integrated things that used to be done separately. As a result, we have jointly held several conferences. Have done roundtable meetings. Five public universities have conducted several studies together ... We have compiled all laboratories' information and known what things are happening at which universities.

In this regard, when Maral and Iveel (public universities) reflected that "men should dominate in leadership" in Chapter Eight, they suggested that women should think bigger and have visionary mindsets in order to work for leadership. Maral (public university) remarked that leaders "should see problems in the further scope. I mean in the broader scope". Iveel (public university) shared her experiences and noted that she did not have a visionary mindset. Iveel (public university) elaborated:

> I was sitting with a male politician and found out that I do not see the whole picture. I told the politician, "You were elected from our district and became a parliament member. Once you are in, you forget about the community. Today, the community buys half a loaf of bread and cannot afford a full bottle of cooking oil. You go to a parliament meeting and forget about the community". He said that I was wrong that he could not get into every small issue and had to think wider. Think bigger ... While I was talking about the next lesson and the classrooms, the politicians were more concerned about what was happening in the world ... They talked about big things, and we talked about small things on the ground. Then we started to clash. Then, the politician gave me two books and said that my viewpoint might change. That could happen, probably ... So, in order to become a leader and a person who can work at the policy

level, it seems to be very important for women not to see from this angle, a small angle like mine. Such a thing might exist. My current viewpoint has become like this. It seems to be very important.

In summary, in this study, it was evident that more of the participants tended to have less visionary mindsets due, in part, to various gender-related factors (e.g. increased pastoral caring duties, or their own internal values which they related back to their gender). In addition, it is crucial to acknowledge that the systems and bureaucracies at public and private universities in the Mongolian university field support women in adopting these mindsets.

However, it is inadequate to universalise this to all women, because it was evident that three of the eight women leaders in this study enacted visionary actions which were crucial to their leadership practices. Therefore, instead of reproducing this universalisation as a stereotype, it is crucial to find ways to build more visionary mindsets for more women. The importance of visionary and transformative actions is actually noted in the current literature on leadership from critical feminist perspectives, particularly in regard to social justice (Blackmore, 1999, 2011; Sinclair, 2013). For instance, Blackmore (1999) suggests that feminist perspectives should seek “wider educational debates about social inequality, educational reform and issues of social justice” (p. 222).

Therefore, it could be more effective for women academic leaders to enact their moral, benevolent, and collectivist leadership with stronger visionary mindsets that could challenge and bring about changes for issues regarding coercive leadership, breached labour rights, patriarchal structures, and the feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field—all of which have been discussed in this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the women leaders’ perceptions and practices of leadership at Mongolian public and private universities. In particular, it has revealed how traditional, socialist, and neoliberal factors have constructed the logic of leadership practice in the Mongolian university field. It was evident that the women leaders experienced more serious forms of symbolic violence that were

formed and practised in this bureaucratic field. Thus, they (except for Bulgan, who practised coercive leadership herself) were dealing with coercive leadership, and contributing to the remaking of leadership in the Mongolian university field. In their leadership practices, the differences between public and private universities were not truly discernible, although there were some tensions in the women leaders' perceptions—as discussed in Chapter Six.

In the process of remaking leadership, the women leaders practised moral, benevolent, collectivist, and visionary leadership practices. Moral leadership was the core element, in which benevolent, collectivist, and visionary leadership were in fact comparable to moral leadership. Thus, leadership was about being a role model of morality; in other words, being the *манлай* (*manlai*)—the top or the best—of morality. All these factors revealed the importance of meritorious capital, which played out at high rates in this study, either consciously or unconsciously.

However, this chapter has also shown that the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership were not gender-neutral. This study has revealed that they might be taking on too much responsibility for benevolent and collectivist leadership, and that some of them possessed less visionary aspiration because of gender-related factors—as evidenced by their taking on additional caring roles and pastoral care duties, as well as their reflections on their own internal values.

Chapter Ten

Discussion, Conclusion, and Implications

Introduction

This study investigated women's academic leadership at Mongolian public and private universities, using Bourdieu's conceptual tools under a feminist ontology and transnational feminist epistemology. The study contributed to an understanding of women's academic leadership through the lenses of transnational feminism, Bourdieu's conceptual tools, and cultural and contextual particularities.

Although many of the findings of this study are partially connected with the current scholarship on women's academic leadership from feminist perspectives in both the global North and South (from Asian perspectives), the existing scholarship was insufficient to fully explain the Mongolian university field. It was therefore crucial for this study to integrate relevant discourses, find commonalities across contexts, conduct comprehensive socio-cultural analyses, and examine the cultural particularities that affect women's academic leadership in Mongolian universities. In this final chapter, I discuss the empirical and original contributions of this study. In addition, I outline implications for policy and practice, limitations, and future research directions.

Empirical Contributions to Knowledge

This study makes empirical contributions to knowledge in two major ways: the logics of practice, and the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field.

The logics of practice. This study makes a contribution by showing specific logics of practice in the Mongolian university field; in particular, the different logics of practice at public and private universities which contributed to the different habitus of the women leaders featured in this study. The study showed that, due to their foundations in the socialist era, Mongolian public universities maintained their old rules with regard to the government field—albeit with some changes, such as charging of tuition fees. The public universities had much better reputations, and possessed and produced much more capital (e.g. political, economic, cultural [experience and expertise], symbolic

[prestige], and social [wider network] capital). In contrast, private universities developed their rules under the influence of the business field, as they were established during the market economic era and the development of the private sector. Thus, the private universities had worse reputations, and a lack of different forms of capital. All these disparities created different games with different stakes and capital for women to play at Mongolian public and private universities. In these games, the women leaders encountered a need to understand the different logics of practice, as well as the logics of gender practice.

In this regard, the women leaders had diverse career trajectories at Mongolian public and private universities. This study showed that they played with various forms of capital in the Mongolian university field, and built their academic and academic leadership careers in different ways. The most fundamental capital was their cultural capital—however, they still needed additional forms of capital, depending on the subfields of public and private universities. For instance, insider capital and public sector capital had symbolic power at both public and private universities. However, public universities valued the cultural and symbolic capital of government agencies (a form of public sector capital), whereas private universities valued the capital provided by public universities (another form of public sector capital when wielded at private universities).

In addition, a specific logic of practice applied at public universities, due to the importance of political capital. Political capital played out at the highest rate at public universities, which allowed these universities' players to go with their teams (the team leadership approach) in senior leadership positions. This study revealed two different versions of the practice of political appointment: one was based on both cultural and political capital (Iveel and Khaliun experienced this version), and the other was based on political capital only (without cultural capital). Importantly, this practice was responsible for forming gender inequality in senior leadership at public universities, because politics is a highly masculinised field in Mongolia, in which men predominate. Thus, it was evident that the women leaders faced disadvantages in building their academic leadership careers at prestigious public universities in Mongolia because they lacked the strongest form of capital—political capital. For

instance, Maral encountered difficulties in her academic leadership career journey because she did not have political capital. Moreover, although Iveel and Khaliun built their academic leadership careers with the help of their cultural and political capital, it seemed as though they did not hold much privilege in this game, but compensated others' participations by taking on multiple responsibilities. This study suggested that those who built their leadership with the help of political capital only seemed to enjoy their privileges and take advantage of others at Mongolian public universities.

In this sense, this study supported the notion that meritocracy is a highly problematic concept for women's academic leadership in the Mongolian university field. The women leaders at public universities faced disadvantages due to political capital, and those at private universities were seen as less competitive players in the field due to a symbolic domination of public universities in the Mongolian university field. Additionally, some of the participants made contradictory statements in relation to public and private universities in Mongolia.

The logics of gender practice. This study makes a contribution by revealing constructions, reproductions, and resistances of strong patriarchal structures, masculine domination, and the feminisation of middle management in regard to the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field. For instance, patriarchal representations of the state and its educational system played out in the field, seamlessly bringing more women to female-dominated disciplines, and fewer women to male-dominated disciplines. In this regard, many of the participants in this study did not reflect gender issues in academic leadership because they were surrounded by females; therefore, they were unconsciously reproducing masculine domination. In contrast, a few of the cases were reflective of gender issues due to various factors (e.g. male-dominated academic disciplines and advanced critical thinking skills). Accordingly, they consciously resisted masculine domination.

In addition, this study revealed that the women leaders (with the exception of Bulgan) were contributing to the remaking of leadership into more relational, shared, and distributed practices, despite the patriarchal structures. However, it was challenging for these women to enact their leadership practices, as they experienced serious forms of symbolic violence under coercive

leadership at both public and private universities. In this sense, it was more common for women who had family support, to work for academic leadership in the bureaucratic field in Mongolia. Thus, the domestic/private sphere served as another key objective structure of gender in academic leadership in the Mongolian university field. In this regard, the women leaders variously struggled, contested, and/or accepted various ongoing durable effects of the logics of gender practice in the Mongolian university field, as these effects were embodied in their habitus. As such, this study suggested that it could be more effective for the women academic leaders to enact their moral, benevolent, and collectivist leadership with stronger visionary mindsets that would challenge and bring about changes for issues regarding coercive leadership, breached labour rights, patriarchal structures, and the feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field.

Original Contributions to the Field

This study contributes knowledge to the field in a number of ways. It also offers theoretical and methodological contributions. This section discusses: (a) Contributions to knowledge; (b) Theoretical contributions to knowledge; and (c) Methodological contributions to knowledge.

Contributions to knowledge. This study contributes to knowledge in three ways. Firstly, this study shows the different logics of practice at Mongolian public and private universities, as discussed above. It was not predictable from the current scholarship that the government field predominates in public universities whereas the business field plays a significant role in private universities (with regard to the socialist foundations of public universities and the neoliberal foundations of private universities). In addition, the current scholarship does not discuss how political capital is greatly valued at public universities, and forms a symbolic domination of public universities in the university field. In particular, the current scholarship does not fully interrogate how coercive leadership is enacted at both public and private universities, or how it causes serious forms of symbolic violence for women academic leaders through its strong patriarchal and bureaucratic practice.

Secondly, this study contributes to knowledge by supporting the notion that leadership is a socio-culturally constructed phenomenon. The current scholarship widely discusses neoliberal and cultural influences on women's academic leadership, but does not interrogate how socialist, neoliberal, and traditional factors impact upon women's academic leadership in a former socialist country. This study revealed how these three factors constructed the logics of leadership practice in the Mongolian university field. As noted in Chapter Nine, socialist and neoliberal forces have created coercive leadership at Mongolian public and private universities, which impacted upon the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership. For instance, Bulgan (private university) smoothly enacted coercive leadership under coercive leadership due to her previous habitus, which were shaped in a highly masculinised field for many years. However, the rest of the women leaders in this study (seven of the eight) dealt with coercive leadership, enacted their leadership differently, and contributed to the remaking of leadership in the field. They practised moral, benevolent, collectivist, and visionary leadership, of which moral leadership was the core element. Their practices were highly associated with East Asian paternalistic leadership theory, but with some cultural differences.

Thirdly, this study contributes to knowledge by revealing various individual factors that formed the women's perceptions and practices of gender and leadership, supporting the notion that gender is also a socio-culturally constructed phenomenon. For instance, this study showed that gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences sharpened some of the cases' critical thinking skills, which allowed them to think beyond the current objective structures, reconstruct their cognitive structures, and critically question the social structures of gender in academic leadership. The current literature on women's academic leadership does not fully answer the question of why some women resist male domination while others reproduce it, and how gender awareness knowledge and discriminatory experiences influence women's perceptions and reflections on gender and leadership.

On the other hand, Iveel's case (public university) provided a contrasting result. Iveel also had critical thinking skills and was aware of patriarchal structures, masculine domination, and gendered rules. However, her leadership responsibilities contradicted her internal values, and pulled

her into a glass cliff situation in a male-dominated discipline. It was evident that she valued her traditional family roles over her leadership career, although she had reached a high-ranking position; as such, she contributed to masculine domination (see Chapter Eight). Situations similar to Iveel's are noted in the current scholarship on women's academic leadership in the global South (from Asian perspectives), but not in the global North. Therefore, this study showed that it would be inadequate to conclude that women who do not reflect the patriarchal structures reproduce masculine domination. Instead, various internal factors (that build cognitive structures, e.g., individual factors, socialisation, past experiences, internal values, and internal silencing) and external factors (that build objective and social structures, e.g., patriarchal structures, power relations, masculine domination, micro-inequities, micro-politics, and external silencing) played out differently in women's perceptions and practices of gender and leadership. Thus, this study emphasises that future research should investigate women's internal values; internal and external factors; and cognitive, objective, and social structures in different social and cultural contexts further in order to avoid universalising and essentialising women.

Theoretical contributions to knowledge. This study makes theoretical contributions to knowledge in three ways. Firstly, this study makes a unique theoretical contribution by conceptualising and providing evidence for the concept of meritorious capital. This study critiqued Bourdieu's theory and developed the concept of meritorious capital with regard to Mongolian traditional culture, which—in its simplest understanding—is about moral capital. This study showed that the women leaders enacted moral leadership, perhaps because they personally valued meritorious capital despite the fact that the Mongolian university field valued other forms of capital. There are a few notions that could be connected with this concept (e.g. Valverde [1994]'s concept of moral capital; Yosso [2005]'s notion of community cultural wealth; and Reay [2004]'s conceptualisation of emotional capital). However, the current literature has been insufficient to theorise this concept; therefore, this concept forms this study's unique contribution to knowledge on behalf of women's academic leadership and Bourdieu's theory.

Secondly, this study makes a theoretical contribution by conceptualising leadership as a notion of being the *манлай* (*manlai*)—the top or the best—of morality according to the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership in the Mongolian university field.

- *Манлай* (*manlai*) is strongly associated with Mongolian nomadic culture and means the top, the leader, the best, the head, or the first. For instance, it is often used to illustrate the head of a herd of cattle. Thus, the word for leadership in Mongolia, *манлайлал* (*manlailal*), originated from *манлай* (*manlai*), and carries the meanings of being the head of something, leading others, or role modelling.
- The importance of morality in this conceptualisation indicated the strength of meritorious capital in this study. This study suggested that meritorious capital was played out at high rates in the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership, either consciously or unconsciously.

In addition, differences between public and private universities were not truly discernible in this conceptualisation of leadership. Therefore, this study further suggested that traditional factors (i.e. the concepts of *манлай* [*manlai*], and meritorious capital) impacted upon the women leaders' perceptions and practices of leadership, rather than socialist and neoliberal factors.

Thirdly, this study makes a theoretical contribution by extending feminists-of-colour scholarship, particularly transnational feminism. In order to decolonise and enrich the current scholarship on women's academic leadership, more studies should be conducted in less studied contexts (such as Asian contexts) and provide findings regarding the particularities and potential commonalities. For instance, this study provided findings regarding the particularities of women's academic leadership in the Mongolian university field, and demonstrated some similarities to the findings of the Chinese, Hong Kong, Kazakhstani, and Vietnamese studies. The particularities of the empirical and theoretical contributions discussed above will be helpful for other studies, which have been and will be conducted in other Asian countries with similar backgrounds. Importantly, scholars

should think differently and move beyond current understandings by building their studies upon feminists-of-colour and transnational feminist scholarship.

Methodological contributions to knowledge. This study makes methodological contributions to knowledge in three ways. Firstly, as previously noted, this study built upon transnational feminist epistemology. Thus, the epistemology of this study helped me to examine Mongolian historical, cultural, and contextual particularities from the beginning of my research. For instance, I could discern how Bourdieu's theory had to be culturally appropriated with regard to Mongolian tradition and culture (instead of directly applying his theory), and explain my findings accordingly. In addition, the study's epistemology also allowed me to investigate what the women leaders were actually saying and suggesting regarding their leadership roles in the Mongolian university field instead of appropriating their interviews using the current knowledge, which is heavily based on contexts in the global North. This helped me to conceptualise the specific logics of practice and gender practice in the Mongolian university field, with respect to the Mongolian historical and socio-cultural background. After that, I initially connected certain relevant findings to the current knowledge instead of applying the current knowledge to this study. This helped me to discern the empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions of this study. Therefore, this study highlights the importance of transnational feminist epistemology in terms of its methodological contribution.

Secondly, this study makes a contribution in terms of identifying certain cultural aspects in the current research methodology, including feminist methodology, which have been greatly shaped by cultural contexts in the global North. In Chapter Five, I interrogated how I utilised my *танилын хүрээ* (*tanilyn khuree*)—meaning *circles of acquaintances*—in the process of approaching my potential participants. Such an approach is commonly used for initiating and building connections for business and work purposes, not only in Mongolia but also in other East Asian countries. Although

this approach is sometimes criticised as manipulative in the global North[48], it is widely accepted as a convenient, respectful, or moral approach in Mongolia. This approach was particularly necessary in Mongolia because people tend to know each other due to the country's small population, and maintaining one's reputation is mandatory in any relationships. Therefore, this cultural approach allowed my potential participants to learn introductory information about my study as well as myself before meeting me in person. This way, they decided whether or not to participate without experiencing any discomfort or direct communication with me as the researcher. In addition, I discussed how I organised casual meetings with my potential participants before conducting my interviews. This also helped my participants to decide rationally, objectively, sensibly, and intuitively. Therefore, it is crucial for the current scholarship on research methodology and feminist methodology to acknowledge the importance of the cultural aspects that influence research design in different contexts. Approaches such as those taken within this study are representative of a form of participant recruitment that is perceived to be convenient, respectful, and moral in Mongolia.

Thirdly, this study utilised Bartlett and Vavrus (2017)'s comparative case approach, which has not been widely used in the current scholarship. This study contributes to the current scholarship on research methodology and feminist methodology by showing a successful utilisation of the comparative case approach, and extends this approach by undertaking such a comparison in a country where there is a lack of similar research. This approach allowed the study to conduct a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in the Mongolian university field with the help of feminist qualitative methodology, Bourdieu's conceptual tools, and cultural and contextual appropriations.

[48] Yeung and Tung (1996) note that "Westerners often regard guanxi as a sordid form of favouritism and nepotism; it may be viewed as an inferior construct not worthy of investigation" (p. 54).

Implications for Policy and Practice

As discussed in Chapter Three, equal opportunity legislation and policies have been promulgated in many countries, including both the global North and South (Aiston, 2011; Dang, 2012; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Morley, 2014; Leathwood & Read, 2009; Usui, Rose, & Kageyame, 2003). However, such policies could not fully solve issues of micro-inequities and hidden constraints that women face in the global academy due to the patriarchal structures and practice of masculinities that have been long perpetuated and continue to persist (Aiston, 2011; Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Morley, 2014; Thornton, 2013). For instance, legislation and policies on gender equality were promulgated in Australia and New Zealand in the past three decades. Although there have been improvements in the numbers and proportions of academic women in certain areas, the sector remains highly gender segregated, for example, in terms of the kinds of the white masculinist leadership practices that characterise senior management (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). This implies that although such policies could not solve issues of micro-inequities, they could solve issues of macro-inequities that women face in the global academy, e.g., equal opportunities for women to receive higher education and quota systems for women's participation in academic leadership (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010; Morley, 2014). Therefore, although meritocracy is a highly problematic concept in academia, this study suggests four different implications for policy and practice, which would further contribute to solving gender inequity issues, at least issues of macro-inequities, in the Mongolian university field. In this way, these implications unpack "*durable effects* that the social order exerts on women (and men)" and "dispositions spontaneously attuned to that order which it imposes on them" in the Mongolian university field (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 38). The implications for policy and practice are:

Firstly, this study suggests that it is crucial to strengthen policies, regulations, and legislation regarding gender equity, including gender equity in academic leadership, in the Mongolian university field. In this process, it is fundamental to investigate enactment of existing laws and regulations in practice (e.g. enactment of the Labour Law in the Mongolian university field). This is because the

study showed that the women leaders were working under coercive leadership at both public and private universities, and their rights were occasionally breached. They experienced serious forms of symbolic violence, which originated in the bureaucratic structures and practices in the Mongolian university field and helped form and strengthen the feminisation of middle management. Therefore, it is crucial to examine and regulate any practices that disadvantage women and cause gender inequities in academic leadership.

Secondly, this study suggests that family friendly policies should be produced and practised in the Mongolian university field. It was evident that women with family support found it easier to work in academic leadership at both public and private universities in Mongolia. It was also evident that family-related matters were decided according to the women leaders' subjective decisions. Therefore, family friendly policies could provide consistencies in leadership and prevent divisions (e.g. vertical and gendered divisions) which might disadvantage women in the long term.

Thirdly, this study recommends that policies and practice should challenge the symbolic domination of public universities, because this domination created the feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field. It was evident that the women leaders at public universities faced disadvantages in pursuing academic leadership because they lacked political capital, which was the most important factor in a highly masculinised field. On the other hand, despite being in senior leadership, women at private universities were seen as less competitive players in the field because they lacked public universities' symbolic capital due to a symbolic domination of public universities in the field. Therefore, there is a clear feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field—no matter whether the institution is public or private.

Regarding public universities, the strength of the team leadership practice should be challenged. This study showed that, despite the team leadership practice, the Mongolian university field faces various issues, including weak leadership and management. Therefore, more effective and efficient leadership should be supported at Mongolian public universities. In this process, it will be important to find out how to increase the value of cultural capital and decrease the power of other

forms of capital, political capital in particular, in the Mongolian university field. Regarding private universities, it is crucial to build awareness of the symbolic capital and domination of public universities in the Mongolian university field. Policies and practice in the field should seek various ways to rationally evaluate individuals' capabilities—regardless of the symbolic power and capital that have persisted but never been challenged in the Mongolian university field.

Fourthly, this study recommends that policy and practice should consider the importance of meritorious capital. Given the impacts of the government and business fields, meritorious capital is not highly valued in the Mongolian university field. It is only utilised according to an individual's choice; for instance, the women leaders featured in this study enacted moral leadership, and were contributing to the remaking of leadership. However, their practices were not officially valuable to their work performance (e.g., their jobs would not make any official differences if they were enacting coercive leadership or moral leadership). Therefore, policy and practice on an international level (e.g. criteria for international university rankings, evaluating academics' expertise and qualifications, and valuing one's academic degrees, publications, positions, and institutional prestige) should recognise this issue.

Limitations of the Study

This study examined a relatively small number of cases. Thus, it would be limited to generalise the findings of this study to a wider population in the Mongolian university field. However, this study was not seeking to generalise across the wider population. Instead, it sought to undertake a deeper analysis and systematically investigate the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in Mongolia.

In addition, although their positions were ostensibly senior, the participants in this study worked in middle management at Mongolian public and private universities, rather than senior leadership. Due to the myriad complicated factors of how universities run in the Mongolian university field, the women leaders' roles were more middle management than senior leadership. Therefore, it would be limited to generalise the findings of this study to different levels of leadership positions.

However, this study did systematically investigate the feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field.

Moreover, I conducted this study in and recruited my participants from my own social networks. As an insider academic in the Mongolian university field, I reached out to academic rather than politically appointed women at Mongolian public universities. As noted in this study, there are people who are politically appointed to senior leadership positions at public universities, and none of my participants at public universities had this kind of background. My participants held cultural and insider capital, and had academic career trajectories. Thus, it would be limited to generalise the findings of this study to different social networks (e.g., political networks). However, this study was able to contribute a deep investigation of the phenomenon of women's academic leadership in the Mongolian university field, across a range of universities and disciplines.

Future Research Directions

The findings of this study suggest three potential themes for future research directions. Firstly, future research could investigate various the structural and patriarchal factors that led to the masculine domination and feminisation of middle management in the Mongolian university field. This study revealed that patriarchal representations of the state and its educational system played out in the field, and seamlessly brought more women to female-dominated disciplines and fewer women to male-dominated disciplines. Therefore, future research could examine patriarchal structures in the Mongolian university field (e.g. vertical, horizontal, and gendered divisions—see Chapter Three). Future research could investigate how these structures and divisions were formed in the field, and how they shaped agents' habitus.

Secondly, future research could systematically and comprehensively investigate the influence of political networks and political capital in the Mongolian university field. This way, future research could find ways to increase gender equity in senior leadership at Mongolian public universities. In particular, future research could examine in greater depth the political appointments of internal candidates who hold cultural capital at public universities. As remarked upon in Chapter Seven,

perhaps such candidates needed to be appointed in order to form a bridge between the university and politics, manage heavy structural changes, and calm any contradictions that might arise between academics and politically appointed outsiders. It seemed as though Khaliun and Iveel did not hold much privilege in their political appointments, but they did tend to compensate politically appointed outsiders' participations. Therefore, the team leadership approach should be investigated deeply.

Thirdly, this study showed that the women's leadership perceptions and practices were not gender neutral. Thus, future research could investigate diverse themes regarding gender and leadership. For instance, future research could conduct more systematic and comprehensive analyses to understand the formation of women's differing attitudes and behaviours toward other women in leadership, and find ways to overcome these attitudes. Future research could also study how to promote collectivist mindsets between women, and how to build more awareness of the patriarchal viewpoints of patriarchal structures (see Chapter Eight), but in a culturally sensible and mutually respectful way. In addition, in terms of women's private sphere, future research could examine how women might negotiate with their husbands and receive family support for career advancement—thereby changing the objective, cognitive, and social structures of gender (see Chapter Eight)—but in a mutually respectful and harmonious way. Moreover, future research could focus on what structural changes are needed to enable women academic leaders to develop stronger visionary mindsets and thereby bring about change (such as that shown in Gegeen, Khaliun, and Gerel's interviews), instead of performing more pastoral care duties (see Chapter Nine)—but by not reducing their moral, benevolent, and collectivist leadership; rather, by encouraging more effective moral leadership with stronger visionary mindsets.

Conclusion

This study began with a comparison between public and private universities in Mongolia, where women hold different academic leadership career opportunities with respect to differential prestige of public and private universities. Women remain considerably under-represented in senior leadership positions at the prestigious public universities, whereas they are equally represented at the

less prestigious private universities. In particular, this inequitable situation has affected leadership and management of the higher education sector of Mongolia as a whole, creating issues of weak leadership and management. Thus, this study suggested that there were two arguments for this phenomenon: this is not only a human capital issue, but also a human rights (social justice and ethics) issue.

It was crucial to conduct a country-specific analysis, because gender and leadership are culturally constructed phenomena. In this regard, this study revealed various traditional, socialist, and neoliberal factors that constructed durable effects of gender and leadership, and diversely impacted the women's academic leadership habitus. By revealing these factors through various discussions, this study investigated power relations in the logics of gender and leadership practice at Mongolian public and private universities.

In particular, this study answers to the two arguments—human capital and human rights (social justice and ethics) justifications—that were made at the beginning of this research (see Chapter One). Although there were some individual differences between the participants' perceptions, reflections, and habitus, this study emphasised the importance of looking at an effective use of human capital when meritocracy is a highly problematic concept, and enacting fair treatments for women's participations in senior leadership when the feminisation of middle management occurs under coercive leadership in the Mongolian university field.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Higher Education Statistics of Mongolia

		Number of institutions	Number of employees	% of employees	Number of students	% of students
1	Public universities	13	7,045	55.3	82,441	52.5
2	Private universities	18	2,192	17.2	42,928	27.3
∑	Total public and private universities (1+2)	31	9,237	72.5	125,369	79.8
3	Other types of public higher education institutions	4	1,236	9.7	9,357	5.9
4	Other types of private higher education institutions	56	2,168	17	22,147	14.1
∑	Total of public and private institutions (1+2+3+4)	91	12,641	99.2	156,873	99.8
5	Foreign branch schools	4	99	0.8	265	0.2
∑	The sector's total	95	12,740	100	157,138	100

Note. The table is adapted and calculated from the statistics provided in Table 3.6 and Table 3.16 in "*The 2016–2017 school year statistics of the higher education sector,"* by MECSS, 2017.

Appendix B

Definitions of Leadership

Timeline	Definition
The 1920s	"Impressing the will of the leader on those led and inducing obedience, respect, loyalty, and cooperation" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1930s	"A process through which the many were organised to move in a specific direction by the leader" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1940s	"The ability to persuade and direct beyond the effects of power, position, or circumstances" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1950s	"What leaders did in groups and the authority accorded to leaders by the group members" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1960s	"Influence to move others in a shared direction" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1970s	"The leader's influence was seen as discretionary and as varying from one member to another" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1980s	"Inspiring others to take some purposeful action" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 1990s	"The influence of the leader and the followers who intended to make real changes that reflected their common purposes" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).
The 2000s	"The leader as seen as the person most responsible and accountable for the organisation's actions" (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 15).

Note: Adapted from "The Bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications" by B. M. Bass & R. B. Ruth, 2008, 4th ed. Copyright (2008) by New York: Free Press.

Appendix C

Different Approaches of Leadership

Main approaches	Main theory and study	Content	Timeline
Trait approach	*Great Man* theory; personality factor studies	Studying great leaders in the past, their qualities and characteristics	From the 1900s to the 1940s; since the 1980s
Behaviour approach	Behaviour approach theory	Studying how leaders act, and their relationship behaviours	The 1930s to the 1960s
Situational approach	Path-goal theory; contingency theory	Studying how leaders act in diverse situations	The 1960s to the 1990s
Relational approach	Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory	Studying relations between leaders and their subordinates	Since the 1990s
New leadership approach	Visionary leadership; charismatic leadership; transformational leadership theory	Studying a change process in people or organisations	Since the 1980s
Emerging leadership approaches	Authentic leadership; spiritual leadership; servant leadership; gender-based studies; cultural and global approaches	Studying diverse leadership situations	Since 2000

Note. Adapted from "Introduction to leadership: Concepts and practice" by P. G. Northouse, 2015. Copyright (2015) by SAGE Publications, Inc.

Appendix D

Waves of Feminism

Waves	Overview
The beginning (1689–1820)	The earliest feminist movements were formed in Europe, North America, and white-settler colonies in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in order to improve the social, political, and economic lives of women (Kent, 2004; Hannam, 2012).
The first wave (1829–1914)	Well-educated, urban, middle-class women organised feminist movements for women's suffrage. They used various kinds of approaches (i.e. sending petitions to governments, lobbying officials, organising public meetings, distributing newspapers, and establishing international organisations) (Hannam, 2012).
The inter-war years (1917–1960)	Feminist movements expanded their territory outside Europe and North America, and addressed diverse issues. On the one hand, many feminist movements sought ways to collaborate with each other at an international level. On the other hand, others started to challenge Eurocentric lenses of feminism. Accordingly, nationalist and anti-colonial arrangements began around the world (i.e. in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and the Middle East) (Hannam, 2012).
The second wave (1960–1980)	White, well-educated, middle-class, and heterosexual women were the main supporters of this wave. Various types of feminist movement gained their strengths (e.g. global sisterhood and feminisms in the Third World) (Hannam, 2012).
The third wave (since the 1980s)	Third wave feminisms are against universalism, and have drawn attention to diverse constructions of gender inequities on the world stage. This wave has had much narrower inquiries compared to the agendas of second wave feminisms. The main focus has been on "difference, deconstruction and decentring" (Coleman, 2009, p. 9).

Appendix E

Various Types of Feminist Thoughts

Feminist Thoughts	Overview
Liberal feminism	Women are considered to be less intelligent and weaker than men. Such false belief leads to discrimination and oppression, and is unfair; therefore, gender justice should exist.
Radical feminism	Power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition have created patriarchal systems, which are the main reasons for women's oppression; thus, this system should be demolished.
Marxist and socialist feminism	Class-based society oppresses women's freedom. Eradicating capitalist patriarchy or patriarchal capitalism is the way to end women's oppression.
Psychoanalytic and care-focused feminism	Psychoanalytic feminism: Men and women don't have their own exclusive properties. The female psyche is an important way to find the foundation of women's oppression. Care-focused feminism: Masculinity and femininity should not exclusively possess realities. Women are equal to men in terms of time and energy.
Existentialist and postmodern feminism	Woman are considered to be the other; therefore, she must determine and define herself on her own.
Women of colour feminism	Women's oppression differs according to historical background. Includes African American/Black feminism, mixed race feminism, Latin American Feminism/Latina feminism, Asian American feminism, and Indigenous feminism. The women of colour term belongs to groups of people in Western cultural hegemony.
Feminism on the world stage	Global feminism: Universal human rights and global coalitions (primarily women in the global North). Postcolonial feminism: Different groups of women in developing nations (partly global and partly transnational). Transnational feminism: Critiques of subalternity, voice, agency, and representation for worldwide feminism.
Ecofeminism	Human beings should foster their relationship with the nonhuman world (animal and vegetative).

Note. Adapted from "Feminist thought: A more comprehensive introduction" by R. P. Tong, 2014. Copyright (2014) by Westview Press.

Appendix F

Explanatory Statement

(Relevant Participant Group)

Project: Women and Leadership in Higher Education in Mongolia: A Transnational Feminist Qualitative Study

Chief Investigator: Jane Wilkinson
Department of Education
Phone: XXX
email: XXX

Student: Anar Purvee (researcher)
Phone : XXX
email: XXX

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact the researchers via the phone numbers or email addresses listed above.

What does the research involve?
This research aims to examine the current state of women and leadership in higher education in Mongolia, employing a transnational feminist theoretical framework. A transnational feminist theoretical framework intends to investigate obstacles, challenges and opportunities faced by women in developing nations in regard to the nations' sociocultural specificities. In this regard, a feminist qualitative interview in this research will aim to deconstruct traditional hierarchical relations between the researcher and the researched. This means that you as a participant will be considered as a partner in this research. In this collective process, you and the researcher will have the equal rights for sharing opinions and asking questions, which may have not been identified by the researcher.

In this research, there will be two consecutive interviews.
1. A semi-structured in-depth interview: In the beginning of the interview, the researcher will explain the interview process in short. Then the researcher will ask questions and audio record your interview (when turning on the recorder, the researcher will let you know). If you request or the researcher will aware of sensitive or privacy related talks and situations, the researcher will stop the recorder. With your permission, the researcher will continue to record your interview further. The interview may last for an hour approximately.

2. An online follow-up interview: When the transcription of your interview will become ready, the researcher will send you the full transcription online (approximately in March, 2018). This will be helpful for you to check if the researcher will have used your voices accurately as well as to delete some confidential and personal talks. To discuss about these concerns, you will be invited to talk to the researcher online (via Skype or similar application or email).

Why were you chosen for this research?
You have been selected as a potential partner in this research because the researcher intends to conduct interviews with women academic leaders at senior management in the higher education sector of Mongolia.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research:
If you have agreed to become a partner in this research, please read this form carefully, sign and send the form to the researcher via online or in person. Despite the fact that you have signed this form, you will have the right to withdraw from this research at any stage and withdraw your data. If you request to withdraw your data from this research, the researcher will delete any online and on-paper communication with you and your associated data.

Possible benefits and risks to participants:
It is hoped that this proposed research will become a pioneering and foundational study on the phenomenon in Mongolia. In this way, this research would contribute to understanding the context in Mongolia. In addition, by employing a transnational feminist lens, it potentially may provide a significant theoretical contribution to the literature gap in the context of an 'Asian' country. Therefore, being a part of this process might be beneficial to you. In order to avoid any situations that may cause any discomfort, the interview will be conducted at a place of your choice. In this process, you have the rights to protect your privacy, e.g., not to participate in this research or not to respond some questions.

Confidentiality:
In order to maintain your anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher will use pseudonyms and general terms for your names, titles and institutions. For instance: Azaa (pseudonym), an academic leader at senior management at a public/private university in Mongolia

Storage of data:
Data will be stored on the researcher's Monash computer, laptop and her personal google drive. Only the researcher will have an access to data. When data is no longer required, the researcher will dispose it from her Monash computer, laptop as well as personal google drive securely.

Use of data for other purposes:
The researcher will use data for her thesis, journal articles and conference presentations.

Results:
If you request, the researcher will share her initial findings and results as a draft.

Complaints:
Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the following person:

XXX

Thank you,

(Chief Investigator's signature)

Chief Investigator's name

Explanatory Statement (in Mongolian)

Судалгаанд Оролцогчийн Мэдээллийн Маягт

Судалгааны сэдэв: Монголын дээд боловсролын салбар дахь эмэгтэйчүүд ба манлайлал: Транснациональ феминист чанарын судалгаа

Хянагч дарга: Жэйн Вилкинсон	Оюутан: Пүрвээгийн Анар (судлаач)
Боловсролын Тэнхим	Утас : XXX
Утас: XXX	Цахим хаяг: XXX
Цахим хаяг: XXX	

Та энэхүү судалгаанд оролцох эсэх талаар шийдвэр гаргахаасаа өмнө энэхүү "Судалгаанд оролцогчийн мэдээллийн маягт"-тай уншиж танилцана уу. Хэрвээ та энэхүү судалгааны талаар дэлгэрэнгүй мэдээлэл авахыг хүсвэл дээр дурдагдсан мэдээллийн дагуу судлаачтай холбогдоно уу.

Судалгааны талаар:
Энэхүү судалгаа нь транснациональ феминист онолын хүрээнд феминист чанарын судалгааны арга зүйг ашиглан Монголын дээд боловсролын салбар дахь эмэгтэйчүүдийн манлайллын өнөөгийн байдлыг судлахаар зорьж байна. Транснациональ феминист онол нь хөгжиж буй улс орнуудын эмэгтэйчүүдэд тулгамдсан хүндрэлтэй асуудлууд, саад тотгорууд, боломж бололцоонуудыг нийгэм соёлынх нь орчинд тааруулан судалдаг. Феминист чанарын судалгааны арга зүй нь судалгааны уламжлалт хэлбэр болох судлаач ба судалгаанд оролцогч хоорондын шатлан захиран харилцааг бууруулдаг. Иймд та энэхүү судалгаанд оролцсоноороо судалгааны оролцогч гэхээсээ илүүтэйгээр судалгааны хамтрагч болж байна. Энэхүү хамтын үйл явцад та үзэл бодлоо хуваалцах, яригдаагүй асуудлыг хөндөх зэрэгт судлаачтай эн тэнцүү эрх мэдэлтэй байх юм.

Энэхүү судалгаа нь ярилцлагын хэлбэрээр 2 удаа явагдана.
1. Хагас бүтэцлэгдсэн ярилцлага: Ярилцлага эхлэхийн өмнө судлаач танд ярилцлагын талаар товч танилцуулга хийх бөгөөд үүний дараагаар судлаач танаас асуулт асуух хэлбэрээр ярилцлага эхлэх болно. Ярилцлагын явцад судлаач дуу хураагуур ашиглах болно (төхөөрөмжийг асаахаас өмнө танд мэдэгдэнэ). Хэрвээ та хүсвэл, эсвэл судлаач ямарваа нэг

тааламжгүй эсвэл хувийн асуудалтай холбоотой нөхцөл байдлыг анзаарвал дуу хураагуурыг зогсоох болно. Таны зөвшөөрөлтэйгөөр судлаач нь дуу хураагуурыг дахин асаан, ярилцлагаа үргэлжлүүлнэ. Ярилцлага нь нэг цаг орчим хугацаанд үргэлжлэх боломжтой.

2. Онлайн ярилцлага: Таны эхний ярилцлагыг судлаач цаасан дээр буулгаж дууссаны дараагаар тэрхүү бичмэл хувилбарыг тань руу илгээх болно (ойролцоогоор 2018 оны 3-р сард). Энэ нь таныг хувийн болон нууцлалын шинжтэй ярианыудаа устгуулах, мөн судлаач нь таны үзэл бодол, дуу хоолой, хэлсэн ярьсныг үнэн зөвөөр тусгасан эсэхийг шалгах боломжтой юм. Эдгээр зүйлсийг ярилцахын тулд судлаач нь тантай онлайнаар холбогдох болно (Skype эсвэл ижил төстэй аргуудаар, эсвэл цахим хаягаар).

Яагаад та энэхүү судалгаанд сонгогдсон бэ?
Энэхүү судалгааны ярилцлагын зорилтот бүлэг нь Монголын дээд боловсролын салбар дахь академи чиглэл хариуцсан дээд удирдлагын манлайлагч эмэгтэйчүүд юм. Иймээс та энэхүү судалгааны боломжит хамтрагчаар сонгогдож байна.

Судалгаанд оролцохоор зөвшөөрөх эсвэл судалгаанаас гарах:
Хэрвээ та энэхүү судалгаанд хамтрагч болон оролцохоор шийдсэн бол энэхүү маягттай анхааралтай уншиж танилцан, зөвшөөрлийн маягт дээр гарын үсгээ зурж, судлаач руу нь онлайн хэлбэрээр эсвэл биечлэн хүргүүлнэ үү. Та энэхүү маягтад гарын үсэг зурсан ч судалгааны аль ч үе шатанд судалгаанаас гарч, мэдээллээ оролцуулахаас татгалзаж болно. Хэрвээ та мэдээллээ оролцуулахаас татгалзахыг хүсвэл судлаачид мэдэгдэх хэрэгтэй бөгөөд энэ үед судлаач нь тантай холбоотой онлайн болон цаасан хэлбэрийн мэдээллийг устгах болно.

Боломжит үр ашиг болон эрсдэлүүд:
Энэхүү судалгаа нь судалж буй сэдвийнхээ хүрээнд Монгол улсын нөхцөлд анхдагч, тэргүүлэгч нь болохоор зорьж байна. Ингэснээрээ судлахаар зорьсон асуудлаа таних, ойлгох, тайлбарлахад хувь нэмэр оруулах боломжтой. Мөн транснациональ феминист арга зүйг ашигласнаараа онолын хувьд Азийн орныг төлөөлөн хувь нэмэр оруулах боломжтой. Иймд энэхүү үйл явцын нэгэн хамтрагч байснаараа та үүнтэй холбоотой ямарваа нэг үр ашиг хүртэх боломжтой. Ямарваа нэг таагүй нөхцөл байдлаас сэргийлэхийн тулд ярилцлага нь таны сонгосон газарт явагдах боломжтой. Мөн ямарваа нэг эрсдэлээс зайлсхийхийн тулд та өөрийн хувийн нууцаа хадгалах бүрэн эрхтэй, жишээ нь: энэхүү судалгаанд оролцохгүй байх эсвэл зарим нэг асуултад хариулахгүй байх.

Нууцлалыг хадгалах:

Таны нууцлал, үл танигдах байдлыг хадгалахын тулд судлаач нь таны нэр, цол, байгууллагад нууцалсан нэр болон ерөнхий тайлбарыг ашиглах болно. Жишээ нь: Азаа (нууцалсан нэр), улсын/хувийн их сургуулийн академи чиглэл хариуцсан дээд удирдлагын манлайлагч.

Мэдээлэл хадгалах:

Мэдээлэл нь судлаачийн Монаш компьютер, Монаш зөөврийн компьютер, хувийн гүүгл баазад хадгалагдах болно. Зөвхөн судлаач нь эдгээр баазуудад нэвтрэх эрхтэй. Мэдээлэл нэгэнт хэрэгцээгүй болсон үед судлаач нь эдгээр баазуудаасаа мэдээллийг бүрэн гүйцэд устгах болно.

Мэдээллийг бусад зорилгоор ашиглах:

Судлаач нь мэдээллийг диссертацаа бичих, эрдэм шинжилгээний өгүүлэл хэвлүүлэх, ном эсвэл номын бүлэгт оруулах, хуралд илтгэх тавих зэргээр ашиглах болно.

Судалгааны үр дүн:

Хэрвээ та хүсвэл судлаач нь судалгааны эхний үр дүнг ноорог хэлбэрээр танд илгээх болно.

Санал гомдол:

Монаш Их Сургуулийн ёс зүйн зөвшөөрлийн дугаар: 11283. Хэрвээ та энэхүү судалгаатай холбоотой ямарваа нэг санал гомдол байвал дараах хүнтэй холбогдоно уу:

XXX

Баярлалаа,

(Гарын үсэг)

Дэд профессор Жэйн Вилкинсон

Appendix G

Consent Form

(Relevant Participant Group)

Project: Women and Leadership in Higher Education in Mongolia: A Transnational Feminist Qualitative Study

Chief Investigator: A/Prof Jane Wilkinson

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
Audio recording during the interview	☐	☐
The data that I provide during this research may be used by the researcher in future research projects, including thesis, book or book chapter, journal articles, and conference presentations	☐	☐
Receive a full-transcription and participate in a follow-up interview	☐	☐
Receive an initial findings draft (email: ....)	☐	☐

Name of Participant ______________________________

Participant Signature ______________________ Date ______________

Consent Form (in Mongolian)

Зөвшөөрлийн Маягт

Судалгааны гарчиг: Монголын дээд боловсролын салбар дахь эмэгтэйчүүд ба манлайлал: Транснациональ феминист чанарын судалгаа

Хянагч дарга: Дэд профессор Жэйн Вилкинсон

Миний бие Монаш Их Сургуулийн дээр дурдагдсан судалгаанд оролцох урилга хүлээн авсан бөгөөд "Судалгаанд оролцогчийн мэдээллийн маягт"-тай уншиж танилцсан. Иймээс миний бие энэхүү судалгаанд оролцох болсноо хүлээн зөвшөөрч байна.

Миний бие дараах зүйлсийг хүлээн зөвшөөрч байна:	Тийм	Үгүй
Ярилцлагын үеэр дуу хоолойгоо бичүүлэх	☐	☐
Миний энэхүү судалгаагаар өгсөн мэдээллийг судлаач цаашдын судалгаа болон түүнтэй холбоотой зүйлсдээ ашиглаж болно (жишээ нь: диссертацаа бичих, ном эсвэл номын бүлэгт хэвлэгдэх, эрдэм шинжилгээний өгүүлэл хэвлүүлэх, хуралд илтгэл тавих гэх мэт).	☐	☐
Ярилцлагынхаа бичмэл хувилбарыг бүтэн эхээр нь хүлээн авч, дараагийн онлайн ярилцлагад орох	☐	☐
Судалгааны эхний үр дүнг ноорог байдлаар хүлээн авах (Цахим хаяг: ....)	☐	☐

Судалгаанд оролцогчийн нэр ____________________

Гарын үсэг ____________________ Огноо ____________________

Appendix H

Case Protocol (in Mongolian)

Кейс Протокол

Огноо: .... Цаг: .... Байршил: ....

Кейс: .... Байгууллага: ....

Албан тушаал: .... Цахим хаяг: ....

Утас: .... Зөвшөөрлийн маягт: ....

Оролцогч нарт:

- Баярлалаа!
- Дуу хоолой бичүүлэх
- Судалгаанд оролцогчийн мэдээллийн маягт
- Зөвшөөрлийн маягт

Судалгааны асуултууд:

1. Монголын дээд боловсролын салбарын академи чиглэл хариуцсан эмэгтэй удирдагч нарын бодлоор тэдний тулгарч буй боломж боломж бололцоонууд, саад бэрхшээлүүд, хүч сорьсон зүйлс юу вэ?
2. Монголын дээд боловсролын салбарын академи чиглэл хариуцсан эмэгтэй удирдагч нар манлайллаа хэрхэн бий болгож, хэрэгжүүлж байна вэ?

Ярилцлагын асуултууд:

1. Өөрийнхөө талаар ярина уу. Намтар, амьдралд тань нөлөөлсөн гол хүчин зүйлс.
2. Та дээд боловсролд хүрэх замыг хэрхэн олсон бэ? Энэхүү замын туршид чухал нөлөөлөл үзүүлсэн хүмүүс, үйл явдлууд байсан уу?
3. Энэхүү албан тушаалдаа та хэрхэн ирсэн бэ? Энэхүү албан тушаалд ирэхэд тань чухал нөлөөлөл үзүүлсэн хүмүүс, үйл явдлууд байсан уу?
4. Таны бодлоор манлайлал гэж юу вэ?
5. Таны бодлоор энэхүү албан тушаалд тулгардаг хамгийн чухал боломж бололцоонууд, саад бэрхшээлүүд, хүч сорьсон зүйлс юу вэ? Та дээрх зүйлсийг юутай холбон тайлбарлах вэ? (Жишээ нь: таны хүйс, нийгмийн гарал үүсэл, анги давхарга, албан

тушаал өөрөө эсвэл бусад хүчин зүйлс). Жишээ өгч тайлбарлана уу? *(Хүйс, нас, боловсрол, нийгэм эдийн засгийн байдал, нутаг ус, ураг төрөл, улс төрийн холбоо)*

6. Та өөрийнхөө ... үүрэг ролиудынхаа хувьд гол хариуцлагаа юу гэж хардаг вэ? (Таны албан тушаалтай холбогдох үүрэг ролиуд). Та эмэгтэй хүн болохынхоо хувьд эдгээр үүргүүддээ илүү нэмэгдсэн хариуцлага/дарамт мэдэрдэг үү? Хэрвээ тийм бол тэрхүү хариуцлага нь таны одоогийн ажил хэрэгт хэрхэн үйлчилж, нөлөөлдөг вэ? Тэрхүү хариуцлага нь таны өмнө нь хашиж байсан албан тушаалуудын хариуцлагатай төстэй юу, эсвэл өөр үү?
7. Одоогийн албан тушаалынхаа хүрээнд та байгууллагадаа өөрчлөлт шинэчлэл хийх гэж оролдсон уу? Хэрвээ тийм бол жишээ өгч, хэрхэн явагдсаныг тайлбарлана уу?
8. Та өөрчлөлт хийхийн тулд байгууллагадаа яг одоогийнхоор нь ажилласан нь чухал гэж үздэг үү, эсвэл өөрчлөлтөд хүрэх өөр арга замууд байгаа юу?
9. Монголын дээд боловсролын манлайлал дахь эмэгтэйчүүдийн төлөөлөл улсын их сургуулиудад бага, харин хувийн их сургуулиудад боломжийн байна гэж статистик тоо баримтууд харуулж байна. Үүний талаарх таны бодол?
10. Танд Монголын дээд боловсролын өнөөгийн манлайллыг өөрчлөхөд хувь нэмэр оруулах хүсэл сонирхол, тэмүүлэл байгаа юу? Хэрвээ тийм бол ямар өөрчлөлт вэ? Яагаад? (Социализмын үеийн удирдлага?)
11. Та Монголын дээд боловсрол дахь ирээдүйн манлайлагч нарт юу зөвлөх вэ? Ялангуяа эмэгтэйчүүдэд?
12. Нэмэлт мэдээлэл өгөх болон үзэл бодлоо илэрхийлэх таны боломж.

Оролцогч нарт:

- Баярлалаа!
- Ухамсарт анхаарлыг нэмэгдүүлэх
- Нэмж хэлэх зүйл? Баярлалаа!

Хувийн бодол:

Appendix I

Ethics Approval

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee

Approval Certificate

This is to certify that the project below was considered by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee was satisfied that the proposal meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and has granted approval.

Project Number: 11283
Project Title: Women and Leadership in Higher Education in Mongolia: A Transnational Feminist Qualitative Study
Chief Investigator: Assoc Professor Jane Wilkinson
Expiry Date: 24/10/2022

Terms of approval - failure to comply with the terms below is in breach of your approval and the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.*

1. The Chief Investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must include your project number.
6. Amendments to approved projects including changes to personnel must not commence without written approval from MHUREC.
7. Annual Report - continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report.
8. Final Report - should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected completion date.
9. Monitoring - project may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
10. Retention and storage of data - The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of the original data pertaining to the project for a minimum period of five years.

Thank you for your assistance.

Professor Nip Thomson

Chair, MUHREC

CC: Mrs Anar Purvee

List of approved documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Explanatory Statement	Complaints-contact	03/10/2017	1
Supporting Documentation	Invitation letter	05/10/2017	1
Consent Form	Consent Form - Human Ethics	05/10/2017	1
Explanatory Statement	Explanatory Statement - Human Ethics (2)	06/10/2017	2
Supporting Documentation	Interview Questions1	06/10/2017	2

Appendix J

Different Governments and Their Inconsistent Policies

Government	Election Results	Directions of Higher Education Policies
1990–1992: Transformation government	The State Baga Hural (the State Little Assembly) governed the country with 50 members from multiple parties. Since then, the total number of the election votes has been changed to 76.	The government made significant changes and transformations to the governance and legislations of the university sector in order to adjust the sector into market needs. Decentralisation policies were implemented, aimed at building an independent and self-sufficient system.
1992–1996: MPRP government	The MPRP won the 1992 election with 70 votes out of 76.	As a descendent of the socialist party, the MPRP government re-implemented more centralised policies. As such, the government, the Ministry and the Academy of Sciences remained the main bodies in the university sector.
1996–2000: Democratic government	The Democratic Union Coalition, which consisted of the Mongolian National Democratic Party, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party, the Mongolian Religious Democratic Party, and the Mongolian Green Party, won the 1996 election with 50 votes.	The democratic government implemented more open and liberal policies. As a result, a number of private higher education institutions flourished. Tuition fees became a key source of income at both public and private universities.
2000–2004: MPRP government	The MPRP won the 2000 election with 72 votes.	A MPRP government implemented centralised policies again and tightened the marketisation and freedom of public and private universities.
2004–2008: Coalition government	Neither party received a dominant vote in the 2004 election: ▪ The MPRP (37) ▪ The Motherland Democratic Coalition (35) ▪ The Republican Party (1) ▪ Independents (3)	The coalition government enacted neutral policies. Public and private universities were put under tough control in order to improve their competitiveness. The number of higher education institutions decreased.

2008–2012: Coalition government	The MPRP received the most votes (46) in the 2008 election. However, a public riot against this result followed, and a coalition government was formed again.	Neutral policies were implemented again. The number of higher education institutions decreased. A project to establish a university town was written and discussed.
2012–2016: Multiple party government	Neither party received a dominant vote in the 2012 election. ▪ The Democratic Party (a coalition of five parties) (34) ▪ The MPP (the former MPRP) (26) ▪ The Justice Coalition of the MPRP (the Mongolian National Market Economic Party) (11)	Priority was placed on aligning university management and education with international standards. Programs, courses and curricula were standardised, and accreditations were organised. Internal restructuring at public universities was implemented, and their faculties were integrated.
MPP government (2016–present)	The MPP won the 2016 election with 65 votes.	Although the MPP received the majority of votes, their internal conflicts have slowed their governance. Previous policies have continued.

Appendix K

Changes in University Governance Legislation

Government	Amendment Year	Legal Body to Appoint and Dismiss Rectors	Details
Socialist government	Before 1990	The Ministry	The Ministry, on behalf of the socialist government, appointed, and dismissed Rectors.
Transformation government	1991	Academic Council	The Academic Council received sole authority to appoint and dismiss Rectors (Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013).
MPRP Government	1995	*Public universities* Board of Trustees: ▪ Propose Rector candidates The Ministry: ▪ Appoint and dismiss Rectors of public universities The Prime Minister: ▪ Appoint and dismiss Rectors of the National University of Mongolia and the Mongolian University of Science and Technology *Private universities* Board of Trustees: ▪ Propose, appoint, and dismiss Rectors	Board of Trustees at universities were legalised. Duties of the Board of Trustees included the administration and control of universities' decisions and operations, but the government had the authority to appoint Rectors of public universities. In addition, Academic Councils were formed at universities. Their duties were related to research and education. Rectors had the authority to confirm Academic Councils' members, rules and regulations. In this regard, relationships between the Board of Trustees and Academic Councils became unclear, and power overlaps occurred (Lkhamsuren, 2008; Namsraidorj & Chultemsuren, 2013).
Democratic government	1998	*Public and private universities* Board of Trustees: ▪ Make proposals to appoint and dismiss Rectors Composition of Board of Trustees:	Board of Trustees received the authority to make proposals to appoint and dismiss Rectors; therefore, this initiated a system where Rectors were responsible to the Board of Trustees. In addition, it was stated that Founders

		▪ 51–60 percent founders ▪ 40–49 percent university employees, students, and alumni	of universities should constitute 51–60 percent of Board of Trustees. This reduced the public universities' dependence on the Ministry (Lkhamsuren, 2008).
MPP government	April 14, 2016	*Public universities* Composition of Board of Trustees: ▪ 30 percent founders ▪ 70 percent university employees, students, and alumni *Private universities* Composition of Board of Trustees: ▪ 51–60 percent founders ▪ 40–49 percent university employees, students, and alumni	The percentage of founders on the Board of Trustees at public universities was reduced from 51–60 percent into 30 percent. This provision was helpful for public universities' authority and independence (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018).
MPP Government	December 09, 2016–present	*Public and private universities:* Composition of Board of Trustees ▪ 51–60 percent founders ▪ 40–49 percent university employees, students, and alumni	The provision was revised from 30 percent back to 51–60 percent, which constituted a pullback in terms of legislation (Bukhchuluun & Juujaa, 2018).

Appendix L

Changes in University Status Legislation

Year	Government	University Status
Before 1990	Socialist government	Non-profit
1991	Transformation government	Non-profit
1998	Democratic government	Non-profit and profit
2002	MPRP government	Non-profit
2006	Coalition government	Non-profit and profit
2016	MPP Government	Non-profit (public and private universities) and profit (private universities)

Source: Education Law

Appendix M

Differences between Public and Private University Governance Legislation

University Type	Governance Process	Power Holders in the University's Own Management
Public universities	*From top down:* The government is the representation of the ruling party, and appoints the minister. The minister confirms 51–60 percent of the Board of Trustees, which assigns Rectors. *From bottom to up:* Board of Trustees and Rectors represent their universities to the ministry, which further represents public universities to the government (ruling party).	The ministry, government, and ruling party
Private universities	*From top to down:* Owners appoint 51–60 percent of the Board of Trustees, which further assigns Rectors. *From bottom to up:* Board of Trustees and Rectors represent their universities to owners, as well as the ministry. The ministry further represents private universities to the government (ruling party).	Owners

Appendix N

Contradictory Statements about Public and Private Universities

Quality of Education	
Quality is higher at public universities and lower at private universities:	*There is no difference in terms of quality but discourses exist:*
Khaliun (public university) stated, "Private universities copy our rules and regulations and everything for sure .... We, the five public universities, are the majority of the research. There is not any article published on journals with Impact Factors from private universities. So, it is possible to see how the capacity of them is". Gegeen (public university) noted, "I think it is because there are more women who want to have their private organisations and establish private universities because it is easier to do private things rather than public universities".	Bulgan (private university) argued, "People say 'public' but in fact current public universities are not public ... they all charge tuition fees. There is no difference. However, when they implement projects, things go under the name of 'public'. In contrast, private universities handle everything with their own effort and with their tuition fees only ... This system affects students' mindset too. Those who study at private universities think that if they were receiving unqualified education ... Thus, I think that it is better to change this thing of being public or private ... When I see these things, in fact, anywhere, things are getting much better in the private sector".
Capability of Human Resources	
Capability is very low at private universities:	*Human resources moving from public to private:*
Khaliun (public university) noted, "There are not many competent personnel at private universities. If there is a competent personnel, public universities acquire that person".	Gerel (private university) stated, "If I go to a public university, no one would listen to my voice, nobody would receive my draft, and the management is replaced ... It is obvious that lecturers would flee from public universities ... The reason is that salary is good, work environment is nice, and offices have good technical facilities". *Private universities hire based on capability:* Iveel (public university) noted, "High-level management positions at [public] universities are mostly appointments ... private universities probably hire people by looking at performance".