



ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວ

ໃນ ອະດີດ ແລະ ປະຈຸບັນ

LAO WOMEN

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Mayoury Ngansyvathn

* ນະຍຸຕິ ເຫງົ້າສິວັທນ

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Ngaosyvathn Mayoury

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ຜິດຊອບຊ່ວຍຄ່າພິມປຶ້ມຄັ້ງນີ້.

**ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ
ໃນອະດີດແລະປະຈຸບັນ**

ມະຍຸຣີ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌

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* ນະບຸຣີ ເຫວີ້າອິວ໌ທນ໌

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ

ຈຸນລະຄົດລະປະຈຸບັນ

ນະຍຸຕິເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌

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ພ.ຈ.ຫນ.

ກະຊວງວັດທະນະທຳແຫ່ງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ.

ພິມເທື່ອທີຫນຶ່ງ ກັນຍາ 1993.

ພິມທີ່ໂຮງພິມແຫ່ງລັດ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ.

ຈຳນວນ 500 ຫົວ.

ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ເປັນລິຂະສິດຂອງ ນະຍຸຕິເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌ແຕ່ພຽງຜູ້ດຮວ.

* ຜູ້ຮຽນອົງບຸນຄຸ້ມຄໍ່ຜູ້ທີ່ມີຊື່ຕ່ຳລຸ່ມນີ້ທີ່ໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນອັນມີຄ່າຈາກ
ການສະຫນັບສະຫນູນຊ່ວຍເຫຼືອປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້:

- ການປົນລາວສາຍພາຍຈຸນລະຄົດຕ່າງປະເທດ,
2 ຖນົນປາງດຳ, ວຽງຈັນ ສປປລາວ,
ຜູ້ໂປສະນີ: 4169. ໂທລະເລກ VTERMV.
ໂທລະສັບ: (856) 2093; 16-9719

- ມະໂນລາ ດາລາວົງ: ບໍລິສັດລ້ານຊ້າງທ່ອງທ່ຽວ.
ຖນົນປາງດຳ. ຜູ້ໂປສະນີ 4452.
ໂທລະສັບ: 4320; 16-9530. ໂທລະພິມ: 4320.
ໂທລະເລກ: 4360 LATRAVLS. ວຽງຈັນ ສປປລາວ.

- ສະນຸກ, ບຸນຫະວີ ຈຸນລະມະນີ, ນາລີ ສຸມນທາ:
ໂມໂຄຣ ຮ້ານ ຄອນພິວເຕີ, 71-73 ຖານີເສດຖາທິຣາດ
ຜູ້ໂປສະນີ: 982, ວຽງຈັນ ສປປລາວ.
ໂທລະສັບ: 2550; 9556; ໂທລະພິມ: (856-21) 9556.

- ກະໂລດແວ້ງຊັງ: ບໍລິສັດພັດທະນາທ່ອງທ່ຽວພາກໄຕ້,
16 ຖານີພ້າງຽມ. ຜູ້ໂປສະນີ 70, ວຽງຈັນ ສປປລາວ.
ໂທລະສັບ 4057; 16-9023; ໂທລະພິມ (856-21) 9022
ໂທລະເລກ 4314 PACLAP LS.

- ບຸນໄຊແລະທອງລ້ວນມະນີໂຄດ໌ (ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ).
- ບຸນລອດມະນີໂຄດ໌, ນັກຮຽນ ຊັ້ນ 11 (ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ)

- ໂຣເຊ ຮອມ, ຊາກກີ ຊາຍົງ (ສະຫະລັດອາເມຣິກາ).

- ສຸຣິຍະພັນເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌, ນັກຮຽນ ຊັ້ນ 8 (ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ).
- ໂບຣາຟັນເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌, ນັກຮຽນ ຊັ້ນ 12 (ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ).
- ອະນຸຣາຟັນ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌, ນັກສຶກສາມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລປີທີຫນຶ່ງ
(ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ).
- ບຸຣາຟັນ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌, ນັກສຶກສາມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລປີທີຫນຶ່ງ
(ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ).

- ສວຍ ໄຊຊະມະສີ, ບໍລິສັດແອງແຕກລາວທ່ອງທ່ຽວ:
ຖານີເສດຖາທິຣາດ. ຜູ້ໂປສະນີ: 2912, ວຽງຈັນ ສປປລາວ
ໂທລະສັບ: 3144; 3627; ໂທລະພິມ: 3134; 16.9033
ໂທລະເລກ: 4340 ILT VTE LS.

ຂໍອຸທິດປຶ້ມນີ້ແກ່ພໍ່ແມ່, ສາວ ແລະ ລູກ, ແກ່
ຊາວລາວທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ກໍຄືຢູ່ທີ່ທຸກຫົນທຸກແຫ່ງ.

ຄໍາອອບໄຈ

ປີແຕ່ປີ 1988 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ, ສ້າພະເຈົ້າໄດ້ເລີ່ມຕົ້ນ ຄວ້າ
ກ່ຽວກັບປຶ້ມນີ້ໂດຍໄດ້ເກັບກຳຂໍ້ມູນແລະເອກກະສານຕ່າງໆ ຢ່າງ
ເປັນລະບົບແລ້ວໄດ້ລົງມືຂຽນ. ສ້າພະເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງຂໍຖືເອກກະ ນິສະ
ແດງຄວາມຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ທ່ານ ດຣ. ບອກເຊີຈອນກຣິນ Dr. Borje
Ljunggren, ທ່ານ ທອກວານອາແກດເຊີນ Mr. Torval
Akeesson (ທີ່ສອງໄດ້ສ້າເລັດພິມຢ່າງສະ ງ່າງງາມ ໃນການ
ເປັນອຸປະຫຼັກຂອງປະເທດສະວີເດນ ປະຈຳ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ),
ແລະອົງການຊີດາ SIDA ຂອງປະເທດສະວີເດນ; ທ່ານອຸ ປະ
ຫຼັກຂອງປະເທດ ສະວີເດນປະຈຳ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ ຜູ້ໜ້າ ຄື
ທ່ານ ຮິນ ກາກມານ (Rolf Carlman) ພ້ອມທັງທ່ານ ນາງ
ອຸນລາ ໂຊແອນເຊີນ (Ulla Johansson) ຮັບ ຜິດ ຊອບ
ໂຄງການສຶກສາກ່ຽວກັບເພດ ແລະ ອົງການຊີດາ SIDA ຂອງ
ປະເທດສະວີເດນໄດ້ຊ່ວຍເຫຼືອດ້ານຄ່າພິມປຶ້ມ; ດຣ. ຕູບີ ອາລິດເຊີ
ວິກມານ Dr. Toby Alice Walkman; ດຣ. ເມຣີ ມັກ
ໂດແນນ Dr. Mary McDonnell ແລະເວົ້າໂດຍທົ່ວໄປກໍຄືສະ
ພາຄົ້ນຄວ້າວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມ ທີ່ ນິວຢອກ The Social
Science Research Council (SSRC) (New York)
ທີ່ ສັງ ຫນົດໄດ້ເຕີຍຊ່ວຍເຫຼືອດ້ານສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງ ເພື່ອ ການຄົ້ນ
ຄວ້າດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ສ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ດຣ. ມາກຊີອາ ກຣານ
Dr. Marcia Grant ແລະໂດຍສະເພາະທ່ານໂທມາສວານລີ
Thomas Vally; ທ່ານ ເດວິດ ອາດາມ Mr. David
Adams ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍປະກອບສ່ວນຢ່າງເປັນຫມາກພິນຈື່ແກ່ການຄົ້ນ
ຄວ້າຂອງສ້າພະເຈົ້າໃນເວລາທີ່ ຢູ່ ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ຣາກເບີກ

Harvard University ໂດຍສະເພາະທີ່ ຣາດກຣິບ Rad-cliff College ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຈັດກອງປະຊຸມຫລາຍຄັ້ງກ່ຽວກັບປັນຫາເພດຍິງ-ຊາຍ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ຂໍ ຮູ້ ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລຮ່າວາຍໂດຍສະເພາະ East-West-Center, ເປັນຕົ້ນ ດຣ. ປີເຕີ ເຊ ປິດສ Dr. Peter Xenos ແລະ ດຣ. ເຄນນອນ ເບຣຊິນ Dr. Kennon Breazeale; ສະຖາບັນອາຊີອາຄະເນທີ່ ສິງກະໂປແລະມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລກຣິບຣິດ Griffith University (Australia) ທີ່ທັງໝົດໄດ້ຮັບອາການແກ້ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າສຳລັບການຄົ້ນຄວ້າດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຂອບໃຈຕໍ່ ດຣ. ວາຊຸກ ກາຣິມ ຊາຮານ Dr. Wazir Karim Jahan ສາດສະດາຈານທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ມາເລເຊຍແລະ ດຣ. ໂອໂຕເມ Dr. Otome Hutheesing ທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລມາເລເຊຍ. ທັງສອງໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານແລະກວດພາສາອັງກິດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງຂອງ ພາກ I; ຕໍ່ມາງເມກຣາໂກ Ms. Meg Rakow ທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ບຣິຕິສໂກລົມເບຍ ການາດາ British Columbia University, Canada, ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານແລະກວດພາສາອັງກິດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງຂອງພາກ II; ນາງຊິນດີ ສະຕິວເຕີກ Ms. Cindy Stewart ແລະ ດຣ. ແຟຣ໌ງໂຟຣດສ Dr. Frank Frost, ທັງສອງມາຈາກມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ກຣິບຣິດ Griffith University (Australia) ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານ ແລະກວດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງຂອງພາກ II ແລະນາງລິນເນີ ແຊນເນີ Ms Lynn Jones ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍກວດຄືນຄືນຄືນ. ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ ດຣ. ມາກຕິນ ສະຕູບອາກໂຟກສ໌ Dr. Martin Stuart-Fox, ສາດສະດາ

ຈານມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ຄວິນສະແລນ, ອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍ ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍກວດອ່ານຄືນເກືອບໝົດປຶ້ມເປັນພາສາອັງກິດແລະອັງກິດຊົນຄຳນຳເພື່ອສະບັບພາສາອັງກິດອີກດ້ວຍ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຂອບໃຈກອງມະນີປານມະໂລທອງແລະລິດຖິສິວິງ ທີ່ສຳນັກປະຊາຊົນ ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍກວດແກ້ແລະຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນອັນນີຄ່າຈັດແກ້ສະບັບເປັນພາສາລາວ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຢ່າງເລິກເຊິ່ງຕໍ່ທ່ານສີຊະນະສີສານທີ່ໄດ້ອ່ານແລະຂຽນຄຳນຳແລະອ້າງອີງເຖິງກຳລັງຈະຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ປຶ້ມນີ້ໄດ້ພິມ.

ອີກຜູ້ໜຶ່ງທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າບໍ່ອາດລືມແມ່ນທ່ານຫຼຸມຟັນລັດຕະນະວິງ, ທົວໜ້າສະຖາບັນຄົ້ນຄວ້າວັດທະນະທຳແລະສັງຄົມພ້ອມດ້ວຍເພື່ອນຮ່ວມງານໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນອັນນີຄ່າແລະຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ໃບສະເໜີ. ນອກຈາກນີ້ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຢາກຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຂອບໃຈຕໍ່ທົວໜ້າແລະ ຄະນະພ້ອມເພື່ອນຮ່ວມງານກົມກຽມກະຊວງການຕ່າງປະເທດ ແລະພາກສ່ວນໜຶ່ງອີກຂອງກະຊວງການຕ່າງປະເທດເອງທີ່ ໄດ້ ຈັດຄວາມ ອີດູດົມອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຊັກຄອມພິວເຕີໃນລະຍະສຸດທ້າຍຂອງການກະກຽມເອົາພິມ. ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຢາກຂໍຟາກຂອບໃຈຜ່ານ ປຶ້ມນີ້ເຖິງເພື່ອນທີ່ໄດ້ເປັນກຳລັງຊ່ວຍລະດົມພາກສ່ວນທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງຊ່ວຍປະກອບສ່ວນໃນການພິມ. ປຶ້ມນີ້ຍັງໄດ້ຮັບ ການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຢ່າງບໍ່ຮູ້ເນື້ອຍໃນການຈັດກຽມໜ້າປຶ້ມຄືອາສຸຣິຍັນ, ອາປິເປັນລາແລະພະນົມພອນ.

ຄຳຂອບໃຈຂອງຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຟາກສົ່ງຜ່ານປຶ້ມນີ້ເຖິງເພື່ອນແລະເພື່ອນປັນຕິດກັບຄຳແລະສາດສະດາຈານທີ່ປະເທດລາວ, ສິງກະໂປ, ສະວິເຕນ, ຟຣັງເສດ, ອາເມຣິກາ, ອັງກິດ, ໂທ,

ອິດສະເດດເລື່ອນການາດາທີ່ໄດ້ຈັດການສະໜັບສະໜູນຈັດ
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ຢ່າງ ມີຄຳຊົ່ງມັນໄດ້ເພີ່ມຈຳນວນທີ່ມີຮ່ຳມີຂຶ້ນຕື່ມ. ຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງ
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ຢ່າງສູງມານະທີ່ມີດ້ວຍ.

ບັນຫນຶ່ງຈະບໍ່ສາມາດສຳເລັດຖ້າອາດການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຢ່າງ
ເອົາຈະສະແລະຢ່າງຕັ້ງຫນ້າຂອງ ດຣ.ເລີຍຜົນແລະລູກ, ຕັ້ງ
ນັ້ນຮ້າຍເຈົ້າ ອຳພາກສິ່ງ ຜ່ານ ບັນຫນຶ່ງ ຄວາມຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຮັບລື້ນ
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ແບກຫາບຊ່ວຍຈັດການຄືນຄວ້າທີ່ໄດ້ຜ່ານຜ່າຕໍ່ ອຸປະສັກນາຍ ປະ
ການໂດຍໄດ້ຈັດກຳລັງຈະແລະທັງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ຄຳຊີ້ແນະນຳປະເສີດ
ຈັດແກ່ບັນຫນຶ່ງ.

ທັງຫມົດຂອງ ການຄືນຄວ້າເພື່ອບັນຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນພາກສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງ
ສ່ວນເລີກຂອງ ມະນຸດທຳຂອງຜູ້ຂຽນທີ່ໄດ້ເຕີບໂຕແລະຈຸດທີ່ຜູ້
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20-21 ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ຕໍ່ຢ່າງຍາວນານແລະລະອິດລະອ້ຽວເພື່ອຈະ
ກຳນົດໄດ້ປົດບາດ ຂອງຕົນເອງຈຸນສັງຄົມລາວກໍຄືຈຸນສັງຄົມຂອງ
ປະເທດທີ່ສາມທີ່ຕົນໄດ້ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຈຸນ ເຊິ່ງເຄີຍສູນເສຍ ຄວາມ
ສະເຫມີພາບມາແລ້ວ.

ນະບູຮີເຫງົ້າສິວິດທນີ

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ເປັນທີ່ ຮູ້ກັນວ່າຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມມະນຸດໄດ້ມີໄລຍະທີ່ສັງຄົມໄດ້ຢູ່ໃນ
ລະບອບ ນາມດາສິດທີ່ລາດຫມາຍຄວາມວ່າແມ່ທຸລີແມ່ຍິງເປັນໂຕຍ
ແລະເປັນ ຜູ້ປົກຄອງຄອບຄົວ. ານໄລຍະນີ້ອາດກ່າວໄດ້ວ່າສິດທຸກ
ຢ່າງແມ່ນຂຶ້ນ ນຳແມ່ຍິງ. ແຕ່ຕໍ່ມາລະບອບນັ້ນກໍໄດ້ເຊື່ອມແລະຫັນ
ໄປສູ່ລະບອບ ປົກດາສິດຫມາຍຄວາມວ່າຜູ້ປົກຄອງຄອບຄົວເປັນຜູ້
ຊາຍແລະສິດ ທຸກຢ່າງແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບຜູ້ຊາຍ. ຕັ້ງແຕ່ນັ້ນມາແມ່ຍິງໄດ້
ຢູ່ໃນຖານະທີ່ ຕ່ຳຕ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ. ພວກເຂົາໄດ້ຖືກຜູກມັດດ້ວຍຮີດຄອງ
ປະເພນີຕ່າງໆນາໆ. ນອກຈາກນັ້ນໃນຫລາຍປະເທດພວກເຂົາຍັງ
ຖືກກົດຫມາຍ ຂອງ ບ້ານເມືອງຕັດສິດສະເໜີພາບກັບເພດຊາຍ.
ພວກເຂົາຖືກຄູກວ່າເປັນເພດທີ່ອ່ອນແອຊຶ່ງໃນຄວາມເປັນຈິງແລ້ວ
ພວກເຂົາເປັນກຳລັງອັນມະຫາສານໃນການສ້າງປະເທດ.

ຢູ່ໃນປະເທດລາວ ານສະໄຫມກ່ອນສະພາບຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວ
ກໍບໍ່ມີຫຍັງແຕກຕ່າງກັບ ແມ່ຍິງໃນປະເທດຕ່າງໆ. ແຕ່ນັບຕັ້ງແຕ່ປີ
1945 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາຖານະ ຂອງແມ່ຍິງໃນສັງຄົມລາວໄດ້ເລີ່ມຕົ້ນມີ
ການປ່ຽນແປງພວກແມ່ ຍິງລາວເປັນຈຳນວນນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍໄດ້ເຂົ້າ
ຮ່ວມໃນການຕໍ່ຕ້ານ ພຣັ່ງ, ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມໃນການກູ້ຊາດຕ້ານອາເມຣິ
ກາແລະນັບຕັ້ງແຕ່ປີ 1975ເປັນຕົ້ນມາໄດ້ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມໃນການປົກປັກ
ຮັກສາແລະສ້າງສາ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ. ຖານະຂອງພວກເຂົາໃນສັງ
ຄົມໄດ້ຮັບການເຊີດຊື່ອື່ນ.

ເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ເຫັນສະພາບຄວາມເປັນຈິງຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວໃນອະ
ດີດແລະໃນປະຈຸບັນ, ດຣ. ນະຍຸຕິເຫງົ້າສີວິດທນ໌ໄດ້ຊົດຄວາມອຸດ

ສາທະ, ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມບໍ່ຫນ້ອຍແລະເປັນເວລາເທິງພິພິດຄວນ
ເພື່ອເກັບກຳຂໍ້ມູນແລະຂຽນອອກເປັນປຶ້ມ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຄິດ ວ່າ ປຶ້ມຜູ້ຍິງລາວ: ໃນອະດີດແລະປະຈຸບັນ
ຈະເປັນປະໂຫຍດແກ່ທ່ານຜູ້ອ່ານທີ່ສົນໃຈໃນເລື່ອງແມ່ຍິງລາວເວົ້າ
ສະເພາະແລະເວົ້າລວມກໍຄືແມ່ຍິງໃນອາຊີອາຄະເນ.

3 ກັນຍາ 1993

ສີອຸໝະສີສານ

ອະດີດປະທານຄະນະກຳມະການວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມແຫ່ງຊາດ,
ປະທານຄະນະຮັບຜິດຊອບສ້າງຕັ້ງພິພິດຕະພັນໂກສອນພົມວິຫານ

ຄຳຜາລົບ

ການຂາດເສັ້ນທາງດ້ານອຳນວຍການສຶກສາກ່ຽວກັບປະເທດລາວ ເວົ້າທົ່ວໄປແລະເວົ້າສະເພາະກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ມີການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ. ໃນບໍລິເວນນີ້ມີບາງສິ່ງທີ່ຄົ້ນຄວ້າຕ່າງປະເທດແລະລາວໄດ້ຮຽນບາງບົດຄວາມແຕ່ບໍ່ມີບັນທຶກກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫານີ້. ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ໄດ້ດຳເນີນດ້ວຍການເກັບກຳອ້າງອັນລະເລີກລະນ້ອຍສະສົມມາໄດ້ຫລາຍປີແລ້ວໂດຍຜ່ານການເກັບກຳຢູ່ ຕາມທຳມະດາຂອງນະໂນ ວິທະຍາໄລຕ່າງໆທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດແລະ ໂດຍສົມທົບກັບການລົງເກັບ ກ່ຽວ ເອົາ ຄຳບອກເລົ່າຈາກປາກຍິງ-ຊາຍທີ່ຊົນນະບົດ, ສະຫະ ກອນ ກະເສດ, ວິສາຫະກິດ, ໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍ່ມີຊົນນະບົດແລະນຳຊາວລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຢູ່ຕາມຖານຕ່າງປະເທດ. ຄວາມຈິງ ມີ ວ່າການຄົ້ນ ຄວ້າເພື່ອບັນທຶກນີ້ໄດ້ດຳເນີນໄປຢ່າງເຫຼືອວິໄສທີ່ບໍ່ອາດສາມາດຈະກວມໄປທັງໝົດເຊິ່ງເຮົາຊົນລາວດັ່ງນັ້ນບັນທຶກນີ້ຈິ່ງໄດ້ເນັ້ນໜັກແຕ່ເຮົາລາວລຸ່ມ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫາກເປັນໄປໄດ້ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ຈຸດຄວາມພະຍາຍາມ ຢ່າງສຸດຍິດເອົາເຮົາອື່ນເອົາປະກອບນຳເປັນບາງຄັ້ງບາງຄາວ. ຄວາມ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກໃນການທີ່ຈະເອົາເຮົາອື່ນປະກອບເອົາໃນບັນທຶກນີ້ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ເຫຼືອວິໄສທີ່ມີນັ້ນບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບການແລ່ນຄົວ ນຳ ຈັບເອົາສາຍຮຸ້ງກິນນ້ຳຈື້ໄດ້ທັງໝົດທຸກສາຍທຸກແສງສີເອົາຮ່ວມເປັນສາຍໜຶ່ງສາຍດຽວກັນ. ບັນທຶກນີ້ປະກອບດ້ວຍ 2 ພາກທີ່ໄດ້ເອົາເຖິງສິ່ງຄົນເກົ່າໄດ້ຄອບງຳປະຊາຊົນລາວເວົ້າລວມແລະເວົ້າສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງເຖິງແມ່ນຈະໄດ້ແບກຫາບ່ອນສັງຄົມເທົ່າໃດກໍ່ຕິດແລະໄດ້ອຸທິດແກ່ ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມທີ່ລະບອບໂຕມໄດ້ປະຕິບັດຕໍ່ເພດຍິງມາແຕ່ 1975 ໃນສະພາບສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມຂອງອິດທິພົນວັດທະນະທຳຢັງໜັກໜ່ວງຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ຕິດການທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຈະມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງແນວຈາດເພື່ອສ້າງອະນາຄົດຂອງຕົນເອງ.

ແຕ່ວ່າເວລາບໍ່ຫັ້ນ ສຸກງ່ອມເພື່ອຈະຖອດຖອນບົດຮຽນຂອງສັງຄົມທີ່ນອນມາໄດ້ຫລາຍ ສະຕະວັດແລ້ວເຖິງແມ່ນຈະຄ່ອຍໆເປີດປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວກໍ່ດີ.

ເພື່ອສະດວກທາງ ດ້ານເຕັກນິກຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ຈຸດເອກະສານອ້າງອີງໃນສະບັບພາສາລາວ ໂດຍໄດ້ຍິງຊື່ເປັນພາສາລາວແລະສາກົນຈຳລ່ວຍເຖິງທຳອິດ ໃນບັນ ແລ້ວຕໍ່ໄປຖ້າຫາກເປັນຊື່ດຽວກັນທີ່ໄດ້ອ້າງແລ້ວ ຈະຍິ່ງເປັນຊື່ພາ ສາສາກົນເລີຍ. ນອກນັ້ນບາງບ່ອນທີ່ເວົ້າໃນສະບັບ ພາສາລາວ ອາດຈະບໍ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າໃນສະບັບພາສາສາກົນເພາະສະບັບພາສາສາກົນ ໄດ້ຮັບຮຽງສຳເລັດກ່ອນສະບັບພາສາລາວຫລັກກ່ອນການຈະໄດ້ຕິດ ລົງພິມທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ແລະສະບັບພາສາລາວໄດ້ມີການປັບປຸງໃນຫລັງຈາກທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ມີອຳນວຍເພີ່ມຕື່ມກັບທີ່. ຍ້ອນການຂາດເວລາ ເອກະສານອ້າງອີງທີ່ເປັນພາສາສາກົນຈິ່ງມີບາງບ່ອນບໍ່ໄດ້ແປມາເປັນລາວ. ເພື່ອສະດວກຜູ້ຂຽນຂໍແຈ້ງວ່າເອກະສານອ້າງອີງທີ່ເປັນພາສາສາກົນຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງສະບັບພາສາ ສາກົນໂດຍກົງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງເອກະສານອ້າງອີງເປັນພາສາ ສາກົນເປັນ ເຄິ່ງ ແຕ່ເອົາສະບັບທີ່ເປັນພາສາລາວເປັນສຳຄັນສະເພາະສະບັບພາສາ ລາວ.

ມະຍຸຕິເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌

"ພວກເຮົາບໍ່ໄດ້ເກີດເປັນເພດຍິງແຕ່ພວກເຮົາ
ຫາກກາຍເປັນເພດຍິງ"

ສົມອນເດີໂບວີວ Simone De Beauvoir
ໃນປຶ້ມ ເພດທີ່ສອງ, The Second Sex

ພາກ I . ລະບອບການເມືອງທີ່ຜູ້ ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດສະເໜີພາບ

"ຮາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງຮາຊີນີ", ຄວາມເວົ້າຢັ້ງຢືນນີ້ແມ່ນມັກ
ຮ່ອງຮ່ວມທີ່ມາຈາກປະເທດຈີນຄືງຈະໝາຍເຖິງເອກະລາດທີ່ລວມເຖິງ
ລາວາຍປະຈຸບັນ (ຮິດສະໂປ Rispaud, 1961; ໂຮຊິໂນ
Hoshino 1986). ອາດຈະເປັນໄປໄດ້ຄືບາງມັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າທີ່
ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າໃນເບື້ອງຕົ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຄືງຈະເປັນຜູ້ປົກຄອງໝາຍກ່ວາຈະ
ແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ປົກຄອງ.

ແຕ່ ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດນ້ຳໝັກຂອງປະເທດສາດໄດ້ປ່ຽນສະພາບ
ການດັ່ງກ່າວຢ່າງກະທັນຫັນເພາະຖືກປົນຊາໂດຍສາສະໜາພາມ
ແລະມຸດ. ສາສະໜາມຸດທີ່ເປັນສາສະໜາທຳມະດາໄດ້ຖືກນຳ ເຂົ້າ
ມາໃນລ້ານຊ້າງເປັນຄັ້ງທຳອິດໃນສະຕະວັດທີ 11 ແລະໄດ້ ມີ
ຄວາມເຢັ້ມຮອງໃນສະຕະວັດທີ 14. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງຖືກຫາ ວ່າ
ເປັນຜູ້ສະແຫວງອຳນາດໂດຍສະເພາະໃນກໍລະນີຂອງນາງ ແກ້ວ
ພິມພາຊື່ຮູ້ກັນດີໄປອີກຊື່ໜຶ່ງວ່ານາງ "ນະຫາເທວີ". ນາງ
ແກ້ວພິມພາຊື່ກ່າວຫາຢ່າງຮຸນແຮງຈາກຕຳນານໃນສະ ຕະ ວັດ
ທີ່ສາສະໜາມຸດໄດ້ຖືກປະກາດເປັນສາສະໜາທາງການ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນ
ນາສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນຖືກຄອບງໍາ. ເນື້ອຜູ້ຍິງກາຍເປັນ "ຜົນ
ລະເມືອງຊັ້ນສອງ" ຂອງສິ່ງຄົມແລ້ວ, ການຍຶດຄອງອຳນາດຂອງ
ຜູ້ຊາຍແມ່ນສົມບູນ.

1/ ຫວນຕິນເຖົ້າອະດີດ : ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດຊອບຕໍ່ປະຖະພິ
ຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກແລະຈັກກະວານ

ກ- ຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕຳນານການເກີດ

ເຫດນີ້ອັນດັ່ງປະຊາຊົນຈຳນວນຫລາຍປະເທດ, ປະຊາຊົນລາວບັນດາເຜົ່າແມ່ນມາຈາກ ຫລາຍວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະໄດ້ຮັບກອດເອົາສອງ ລະບົບ ເຊື້ອຖື ທີ່ສຳຄັນຄືສາສະໜາພຸດແລະພິສາງຕ່າງໆ. ປັດບາດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນການເຊື້ອຖືແມ່ນມີຄວາມສຳຄັນທີ່ສຸດເພື່ອປະສານກັບໂລກຕາຍບໍ່ເຫັນແລະໂລກມະນຸດ. ຕຳນານກໍຄືເຫຍ ນິຍາຍຂອງລາວກ່ຽວກັບການເກີດຂອງໂລກໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນຜູ້ທຳອິດທີ່ເກີດໃນດິນແດນລາວ, ບຸກຄົນຈິດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງ ຫາກ ທຳຮ້າຍເຖິງຊີວິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຈິດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນຈະໄດ້ຮັບເຄົາລົບແລະຈະຖືກລົ້ມລະລາຍໃນອານາຈັກ" (ໂວທູຕິນ Vo Thu Tinh 1970 ຫນ້າ 11).

ພາຍຫລັງ ທີ່ໄດ້ມີມະນຸດມາຈາກສູ່ໂລກແລ້ວ, ແມ່ຍ່າງຳນວນຊື່ງເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນ ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າຢ່າເຍີ, ເປັນຜົນພະສະຕິຂອງປວງຊົນລາວບັນດາເຜົ່າທີ່ໄດ້ສະລະຊີວິດກັບປູ່ເຍີຕັດຕົ້ນເຄືອເອົາກາດທີ່ເຮັດຈາກຝາແລະດິນຕິດຕໍ່ກັນເພາະຕາມການເລົ່າຂານກັນມາວ່າ ຍ້ອນບໍ່ເຫັນແສງແດດ. ເມື່ອຕິດຕົ້ນໄມ້ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ອອກ ແລ້ວມະນຸດຈຶ່ງໄດ້ພົບແສງແດດອີກອັນ. ປູ່ເຍີແລະຍ່າງເຍີຈຶ່ງຖືກ ຕົ້ນໄມ້ນັ້ນຫັບຕາຍ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາສຸກະຍີ, ກ່ອນປີ 1975, ໃນໂອ ກາດບຸນປີ້າຫມໍ່ທີ່ຫລວງພະບາງໄດ້ມີພິທີຈັດຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອລະລຶກເຖິງ ປູ່ເຍີແລະຍ່າງເຍີ. ຈົນເທົ່າທຸກວັນນີ້ ເພື່ອລະລຶກ ເຖິງປູ່ເຍີ ຍ່າງເຍີ, ຄົນລາວສ່ວນຫລວງຫລາຍແລະເວົ້າໂດຍສະເພາະ ທີ່ ຫລວງພະບາງ, ກ່ອນ ຈະກິນເອົາ ມັກຈະເວົ້າວ່າ "ມາເຍີ, ກິນເຍີ".

ຕຳນານຫມໍ່ກ່ຽວກັບການສ້າງຕັ້ງເມືອງລາວ ໄດ້ອ້າງເຖິງການເສຍສະລະຂອງມະນຸດຊຶ່ງແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ພາຍຫລັງຕາຍໄປແລ້ວໄດ້ກາຍເປັນ ຜົນປົກປັກຮັກສາເມືອງ. ຜົນປົກປັກຮັກສາເມືອງນີ້ຊື່ທີ່ຮູ້ກັນວ່າຜົນເມືອງ ຫລືນະເທສິກ. ການເຊື້ອຖືຜົນ ເມືອງບໍ່ມີແຕ່ຈົນລາວເທົ່ານັ້ນຫາກເຫດນີ້ອັນດັ່ງ ເດວິດ Davis (1984b ຫນ້າ 273) ໄດ້ຍັງບັນຍັດວ່າ ຜົນທີ່ກຳລັງເມືອງແມ່ນຮູບການທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງການເຊື້ອຖືຈົນເອເຊຍອາດສະເໝ.

ຂອບເຂດຫນ້າທີ່ປົກປັກຮັກສາຂອງຜົນເມືອງບໍ່ກວມພຽງແຕ່ຫມູ່ຍ້ານເທົ່ານັ້ນແຕ່ຫາກຢັ້ງກວມໄປຫມົດໂອກເຂດທີ່ຂຶ້ນກັບເມືອງອີກ. ທົ່ວຮຽງຈົນໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຊື່ວ່າສາວສີ. ຕາມການບອກເລົ່າແລະເຊື້ອຖືກັນມາຂອງຊາວວຽງຈັນໃນເວລາທີ່ເຈົ້າໄຊເສດຖາທິລາດຍ້າຍນະຄອນຫລວງລ້ານຊ້າງໄປວຽງຈັນໃນປີ 1564 ວ່າຈົນເວລາເຮັດພິທີກຳຈະຝັງຫລັກເມືອງໄດ້ມີສາວສີຖືພາໄດ້ຫລາຍເດືອນເມື່ອຖືກດິນຈິດຈຶ່ງໄດ້ ສະລະຊີວິດຕົນເອງໂຕນລົງຂຸມເພື່ອຝັງຕົນເອງໄປກັບຫລັກເມືອງ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາໄດ້ສ້າງວັດທີ່ນັ້ນແລະໄດ້ເອົາຊື່ສາວສີເປັນຊື່ວັດນີ້ຊື່ວ່າວັດສິດເມືອງຈົນເທົ່າທຸກວັນນີ້. ຊາວວຽງຈັນໄດ້ເອີ້ນສາວສີວ່າຍ່າງແມ່ສິດເມືອງ. ທຸກຍ່າງກ່ອນຈະມີບຸນນະມັດສະການທີ່ຫາດຫລວງ ຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ມີພິທີກຳເຮັດບຸນຢູ່ທີ່ວັດສິດເມືອງກ່ອນ. ຄົນລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມໄດ້ຮັບອຳນາດທີ່ແນ່ນອນຂອງຜົນເມືອງທີ່ລາວໄປປະຊຳທັຍາແມ່ສິດເມືອງ ຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂບັນຫາທີ່ພົວພັນກັບການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານອາໄສຂອງເອົາເຈົ້າ.

ຫລວງພະບາ ເປັນນະຄອນຫລວງເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ, ໄດ້ມີຜົນເມືອງປົກປັກຮັກສາຊົນດຽວກັນກັບວຽງຈັນແຕ່ນີ້ຊື່ວ່າສາວຫມື່ນ ຕາມການບອກເລົ່າຫາງພື້ນຖານຊຶ່ງແມ່ນເດດີເອ Deydier (1954 ຫນ້າ 187) ເປັນຜູ້ບັນທຶກໄວ້ວ່າໄດ້ມີຢຶງ

ໝູ່ມູນຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຊື່ສາວຫມິ່ນແຕ່ງຕັ້ງດ້ວຍເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງງາມ ເອີ້ນດ້ວຍຄອກ ໄມ້ສີແດງເຫມີມີທີ່ ຊຶ່ງເປັນສີທີ່ເຊື່ອກັນວ່າມີອຳນາດດູດດຶງເອົາ ຄວາມສົນໃຈຈາກຜີ ແລ້ວກໍໂຕນລົງຊຸມແລ້ວຫລັກເສົາກໍຫັບຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ຕາຍ. ຫລັກເສົານັ້ນກໍຖືກເອີ້ນວ່າຫລັກຫມິ່ນ.

ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າບາງຄົນ ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍກ່ຽວກັບການເສຍສະລະຊີ ວິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຖືກວ່າແມ່ນ "ຜິທີກຳຂອງການຄາດຕະກຳ" (ອາກ ແຊມໂບນ Archaimbault, 1973a ຫນ້າ 124). ການ ສັງເກດ ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນຄ້າຍຄືກັບການສັງເກດຂອງຊາມແບກແລງ Chamberlain ທີ່ຜູ້ຊົມໄດ້ມີໂອກາດສຳພາດທີ່ ບາງກອກຳມ ວັນທີ່ 27 ພຶດສະພາ 1990 ຊຶ່ງຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ໄດ້ຍັງຢືນ ວ່າແມ່ນ ການສະລະຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ມານ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ກໍໄດ້ຜົບພ້ຳນຳຂອງ ຄຽວກັນທີ່ທາງຕະວັນອອກສຽງເຫນືອຂອງປະເທດໄທ (ນຸ ເຊີ ເມ Mougne 1984a).

ຂ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນນາງທຽມ

ຈາກຊີວິດປະຈຳວັນ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເຮັດໜ້າທີ່ເກີດຕໍ່ກັບຄືນທີ່ຕາຍແລ້ວ ແລະ ຄົນທີ່ຍັງມີຊີວິດແມ່ນມີຊື່ວ່ານາງທຽມຫລືແມ່ທຽມ. ປັດບາດ ຂອງນາງທຽມແມ່ນຊ່ວຍເກີດຕໍ່ກັບຄືນທີ່ຕາຍໄປແລ້ວຫລືເອີ້ນຜີບ້ານ ຜີເລືອງມາຖາມກ່ຽວກັບອະນາຄົດຫລືການປູກຝັງ ຕ່າງ ຂ. ທຸກ ວັນມີປະຊາຊົນທີ່ເຊື່ອຖືຄວາມສັກສິດຂອງນາງທຽມຈະໄປຫານາງ ທຽມເພື່ອຈື່ຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂບັນຫາທີ່ເຮົາຜົບພ້ຳນຳຊີວິດປະ ຈຳວັນຊຶ່ງ ອາດຈະແມ່ນລູກຕາຍດຶກນ້ຳ ກໍຈະໄປຫານາງທຽມ ເພື່ອຈື່ຊ່ວຍ ບອກວ່າບ່ອນໃດທີ່ອາດຈະໄດ້ຜົບຊາກສົບທີ່ກະແສນ້ຳອາດຜິດເອົາ ໄປແລະຈົນເວລາໃດແລະດ້ວຍເຫດຜົນອັນໃດລູກຈຶ່ງຈົມນ້ຳຕາຍ. ບາງຄັ້ງເອົາເຈົ້າໄປຫານາງທຽມ ເພື່ອຍາກຮູ້ວ່າ ຈະເປັນຜູ້ລັກ

ເອົາສາຍຄໍກຳຈົນຄອບຄົວຂອງເອົາຫລືຜູ້ໂຕຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຢາກຈະລົງທຶນ ເຮັດການຄ້າແລ້ວ ຈະໄປຫານາງທຽມເພື່ອຍາກຮູ້ວ່າການຫລິ້ນ ລົງທຶນຈະໄດ້ຮັບຜົນແນວໃດ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ບຸກຄົນໃດບຸກຄົນໜຶ່ງທີ່ໄປ ຫານາງທຽມແມ່ນຈະມີຮ້ອຍຝັນຄຳຖາມ ຊຶ່ງ ນາງທຽມອາດ ຈະ ຖືກເຊີນ ຈື່ຄວາມ ກະຈ່າງແຈ້ງ. ຄົນລາວ ໂດຍສະເພາະ ຜູ້ ຍິງເປັນຄົນທີ່ອຸ່ງໄປຈົນການເຊື່ອຖືມີງວາຍຢູ່ແລ້ວ ຈຶ່ງມີຈຳນວນ ຫລາຍ ໄປຫາ ນາງທຽມເພາະຈຸດປະສົງຕົ້ນຕໍແມ່ນເພື່ອຊອກຫາ ທຶນທາງຈື່ຄອບຄົວມີຄວາມອຸດົມສົມບູນ. ເນື່ອງຈາກມີການເຊື່ອ ຖືກັນ ຫລາຍ ປັດບາດຂອງນາງທຽມມີບໍ່ນິຍົມມີຄວາມສຳຄັນ ແກ່ ສັງຄົມ ກໍຄື ຫມູ່ບ້ານແລະຍາມນີ້ຍັງກວ່າຍາມໃດທີ່ຜູ້ ເຊື່ອຖື ຕັ້ງການ ນາງ ທຽມເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂ ບັນຫາຄອບຄົວຜິວເມຍ, ລູກເຕົ້າກໍຄືເສດຖະກິດຂອງຕົນ ແລະ ຂອງຄອບຄົວທີ່ກຳລັງຢູ່ໃນ ລະຍະສັບສົນແລະຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ.

ເວລາຈະເຮັດຜິທີກຳຖ້ານາງທຽມຈະຖືກທຽມໂດຍຜີຜູ້ຊາຍ, ນາງທຽມຈະນຸ່ງຫົ່ມເປັນຜູ້ຊາຍ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຖືກເລືອກຫລື ເຮັດມາຈາກຜີບ້ານຜີເລືອງຈື່ເປັນ "ນ້ຳອີ່" ນັກຈະເປັນຍິງໝູ່ ແລະ ມີ ຄວາມງາມ (ປວດຕີເອ Pottier 1973; ໂດເຣ Dore 1979; 1987; ທີ່ປະເທດໄທຂໍ້ຈື່ເປັນວິໄຊເຊຍວາກເດີ Wijeyewarde 1981).

ມີແຕ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບຢາກຮູ້, ສັດຖະບານ ບໍ່ສົ່ງເສີມປະ ຊາຊົນເຊື່ອຖືມີງວາຍແຕ່ຍິງປະຊາຊົນ ທຸກຍາກເຮົາຈື່ຍິງຕ້ອງ ການເຊື່ອຖືມີງວາຍເພື່ອ ເອົາເປັນບ່ອນອີງໃສ່ໄດ້ມີຄວາມຫວັງ ຕໍ່ຜູ້ຄົນລືນກັບຊີວິດປະຈຳວັນ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມີສະແດງຈື່ເຮັດອີກ ວ່າບໍ່ວ່າແຕ່ນາງທຽມເຮົາມີທີ່ຜູ້ເຊື່ອຖືມີກະເອີ້ນຫາຈື່ຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂ ຍາແມ່ສິເລືອງເອງ ກໍຖືກເອີ້ນຫາຊຶ່ງຈົນໄລຍະສຳອິດ ຂອງການ ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບຢາກຮູ້ທຸກຍາກຄົນຕົວເລືອງວຽງຈັນໄດ້ເຮັດວ່າ

ທີ່ ວັດສີເລືອງ ເກືອບບໍ່ມີຜູ້ຄົນເອົາດອກໄມ້ຫຼຸບທຽນໄປບູຊາໂດຍສະເພາະໃນຊຸມປີທຳອິດຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໃຫມ່. ມີແຕ່ປີ 1989 (ຕາມທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນ ໄດ້ຖາມບາງຮ້ານ ຂາຍດອກໄມ້) ແລະ ມາ ທຸກວັນນີ້ໃນໂຂງເຂດວັດສີເລືອງແມ່ນ ອຸດົມສົມບູນ ໄປດ້ວຍຮ້ານຂາຍດອກໄມ້ຫຼຸບທຽນແລະເຄື່ອງ ແກ້ບຂະ ຫຼາຍຢ່າງທີ່ຜູ້ເຊື່ອຖື - ຊຶ່ງສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ຍິງ - ຕ້ອງການຊື້. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມີແມ່ນສິ່ງໃຫມ່.

ຄ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນນາງເຫວະດາ

ບາງປະເທດທີ່ໄກ້ຄຽງ ກັບລາວທີ່ຖືສາສະໜາພຸດຈະມີການສະລອງປີ້ໃຫມ່ໃນເດືອນເມສາແລະຈະແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຊື່ວ່ານາງສັງຂານທີ່ຈະເປັນຜູ້ນຳພາພິທີສະລອງ. ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຈະເປັນນາງ ສັງຂານຈະຕ້ອງຖືກ ເລືອກເອົາໃນປັນດາຜູ້ທີ່ ງາມ ໃນ ນະຄອນຫລວງຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ. ເມື່ອ ເຖິງ ເລີກງາມຍາມດີ ແລ້ວນາງສັງຂານ ຈະນຸ່ງເຄື່ອງປະດັບປະດາ ຢ່າງງົດງາມທີ່ສຸດແລ້ວຈະ ຖືກແຕ່ຍ້ອນຕົວເມືອງ ເພື່ອຂັບໄລ່ສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ດີ ອອກຈາກເມືອງ ພ້ອມທັງເອົາໂຊກລາບມາສູ່ບ້ານຜູ້ເມືອງ.

ນອກນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍັງມີບົດບາດສຳຄັນໃນສັງຄົມໃນແຕ່ລະວັນຂອງນະບຸດໃນ ດ້ານກະສິກຳ. ປະຊາຊົນລາວມັກປູກ ແລະ ກິນເຂົ້າຫນຽວ. ການກິນເຂົ້າໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ ປະຊາຊົນລາວມີການເຊື່ອວ່າເຂົ້າມີອະນຸພາບຊື່ງຮູ້ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່ານາງເຫວະດາເຂົ້າ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈິ່ງໄດ້ມີພິທີກຳເອີ້ນນາງເຫວະດາເຂົ້າຊຶ່ງຈະມີການເອີ້ນຊື່ທີ່ແຕກຕ່າງກັນໄປແຕ່ລະທ້ອງຖິ່ນເຊັ່ນ ນາງໂພສິບ, ແມ່ໂພສິບ, ເຫວີໂພສິບຫລືເອີ້ນແບບສັ້ນໆແມ່ເຂົ້າ. ພິທີດັ່ງກ່າວຈັດຂຶ້ນເມື່ອແມ່ເຂົ້າ

ເຮັດໃຫ້ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນດີຫຼາຍດ້ານ ການແກ້ບກ່ຽວແລະເພື່ອຫລີກເວັ້ນບໍ່ໃຫ້ໂພສິບທຳມະຊາດມາຮ້າວີ ເຂົ້າກໍ່ຄືເຄື່ອງປູກຝັງ. ພິທີກຳຂຶ້ນເຂົ້າມີຄວາມສຳຄັນເຊັ່ນກັນສຳຫລັບລາວສູງແລະລາວເທິງ.

ງ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ຖືກເຄົາລົບບູຊາ

ເພື່ອຕ້ານ ລະບຽບທາງການທີ່ເຊື່ອມຊຶມໃນປັນຍາກາດຂອງລະບົບ ມານຄາທິລາດ, ມີຫນ້າຫລາຍເລື່ອງໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມສຳຄັນແກ່ບົດບາດຜູ້ຍິງໃນການປົກຄອງປະເທດ. ໂດຍອີງຕາມການເລົ່າຂານ ໃນການເຮັດພິທີກຳກອບກູ້ເອົາເມືອງຈຳປາຢູ່ຫຼາຍພາກໄດ້ຂອງລາວ ໄດ້ມີນາງສິດາລູກສາວຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດຈຳປາຢູ່ຊຶ່ງເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງວັດພູແລະໄດ້ອາສາສະໝັກຕາຍແຫນ້ນ. ແຕ່ນາງສິດາໄດ້ຖືກເຈົ້າຕ່າງແດນຊ່ວຍຊີວິດເອົາໄວ້ແລ້ວກໍ່ໄດ້ແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເອົາເປັນມະເຫສີ (Archaimbault 1961a ຫນ້າ 523).

ມີຫນ້າຫລາຍໂຕແມ່ນ ມີຫນ້າລາວທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄ້າຍຄືມີຫນ້າ ຫນ້າໃນຝັນຣາຕຣີ ທີ່ຂຽນ ໃນສະໄຫມສະຕະວັດທີ່ 16 ໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງການເສຍສະລະ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງເພື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຫມົດ ທົ່ວເມືອງທີ່ຖືກເຈົ້າຊີວິດເອົາໄປຂ້າເທື່ອລະຄົນ. ແຕ່ບ່ອນຄວາມສະລາດຂອງນາງຕົ້ນໂຕ ນາງຈິ່ງໄດ້ ເອົາຊີວິດລອດແລະຫມາຍເຖິງການສິ້ນສຸດຂອງການຂ້າຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດ.

ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ໄດ້ມີໂອກາດ ໃຊ້ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງຕົນ ໃນເວລາທີ່ບ້ານເມືອງສະຫງົບກໍ່ຄືໃນຍາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ. ວັນນະຄະດີເອກຂອງລາວເຊັ່ນສົມໂຊອຽນໃນສະຕະວັດທີ່ 17 ໂດຍບາງ ຄຳໄດ້ເລົ່າວ່າໃນ ເວລາ ທີ່ພໍ່ຂອງສົມໂຊຍວດເປັນພະແມ່ນແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງ ແຫນ້ນ (ແປນ ຕີເອ Peltier 1988). ມີຫນ້າເລື່ອງຂຽນລູນາວອີວ (1970) ໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນ

ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ບໍລິຫານປະເທດຂອງຕົນພາຍຫຼັງທີ່ລາວໄດ້ຕາຍ ແລ້ວ (Dore 1987 ຫນ້າ 798-800). ວັນນະຄະດີລາວທີ່ຍອດ ຍ້ອນອີກເລື່ອງ ຫນຶ່ງຄື ມະຫາກາຍຫ້າວຮຸ່ງຫ້າວເຈືອງ (ສິລາ, 1988) ໄດ້ເອົາເຖິງນາງງ້ອມເປັນຫົວຫນ້າແມ່ສົບແລະ ໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນບັນລັບອັນສຳຄັນ ປົກປັກຮັກສາເນືອງແລະແມ່ ນາງງ້ອມ ຊື່ວ່ານາງເມິງໄດ້ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງ ເປັນເຈົ້າບໍລິຫານບ້ານ ເນືອງ. ຖ້າຫາກວ່ານິທານຕ່າງໆຂອງລາວ ທີ່ກ່າວເຖິງສັງຄົມ ເນືອງ. ຈາກລະຫວ່າງສາສະໜາພຸດ ຈະແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ຊຶ່ງ ແມ່ນ ສັງຄົມທີ່ຍິ່ງເຊື່ອຖື ມີສາວນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍິງມີບົດບາດສຳຄັນຫລາຍເຊັ່ນ ໃນມະຫາກາຍຫ້າວຮຸ່ງຫ້າວເຈືອງໄດ້ອຸທິດເຖິງວິລະ ກຳຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນການ ເປັນ ຜູ້ບໍລິຫານບ້ານເນືອງ, ເປັນນັກລົບ ທີ່ເຄິ່ງກ້າແລະ ເປັນຜູ້ປົກປັກຮັກສາປະເທດຄຽງບ່າຄຽງໄຫລ່ກັບ ເພດຊາຍ.

2/ ຜູ້ຊາຍກຳອຳນາດແຕ່ຜູ້ຄຽວ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ ປົດປົນ

ທຸກສາສະໜາແຕ່ງຂຶ້ນ ແລະ ເຄິ່ງຄັດໂດຍຜູ້ຊາຍ, ທຸກສາສະໜາເນັ້ນເຖິງການຄວບຄຸມຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ຕໍ່ ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍຜ່ານກົດໝາຍ "ເຫວະດາ", ທຸກສາສະໜາຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ, ການປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງບິນ ເສັ້ນຫາງສາສະໜາ ແມ່ນຕາມຄວາມຈິງເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ ໄຜ່ຝັນ,

ທຸກສາສະໜາຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ຈະບໍ່ສາມາດເປັນ ເສັ້ນຫາງເນື້ອນຳພາຜູ້ຍິງໄປສູ່ການປົດປ່ອຍ... (ອາຊາ Asha, 1987 ຫນ້າ 11,225).

ກ- ສາສະໜາພຸດບ້າໃນເອກະກຳຜູ້ຍິງສະເໝີພາບ

ຈຸດນີ້ແມ່ນເປັນບັນຫາທີ່ວ່າໂປຣແກຼມຂອງໂລກຊຶ່ງຈະຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍ າຊີພາສາຄວາມເວົ້າສາສະໜາ, ຢູ່ລາວກໍ່ຄືຢູ່ປະເທດອື່ນໆທີ່ຖືສາ ສະໜາເຫວະດາ ບັນຫາໄດ້ຖືກຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນໃນເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຖືກຈຳກັດບໍ່ າທໍດຳລົງຊີວິດຢູ່ວັດທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ທີ່ ເປັນຜູ້ຄ້າສາສະໜາທີ່ຍືນຍົງຄົງຕົວ.

ໂດຍມີການຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ, ສາສະໜາພຸດ ໄດ້ເອົາແຜ່ເຂົ້າ ມາລາວແລ້ວແຍກຜູ້ຍິງເປັນພວກຢູ່ນອກ ແລະຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນພວກຢູ່ໃນ ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈິ່ງມີແຕ່ ຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນ ທີ່ຈະບວດເປັນພະໄດ້. ພໍແມ່ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍປາກອະຫນາວ່າໃນຊີວິດຕັ້ງຫນຶ່ງຂໍ້ທີ່ຕົນໄດ້ເຮັດກອງບວດຳທັ ລູກ. ເຫມືອນດັ່ງທຸກປະເທດ ທີ່ຈະຖືສາສະໜາ ອິດສະລາມ ຫລື ສາສະໜາພຸດ, ກິງຝຸ່ນ ຫລືຄຣິດສະຕຽນ ກໍ່ຕາມ, ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຜູ້ຍິງຈະຖືກຈັດຢູ່ຫ່າງຈາກວົງຄະນະສິງ.

ຜູ້ຍິງຈະບວດ ແລະ ປຸງຜ້າໄດ້ແຕ່ເປັນແມ່ຂາວ, ແຕ່ບໍ່ມີຖານະຄືພະ ແລະ ບໍ່ຖືສິນເຄັ່ງຄັດຄືພະ. ແຕ່ວັນນະຄະດີລາວເຊັ່ນມີທານກຳຜ້າຝີນ້ອຍໄດ້ສະແດງໆທີ່ເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນບໍ່ເກີດແຫ່ງອຳນາດອັນສັກສິດແລະມີນະສະແດງໆທີ່ເຫັນເຖິງທ່າທີທີ່ຕ້ານການຜູກຂາດຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດ.

ຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ຂາວມີລະບົບ ແຕກຕ່າງກັນກັບຂອງພະ ເພາະພະຖື ວ່າຕົນເອງເປັນລູກສິດຂອງພະເຈົ້າ. ສ່ວນແມ່ຂາວຖືກຖືວ່າເປັນ "ຄົນໆຊື່" ຂອງວັດ. ຫາງດ້ານສາສະໜາແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ ແມ່ຂາວ ບໍ່ໄດ້ບຸນຖ້າຫຼຸບໆສ່ຜະ, ແຕ່ອາດຈະໄດ້ແຕ່ພຽງຄວາມສະບາຍໆ.

ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຖືກປະຕິເສດບໍ່ໄດ້ເຂົ້າໃນວົງຄະນະສົງ ແລ້ວ ການຝັກ ເຊົາ ກໍຄື ການດຳລົງຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ຂາວ, ແມ່ນຖ້າພໍເປັນໄດ້, ແມ່ນຢູ່ນອກວັດ. ຫນ້າທີ່ ຂອງແມ່ຂາວມີລັກສະນະຄືກັນກັບຫນ້າທີ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍທົ່ວໄປຄື ມີຫນ້າທີ່ ປົວລະບັດວຽກຄົວເຮືອນຊາມ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນແມ່ຂາວຈຶ່ງມີຫນ້າທີ່ ຮັບຜິດຊອບຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບຂອງຄົວຫລືສວນຂອງວັດ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະຖືກຖືຕາມທີ່ກ່າວມານັ້ນກໍຕາມແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຄ້າສາສະໜາ. ແຕ່ເຖິງແນວນັ້ນກໍຄື, ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຖືກຖືເປັນ "ຜົນລະເນືອງ ຊັ້ນທີ່ສອງ" ຂອງສາສະໜາທີ່ແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງຂຶ້ນແລະເພື່ອ ຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່າ ນັ້ນ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງໃນນາມເປັນເພດຕ່ຳ, ໃນນາມເປັນເພດສູງເປັນແມ່ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ອຸທິດເທື່ອແຮງແລະຈິດໆຂອງຕົນເພື່ອການຢືນຢົງຄົງຕົວຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດແລະຫວັງຈະເຮັດໆທີ່ຈິດໆ ຂອງ ຕົນເອງ ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບປະກັນວ່າຊາດຫນ້າອຳໄພຕົນໄດ້ເປັນຄືກ່ອນເກົ່າ.

ຂ- ນັກປະຫວັດສາດແລະນັກກິດຕະນາຍໃນສັງຄົມບູຮານບໍ່າສັດວາມສຳຄັນແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ໄດ້ຮັບຊື່ ສຽງວ່າເປັນຜູ້ກ້ຽວປ່າວເກັ່ງ ແຕ່ຫາກບໍ່ຄ່ອຍຖືກປັນທຶກໃນປະຫວັດສາດລາວວ່າເປັນຜູ້ມີບົດບາດຫາງ ການເມືອງ.

ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຖືກປັດເຂັ້ມຢ່າງອັດຕະໂນມັດອອກຈາກປັນລັງ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ໃນກິດນິນທຽນບານວ່າ ຜູ້ຈະສືບທອດປັນລັງຈະ ຕ້ອງ ແມ່ນຈາກພໍ່ ມາເຖິງລູກຜູ້ຊາຍ. ປັນຍັດຂອງ ຊຸນບູລົມ ໄດ້ ບົ່ງໄວ້ວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະ ສືບ ທອດ ລູກ ຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຫລານຊາຍ ຈະ ສືບທອດ ຫລານຊາຍ (ກະຕ່າຍ 1956 ຫນ້າ 717-719; Vo Thu Tinh 1970 ຫນ້າ 11). ຕຳນານລາວກໍໄດ້ປັນທຶກການປະຕິບັດກົດດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຕາມລະບຽບແລ້ວ, ມະເຫສີຈະບໍ່ມີສິດບໍລິຫານປະເທດ, ແຕ່ໃນຕົວຈິງ, ໃນຖານະທີ່ເປັນເມຍເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ແລະເປັນແມ່ຂອງອົງມົງກຸດຣາຊະກຸມມານ ກໍຄືເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ໃນອະນາຄົດ, ຜູ້ຍິງສາມາດຈະເຂົ້າຮ່ວມມີສິດຕ່າງໆໃນຣາຊະວັງ (ເລວີ Levy 1956a ຫນ້າ 746-747) ຫລືສາມາດບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງຕ່າງ ໃນເວລາເຈົ້າຊີວິດບໍ່ຢູ່ ເຊັ່ນ ກໍລະນີເມຍເຈົ້າຝ້າງຸ່ມໃນສະຕະວັດທີ 14. ຫນຶ່ງໃນຫລາຍມະເຫສີທີ່ມີຊື່ຍິ່ງໃນຕຳນານຄືນາງແກ້ວ ເກັງຍາ, ລູກສາວເຈົ້າຊີວິດຂະເຕມມທີ່ເປັນມະເຫສີຂອງເຈົ້າຝ້າງຸ່ມໄດ້ເປັນ ຜູ້ນຳເອົາສາສະໜາພຸດຈາກປະເທດຂະເຕມມ ເຂົ້າມາແຜ່ໃນລາວ, ທັງໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນການສ້າງວັດແກ້ວ. ຫລັງຈາກຂຶ້ນປັນລັງໄດ້ ຫນຶ່ງປີແລ້ວ ເຈົ້າຝ້າງຸ່ມ ກໍໄດ້ອອກຈາກ ຣາຊະອານາຈັກ, ແລ້ວໄດ້ມະເຫສີ ແກ້ວເກັງຍາເປັນຜູ້ບໍລິຫານແທນ (ສິລາ 1957).

ນອກນັ້ນຜົນງານຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄດ້ປັນທິກເຊັ່ນກັນ, ຕົວຢ່າງ ານສະຕະວັດທີ 14, ມີສິລາຈາລຶກ ຊື່ວ່າ ນາງ ອັງ ທີ່ຖືກຄົ້ນພົບ ທີ່ຫລວງພະບາງ (ໂຮຊິໂນ Hoshino 1986, ແຟກລຸສ Ferlus 1988) ໄດ້ ເປັນ ຫລັກ ຖານ ໃຫ້ ຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບ ພາສາໄທ-ລາວ (Ferlus 1988). ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ ບໍ່ແມ່ນທຳມະດາເນື້ອຫວນຄືນເຖິງດ້ານການເມືອງ ແລະສັງຄົມ ຂອງ ປະເທດລາວ ທີ່ເປັນປະເທດນ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ. ມະຫາເຫວີອິກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ທີ່ ປະຫວັດສາດ ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງແມ່ນ ແມ່ຂອງເຈົ້າໄຊເສດຖາທິລາດ (1373-1415) ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ປົກຄອງເມືອງ ຊຽງໄຫມ່ (ຫາງພາກເຫນືອ ຂອງປະເທດໄທ) ແລະໄດ້ນຳພາ ການເມືອງລາວ ດ້ວຍໂຫວຍິບຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ຈັກ ປັນປະຫວັດສາດອາຊີອາຄະເນ (ໂຮນ Hall 1976 ຫນ້າ 262).

ຕໍ່ມາໄດ້ມີເຈົ້າຄຳອ່ອນຫລືເຈົ້າຜົມດຳ (ຈາຣຸວັນ 1987 ຫນ້າ 13, 27, 39, 100) ໄດ້ ກອບກູ້ເອົາປະຊາຊົນພວນທີ່ ຊຽງຂວາງ ທີ່ຖືກປົວດັບຈາກສະຫຍາມພາຍຫລັງທີ່ວຽງຈັນຖືກເຝົາຜາມ ານປີ 1827 (ນະຍຸຕິ ແລະເຜີຍຜັນ 1988). ານທ້າຍ ສະຕະວັດທີ 19, ມີເຈົ້າຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງເຊື້ອສາຍເຈົ້າຊຽງຂວາງໄດ້ຕໍ່ສູ້ເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນ, ແຕ່ເທື່ອນີ້ແມ່ນດ້ານພວກທີ່ມາຈາກພາກໃຕ້ ຂອງປະເທດຈີນ.

ຳນທ້າຍສະຕະວັດທີ 17, ນາງ ອຸສາ ໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງ ເມືອງ ບະໂສຫອນ ແລະ ນາງ ສີຊະນີ, ເມືອງຫມອງຄາຍ (ແຕ່ກ່ອນອີ້ນກັນເຂດລາວ). ຫຼັງສອງ ເປັນລູກສາວຂອງເຈົ້າອຸປົນ ຊຶ່ງແອໂມນີເອ Aymonier (1885 ຫນ້າ 156) ໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້ວ່າ ຫຼັງສອງ ເປັນເຊື້ອສາຍ ຊາວວັງຂອງລາວ.

ພາກໃຕ້ຂອງລາວແມ່ນ ມີຄວາມຫະນົງທີ່ມີຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນ ບໍລິ

ຫານ ປ້ານເມືອງເຊັ່ນ ນາງ ເຝົາ (1638-1688) ແລະ ຕໍ່ມາ ນາງ ແພງ (1688-1708).

ແຕ່ຜິເສດ ທີ່ອອກຈາກ ລະບຽບການ ຫລື ອາດແມ່ນ ການສົມຮູ້ວ່າຄືດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເຝົ້າທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງເສຍຄຸນຄ່າ ທີ່ຢາກໄປຫຍຸ້ງກ່ຽວກັບ "ເຂດແດນທີ່ຫວງຫ້າມ" ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງການຈະຄວບຄຸມຊຶ່ງແມ່ນກໍລະນີທີ່ບໍ່ສາມາດເຂົ້າໄປຈາກດ້ານບຸກຄະລິກພ້ອມທັງ ປະຫວັດສາດເອງກໍບໍ່ຈະແຈ້ງກ່ຽວກັບນາງແກ້ວພິມພາ. ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາເປັນຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ດຽວທີ່ບໍລິຫານປະເທດຈີນລະຍະເກືອບ 10 ປີ (1428-1438) ແລະໄດ້ຖືກປະນາມວ່າເປັນຜູ້ຮ້າ 7 ກະ ສັດລາວ. ຊີວະປະຫວັດຂອງນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາບໍ່ ຈະແຈ້ງ. ນັກປະຫວັດສາດຈີນວນຫນຶ່ງມີຄຳເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວເປັນຜູ້ດຽວກັນກັບ "ມະຫາເຫວີ". ນັກປະຫວັດສາດບາງຄົນວ່ານາງແກ້ວພິມພາເປັນລູກຂອງ ສາມແສນໄທ ຊຶ່ງພົງສາວະດານ ຫລວງພະບາງເອງກໍໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້. ບາງຄຳເຫັນວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ເປັນ ນ້ອງສາວ ຂອງສາມແສນໄທ ແລະ ຕຳນານ ຂຸນບູລົມ (1968) ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວເປັນເມຍ ຂອງສາມແສນໄທ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ບາງຄົນຈື່ ຫັດສະນະວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ເປັນເມຍຜ້າງຸ່ມ ແລ້ວ ສາມແສນໄທເອົາເມຍຂອງພໍ່ມາເປັນເມຍຕົນ (Dore 1987). ການທີ່ເວົ້າວ່າບໍ່ຫນັກຫນ້ນ ຂອງຕຳນານລາວ ໄດ້ເຝິມທະວີຄວາມມີຄວາມເຖິງຄວາມເປັນຈິງວ່າ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ແມ່ນໄຜ, ມາ ຈາກຈີນ, ແລະ ດ້ວຍເຫດຖານ ຈິງຊ້າເຊື້ອກະສັດ ລາວໄດ້ເຖິງ 7 ອົງໂດຍບໍ່ມີປັນຫາ ແລະ ເປັນຫຍັງເນື້ອ ອາຍຸ ໄດ້ເຖິງ 95 ປີ ແລ້ວ ຫລືເວົ້າອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງກໍຄືຜູ້ກ່ຽວເປັນຫຍັງໄດ້ຄອງອຳນາດ ຈົນເກືອບ 10 ປີແລ້ວ ຈິ່ງຖືກສຳເລັດ. ບາງນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ລາວ ລວມທັງຕ່າງປະເທດໄດ້ຕີຄວາມຫມາຍໄປໂດຍບໍ່ຮູ້ເຖິງວັນ ເດືອນ ປີ ເກີດຮັບແທ້ຈິງ, ພໍ່ແມ່ທີ່ແທ້ຈິງ, ຊື່ທີ່ແທ້ຈິງ, ສັນຊາດທີ່ແທ້ ຈິງ

ຂອງນາງແກ້ວພິມພາດັ່ງທີ່ກ່າວມາຂ້າງເທິງນັ້ນ ເພາະ ບາງນັກ
ຄົ້ນຄວ້າໄດ້ຄຳເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວແມ່ນເຈົ້າຢຶງ ຂອງປະເທດ ສະ
ຫຍາມ (ໂອເຊ Oger 1972 ຫນ້າ 112). ຫຼັງຫມົດນີ້ ໄດ້
ປະກອບສ່ວນ ໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່ານາງແກ້ວພິມພາອາດຈະແມ່ນການ ປັນ
ແຕ່ງຂຶ້ນໂດຍນັກປາດ ຫລືຜູ້ແກ່ຮຽນເພື່ອພິມປະໂຫຍດສະ ເພາະ
ນາງແກ້ວພິມພາມີຕົວຕົນແທ້ ຫລືວ່າແມ່ນພຽງຊື່ທີ່ເປັນບົດສະຫນາ
ເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ແຕ່ເວົ້າລວມແລ້ວແມ່ນແລະມີກົດເກນເລື້ອຍທີ່ຜູ້ ປັນທຶກ
ຕຳນານລາວມັກບໍ່ຢັ້ງຊື່ຂອງຜູ້ຂຽນຫລືຜູ້ປັນທຶກແລະອາດເພີ່ມ ຕື່ມ
ໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະບົກສະໄຫມ. ແຕ່ຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງຊັບສະບັບນະທາເທບ
ຫລວງເອງໄດ້ ເນັ້ນວ່າ ຜູ້ ຂຽນ ຫລື ຜູ້ ລິດຈະນາ ອາດ ຈະ
ເພີ່ມຕື່ມຫລືກັດແປງໄດ້ ຊຶ່ງອາດຈະຂຶ້ນນຳເຫດການທີ່ເຂົາ ເຈົ້າ
ເຫັນເຫມາະແລະ ຮັບຮູ້ໃນເວລາ ນັ້ນ (ຄຳແພງ ເກດຕະວົງ
1990 ຫນ້າ 49). ດັ່ງນັ້ນປະຫວັດສາດປັນກ່ຽວກັບ ນາງແກ້ວ
ພິມພາອາດມີການເພີ່ມເຕີມດັດແປງໄປຕາມ ທີ່ຜູ້ປັນທຶກໃນເວລາ
ນັ້ນຢາກຈະດັດແປງ. ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດກໍ່ດີ ນັກປະຫວັດສາດສ່ວນ
ຫລາຍໄດ້ຂຽນແບບຄຽງກັນວ່າ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ເປັນນະເທ
ສີທີ່ "ອົງໂຫດສາມານ" ຖືກໂຫດປະຫານ "ຫົວຫມູນທິນຕິນຈຸມນ້ຳ
ຈິນເທົ່າຕາຍ". ໃນເອເຊຍກໍ່ໄດ້ມີ ບາງມະເຫສີ ທີ່ຖືກປະນາມ
ວ່າ "ໂຫດຮ້າຍຢ່າເຖືອນ" ເຊັ່ນທີ່ປະເທດອະເຫມນ ມີມະເຫສີ
ຫນຶ່ງ ຊື່ ອັງແມ (Ang Mey) ໄດ້ ບໍລິຫານ ປະເທດ ໃນປີ
1834. ນອກນັ້ນ ຍັງມີພະນາງ ອຸສີ ຂອງ ປະເທດຈີນ. ສາດ
ສະດາຈານ ປ.ບ.ລາຟົງ Lafont ໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມກະຈ່າງແຈ້ງ
ກັບຜູ້ຂຽນທີ່ບາຣີ ໃນວັນທີ 27 ພຶດສະພາ 1988 ວ່າ "ນັ້ນແມ່ນ
ເຫດການ ອັນຫນຶ່ງຂອງແນວຄວາມ ຄິດຂອງຄົນເອເຊຍ ໃນ ສະ
ໄຫມບູຮານ ທີ່ມັກຈະຂຽນລົງໃນ ຕຳນານ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ກຳອຳ ນາດ
ມັກຖືກຂຽນວ່າເປັນຄົນ "ໂຫດຮ້າຍຢ່າເຖືອນ". ອັນນີ້ຢາກກີດ ວ່າ
ແມ່ນກິດ ຂອງການເມືອງ ເອເຊຍ". ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ຍັ້ງຢືນ ອີກ

ເທື່ອຫນຶ່ງວ່າ ນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ຈີນ ຂຽນກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງ ແມ່ນ ຈະ
ຂຽນ ມັກບໍ່ປັນທຶກຂຽນໄປຕາມສະພາບຕົວຈິງ. ຕຳນານນັກຈະ ບໍ່
ເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມພິລະອາດຫານຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ເມື່ອເປັນດັ່ງນັ້ນອາດຈະ
ເຂົ້າໃຈໄດ້ວ່າຕຳນານລາວກໍ່ອາດບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບຕຳນານຂອງຈີນທີ່
ອາດບໍ່ເວົ້າໄດ້ຫມົດຄວາມຈິງ.

ເຖິງຈະມີເຫດຜົນແນວໃດກໍ່ຕາມ ແຕ່ສິ່ງທີ່ຍ່ອຍແຈ້ງ ໃນສະ
ໄຫມ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ນັ້ນ ແມ່ນດັ່ງແຕ່ນັ້ນມາ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຖືກແຍກ
ອອກ ຈາກເວທີການເມືອງ ໂດຍສະເພາະ ດັ່ງແຕ່ປະເທດລາວ
ໄດ້ຮັດກອດເອົາສາສະຫນາພຸດ ແລະ ຢັ້ງໄປກ່ອນນັ້ນ ມີແຕ່ໃນ
ສະໄຫມ ທີ່ ປະເທດລາວໄດ້ຖືກ ສະຫຍາມ ແລະ ຝຣັ່ງປົກຄອງ
ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ.

ດັ່ງຄຽງກັນກັບສັງຄົມບູຮານອື່ນໆ, ປະເທດລາວກໍ່ມີລະບົບຊົນ
ຊັ້ນແຕ່ເປັນລະບົບທີ່ບໍ່ແຂງກະດ້າງຫາກແຕ່ວ່າສັງຄົມ ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສະ
ເໝີພາບ. ການແບ່ງຊັ້ນ ອັນນະກຳໄດ້ຍັງຈະແຈ້ງໃນ ປະມວນກິດ
ຫມາຍແລະໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນບົກສູງພະສົງຊຶ່ງເປັນຊັ້ນສູງຂອງສັງ
ຄົມແລະທັງເປັນຜູ້ຖ່າຍໜອດວິຊາຄວາມຮູ້ໄດ້ແກ່ປວງຊົນໃນເວລາທີ່
ຫາງອຳນາດລັດບໍ່ອະທິຍາຍຕາຫນ້າງານສຶກສາ.

ສາສະຫນາພຸດໄດ້ແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ແລະ ວິທີຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້
ຖືກຂຽນອອກເຜີຍແຜ່. ການເຜີຍແຜ່ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເຂົ້າໄປໃນ
ປັນດາຊັ້ນຄົນຕ່າງ ໆ ໃນສັງຄົມແລະ ກ່ອນອັນແມ່ນ ໃນພວກ ຊົນ
ຊັ້ນນ້ຳ ທີ່ຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງ ລະບົບກິດຫມາຍ. ໃນສະໄຫມບູ
ຮານ ລາວໄດ້ມີກິດຫມາຍເປັນດັ່ງທຳອິດຊຶ່ງເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນວ່າ ກິດ
ຫມາຍທຳມະສາດຂຽນບູລິມ ຊຶ່ງ ມີອາຍຸຢ່າງນ້ອຍ 700 ປີ
ກ່ອນເຈົ້າ ຝາງຸ່ມຈະ ຂຶ້ນຄອງ ປະເທດລ້ານຊ້າງ (ແຟງ 1981)
ກິດຫມາຍທຳມະສາດຂຽນບູລິມ ບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັດ ເປັນມາຕາຫລືບໍ່ໄດ້

ຈັດການກະທຳຜິດໄປຕາມສິນທຳ ຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດແລະບໍ່ໄດ້ຍິ່ງ
ການລົງໂທດພະສົງ ທີ່ກະທຳຜິດ (ມະຍຸຕີ 1993c). ແຕ່ວ່າຄຳ
ວ່າມີດສາຈານແລະປານາໄດ້ເອົາມາໃຊ້ເວົ້າໃນ ກົດຫມາຍ ເປັນ
ບາງຄັ້ງບາງຄາວ. ກົດຫມາຍ ອຸນບູລິນ ໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ຫນັກອະທິ
ບາຍເມຍ 8 ຈຳພວກທີ 12 ຈຳພວກ, ຄ່າດອງ, ມູນມໍລະດົກ
ແລະລະດັບການໃສ່ໂທດຕ່າງໆ ແລະ ການ ຂຽນ ແບບງ່າຍໆຊຶ່ງ
ກົດຫມາຍຂອງເມືອງຮາຍຊີວາເປັນກົດຫມາຍເຈົ້າ ເຖົ້າ
ນາອາດຈະໄດ້ຮັບອິດທິພົນຂອງກົດຫມາຍອຸນບູລິນ (ມະຍຸຕີ 1993c)
ກົດຫມາຍອຸນບູລິນ ຈົບ ແບບງ່າຍໆເຊັ່ນ "ອັນນີ້ບູຮານ ຂອງລຸ້ນ
ອຸນບູລິນສອນສັງມາແລ້ວຕັ້ງເປັນກົດລະບຽບໄວ້ປະຖົມເຖົ້າ ສິບມາ
ເຈົ້າເອີຍ" (ຫນັງສືພິມອຸນບູລິນຮາຊາທິລາດ 1967 ຫນ້າ
147). ຕໍ່ມາກົດຫມາຍໄດ້ມີການຟັດຫະນາຊື່ນ. ພາຍໃຕ້ການບໍລິ
ຫານປະເທດຂອງໂພທິສາລາດ (1530-1559) ໄດ້ມີກົດຫມາຍ
ເຊັ່ນ ຄຳພີສັອບສາຍຄຳ (ສຳລິດ 1992b) ຊຶ່ງຈະ ເນັ້ນ
ເຖິງວິໄນສົງພ້ອມກັບການທີ່ຜິດຊຸ້ງຂອງອາຍັດປະຣາຊິກ ແລະ ເວົ້າ
ເຖິງປະເພດໂທດແຕ່ ອັນໂຫມ, ອັນຕີ, ອັນຄຳຄໍ, ອັນສິນມາຫລີ
ອັນແປງ. ນອກນັ້ນ ກໍມີຄຳພີມູລະຕັມໂຕ (ສຳລິດ 1992b)
ຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນຕາມຊື່ ແລະ ເປັນການລຽບລຽວນິທານທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄະດີ
ຄວາມຫລາຍກ່ວາແມ່ນປະມວນກົດຫມາຍ.

ໃນປີ 1660 ໄດ້ມີ ກົດຫມາຍທຳມະສາດບູຮານໃນສະໄຫມ
ສຸຣິຍະວົງສາ (1637-1694) ແລະ ບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າເອົາໃຈ
ວ່າ ແມ່ນ "ກົດຫມາຍວຽງຈັນ". ສະບັບເຈົ້າຂອງກົດຫມາຍທຳ
ມະສາດບູຮານ ແມ່ນຂຽນເປັນໂຕທຳ ໃສ່ຈົບລານ. ການຈັດແບ່ງ
ແມ່ນໄປຕາມຄຳສັ່ງສອນຂອງພະເຈົ້າ, ຫມາຍວ່າບຳທັອ້າ (45
ມາຕາ), ບໍ່ ເຈັ ລັກ (70 ມາຕາ), ບຳທັເຈັດ ມິດສາຈານ
(77 ມາຕາ), ບຳທັຕິວະ (30 ມາຕາ) ແລະບຳທັດິນ ຂອງ
ເມົາ (7 ມາຕາ). ປັນດາສິນ 5 ນີ້ເປັນຫົວຂໍ້ໃນພະທຳມະ

ສາດກົດຫມາຍບູຮານ. ເວົ້າ ທີ່ວ່າ ໄປແລ້ວ ພະທຳມະ
ສາດກົດຫມາຍບູຮານ ໄດ້ ກ່າວເຖິງລະບຽບມາລະຍາດທີ່
ແກະອອກຈາກປື້ມ ຂອງ ຄຳພີສາສະໜາພຸດແລະ ຕົວຢ່າງທີ່ຍົກ
ຊື່ນໃນປື້ມແມ່ນມີເຈົ້າ ມາ ຈາກ ອິນເດຍ. ພະທຳມະສາດ
ກົດຫມາຍບູຮານ ຕັ້ງກ່າວມື້ນ ແມ່ນກົດຫມາຍທີ່ມີລັກສະນະ
ອີງໃສ່ສາສະໜາເປັນ ຕົ້ນຕໍ (ຮອກສະເລ Huxley 1993
ຫນ້າ 43) ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ປະເທດລ້ານຊ້າງໄດ້ຖືກສະຖາປະນາຊື່ນ.
ຈົນເຖິງໄລຍະທີ່ປະເທດລາວກາຍເປັນເມືອງອັນຂອງປະຈຸບັນປີ
1893 ຫມາຍເຖິງວ່າ ເກືອບ 540 ປີ ຈາກນັ້ນ (1353-
1893) ຈົນເຖິງປີ 1908 ຫລັງຈາກທີ່ປະເທດລາວຖືກປົກຄອງ
ໂດຍຝຣັ່ງເປັນເວລາ 15 ປີແລ້ວຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີປະມວນກົດຫມາຍແຫນ
ພະທຳມະສາດກົດຫມາຍບູຮານ. ເຖິງປານນັ້ນພະທຳມະ
ສາດ ກົດຫມາຍບູຮານ ຍັງ ປົນ ຍົງຄົງຕົວຢູ່ນາຫລາຍເອດ
ຂອງປະເທດລາວ. ພະທຳມະສາດ ກົດຫມາຍບູຮານໄດ້ສ່ວງ
ແສງໃຫ້ເຫັນ ເຖິງການຈຳແນກເພດແລະຄຸນຄ່າຂອງຄົນໃນສັງຄົມ
ຢ່າງຈະແຈ້ງ.

ການບໍ່ສະ ເໜີພາບ ຫາງດ້ານສັງຄົມ ໄດ້ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນເຖິງ
ຄວາມບໍ່ສະເໝີ ພາຍໃນການລົງໂທດ. ການໃສ່ໂທດຈະຈັດ ໄປ
ຕາມຖານະສັງຄົມ ຂອງຜູ້ໄດ້ຮັບເຄາະ ແລະ ຜູ້ກະທຳຜິດ. ການ
ກະທຳຜິດອັນດຽວ ກັນ ຊຶ່ງກະທຳໂດຍຜູ້ທີ່ມີຖານະສັງຄົມແຕກຕ່າງ
ກັນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ກໍຈະໄດ້ຮັບໂທດແຕກຕ່າງ. ອາແກ
Raquez (1902 ຫນ້າ 404-405) ໃຫ້ຂໍ້ສັງເກດວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ
ເປັນຊັບສິນບັດ ທີ່ຫວງແຫນ, ຫວງແຫນຈົນວ່າການໂອ້ລົມ ຢ່າງ
ເສລີທຳມະດາ ກໍຈະຖືກ ໃສ່ໂທດ. ເນື່ອງຈາກຖືກຖືເປັນເພດທີ່
ອ່ອນແອແລະເປັນ ຂອງທີ່ "ຕ້ອງທຳມ" ແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງຖືກປົກປັກ
ຮັກສາຢ່າງເຂັ້ມງວດ ຈາກ ອິດຄອງ ແລະ ກົດຫມາຍ. ໂປນດູ

ແມກ Paul Doumer ໄດ້ ຂຽນໃນ 1899 ວ່າ "ໜຶ່ງໃນ
ຫລາຍຢ່າງທີ່ເປັນໜ້າສົນໃຈ ຂອງ ອິດທິພົນຂອງຖິ່ນແມ່ນການ
ເອົາໃຈໃສ່ ທີ່ກົດໝາຍວາງໂທດ ເພື່ອ ຍ້ອງກັນຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ບໍ່ຍິນ
ຍອມຕໍ່ການກະທຳແລະ ການຊັບ ບາຍ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ" (ຕວກນີເອ
Tournier 1900 ໜ້າ 31).

ຄໍຽງຄູ່ກັບຂະບວນທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງ ຮັບຜິດຊອບຕໍ່ຊະຕາກຳຂອງຕົນ
ເອງທີ່ສະແດງອອກໃນທຳນິຍາມການດຳລົງຊີວິດ, ການ "ປ້ອງກັນ"
ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຍິງໃນ "ກົດໝາຍວຽງຈັນ" ຄືຈະໝາຍເຖິງສະເພາະມັນ
ຄືຈະບໍ່ເຫມາະ ສົມທີ່ຈະລົງໂທດຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ຊັບມີຖືແຂ້ວຍິງຄົນຮັກ
ເມື່ອຊາວໜຸ່ມໄດ້ ຫລິ້ນກິນຝ້ອນລຳຕື່ມເຫລົ່າແບບວັດທະນະທຳຕະ
ເວັນຕົກ ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ຄອ່ຍໄດ້ ຕໍ່ສູ້ເອົາສິດກ່ຽວກັບຊັບສິນແລະຄຸ້ມຄອງ
ໄປຕາມທີ່ຕົນ ຕ້ອງການ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະໃນກົດໝາຍລົງວັນທີ 2
ສິງຫາ 1965 ໄດ້ປົ່ງໄວ້ວ່າຊັບສິນ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງຈະເປັນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ.
ຜູ້ຍິງ ສາມາດຊົມໃຊ້ຢ່າງເສລີແລະສາມາດ ໃຫ້ ຈຸກສິບຫອດຕໍ່ໄປ
ໂດຍບໍ່ຕ້ອງການຄວາມເຫັນດີຈາກຜູ້ເປັນຜົວ.

ຂໍ້ກຳນົດ ລົງ ວັນທີ 1 ມັງກອນ 1944 ຂອງຝຣັ່ງທີ່ມາປົກ
ຄອງລາວໄດ້ປົ່ງດັບ ໃຫ້ທຸກຄົນຕ້ອງໄຊ້ນາມສະກຸນ. ກ່ອນ ຊຸມ ປີ
1940 ນາມສະກຸນ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ໄຊ້ກັນໃນລາວ. ແຕ່ ຫລັງ ຈາກ
1944 ຄົນລາວ ທຸກຄົນ ຕ້ອງເອົານາມສະກຸນໄຊ້ເພື່ອກັບຊື່ແລະ
ນາມສະກຸນຈະຖືກ ປົງຕາມສາຍ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຄືສາຍຂອງພໍ່ (ຫມູ່
1956c). ໂດຍ ອີງ ຕາມຂໍ້ກຳນົດດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວ
ຕ້ອງເອົາສະກຸນຜົວ ໃສ່ກັບຊື່ຂອງຕົນ. ແຕ່ກົດໝາຍຄອບຄົວຂອງ
ລະບອບໃຫມ່ແມ່ນໄດ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຫລົງ ຈາກແຕ່ງດອງ
ແລ້ວມີສິດຮັກສານາມສະກຸນຕົນຂອງຕົນ.

ຫລັງຈາກ 1975 ລະບອບໂທດໄດ້ລົບລ້າງທຸກຂໍ້ກຳນົດກົດ

ໝາຍເກົ່າ. ພາຍຫລັງໄດ້ທົດສະວັດໜຶ່ງແລ້ວສິດລະຫວ່າງເພດ
ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບປະກັນໂດຍກົດໝາຍໃຫມ່ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຫລາຍສະບັບໄດ້ຖືກຮັບ
ຮອງແລະມີຜົນປັງຄັບເຊັ່ນກົດໝາຍລັດຖະ ທຳມະນູນ, ກົດໝາຍ
ອາຍາ, ກົດໝາຍຄອບຄົວຊຶ່ງໄດ້ປົ່ງແຈ້ງລະ ປົບ ຜົວເມຍ ດຽວ.
ໂດຍຜູ້ຫລັງຈະປົກປັກຮັກສາຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບຂອງສັງຄົມ ສ.ປ.
ປ.ລາວຊຶ່ງມີກົດໝາຍສ້າງຕັ້ງສາມປະຊາຊົນ. ໂຄງຮ່າງການຈັດ
ຕັ້ງ ສາມ ປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ປົ່ງໄວ້ຢ່າງລະອຽດໃນກົດໝາຍລັດຖະທຳ
ມະນູນແລະກົດໝາຍການຈັດຕັ້ງສາມຂັ້ນຕ່າງໆ. ໂຄງຮ່າງສາມ
ຄືທຳປະກອບດ້ວຍສາມແລະໄອຍະການ. ສາມປະຊາຊົນປະ ກອບ
ດ້ວຍສາມສູງສຸດ, ສາມຂັ້ນແຂວງ, ກຳແພງ, ເມືອງແລະທະຫານ
ອົງການໄອຍະການມີຂັ້ນຕ່າງໆ ຕາມ ລັກສະນະ ດ້ານການຈັດຕັ້ງ
ຂອງສາມ. ໜ້າທີ່ຂອງສາມກໍຄືຂອງໄອຍະການ ແມ່ນ ປົກປັກຮັກ
ສາ ຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບລ້ຽວລ້ອມຂອງສັງຄົມ. ນອກ ນັ້ນ ແຕ່ ປີ
1990ກໍໄດ້ມີລະບຽບກ່ຽວກັບທະນາຍຄວາມຊຶ່ງເອກະຊົນກໍສາມາດ
ສະເໜີຕັ້ງທ້ອງການທະນາຍ.

ຄ- ສັງຄົມບູຮານຖືຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ

ຄຳບູຮານ "ແມ່ຍິງວຽນຕີໄພບໍ່ຮອບ"

ແນວຄິດ ທີ່ໃຫ້ ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຂຶ້ນ ກັບຜູ້ຊາຍ ແມ່ນໄດ້ຖືກສ້າງຂຶ້ນ
ເປັນກົດໄທສັງຄົມປະ ຖິບັດ ຕາມໂດຍສະເພາະໃນລັກສະນະບົດທີ່
ອຽນອອກເຊັ່ນ ອິດສິບສອກ ຄອງສິບສີ່ແລະເປັນວັນນະ ຄະດີ
ທີ່ຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ການຜົວຝົນ ລະຫວ່າງ ຍິງ-ຊາຍແລະໂດຍສະເພາະ
ສ້າງທ່າອຽງຜົນປະໂຫຍດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ໃນສະໄຫມບູຮານ, ມັກປາດສາດ ສະດາຈານລ້ວນແຕ່ ແມ່ນ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ແຕ່ງຜູ້ຂຽນ ນິທານ, ເຫບນິຍາຍ, ກາບກອນໄວ້ ສະເພາະເພື່ອສອນມວນຊົນແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະສອນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເຫັນ ເຖິງປົດບາດ ຂອງຕົນໃນການເສຍ ສະຫລະຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອສັງຄົມ ແລະ ຄອບຄົວ. ຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງທີ່ຮູ້ກັນດີ ທີ່ ໄປ ແມ່ນຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງທີ່ຊຸມນຸມ ລົມຣາຊາທິລາດ (1967) ຫລື ຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງທີ່ຍິນຍານສອນລູກ (1965), ນິທານ ທ້າວ ຄຳ ສອນ (1966), ຍອດ ຄຳສອນບູຮານ (1972). ທັງ ຫນຶ່ງ ຈະເວົ້າ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດທີ່ອ່ອນແອ, ນິກິລິຍາ ອ່ອນນ້ອມ, ຮູ້ຈັກປົວ ລະບົດ ເຮືອນຊານ ບ້ານຊ່ອງດີ, ຮູ້ຈັກຕຳຫຼກສາວ ໂຫມ ແລະ ອຸທິດຕົນ ເພື່ອ ສາສະໜາ. ແຕ່ນິທານ ຫລື ຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງທີ່ ຂຽນໃນສະໄຫມລ່າ ເນືອງຂຶ້ນ ນັ້ນ ມີ ຊື່ ວ່າ ນາງ ພາວະດີ. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຕົວຢ່າງ ຂຽນ ໂດຍ ປ.ສ.ງິນ (1967a) ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ບຸກຄະລິກ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍໄຜຝັນ ເອົາເປັນ ເມຍ (ຣາໂກ Rakow 1990 1991). ລວມຄວາມແລ້ວສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ວັນນະຄະດີລາວຈະແຕ່ງ ຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອແນໃສ່ສົ່ງສອນ ມວນຊົນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເອົາ ແບບຢ່າງ ແລະ ປະຕິບັດໄປຕາມ.

ສິ່ງ ຫນຶ່ງ ທີ່ເປັນຫນ້າ ສົນໃຈ ແມ່ນ ການທ້າມຈັບຫົວຜູ້ຊາຍ, ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ ແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຫົວຂອງຜົວ. ຫົວແມ່ນບ່ອນສູງ ເພາະຖືວ່າ ແມ່ນ ບ່ອນ ທີ່ອະວິນຍາວໄສຢູ່. ຫົວແລະຜົມຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ ສັກກາລະບູຊາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຖືກທ້າມບໍ່ໃຫ້ຈັບບາຍ ຫລື ແຕະຕ້ອງ.

ອີງຕາມ ອິດຄອງປະເພນີ ບູຮານລາວແລ້ວ, ເມື່ອເວລາຈະ ນອນຕຽງ ຄຽວກັບຜົວ, ຫົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງໃຫ້ຢູ່ໃນທ່າທີ່ຕ່ຳກ່ວາ ຫົວຂອງຜົວ. ນອກນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຕ້ອງນອນຫາງຊ້າຍຂອງຜົວເພື່ອຜົວ ຈະໄດ້ "ກຽມຜົມ" ຖ້າມີໄພ ອັນຕະລາຍແລ້ວ ຈະໄດ້ຮັບຄວາມ

ເອົາຕອກ ດາບ ທັນທີ ທັນ ເຈດ ຂ້າສັດຕູ (ອິນແປງ 1970 ຫນ້າ 5). ແຕ່ເຫດຜົນດັ່ງກ່າວຄືງຈະບໍ່ຫນັກແຫນ້ນ.

ນອກ ຈາກ ນັ້ນ ຂ້າງຊ້າຍ ແລະ ຫາງຄຳຖືວ່າ ແມ່ນຂອງຕ່ຳ ຊຶ່ງກົງກັນຂ້າມກັບຂ້າງຂວາແລະຫາງເທິງຖືວ່າແມ່ນຂອງສູງ. ດ້ວຍ ເຫດຜົນດຽວກັນ, ເວລາ ນອນກັບ ຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຕ້ອງຢູ່ຫາງ ເບື້ອງລຸ່ມ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ອັນນີ້ ແມ່ນ ກົດປົນດ້ອຍ ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ ມັກຈະ ຍຶດຫນັ້ນ ສະເຫມີ.

ເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນ ຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງນຶ່ງ ຫາງຊ້າຍ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລະ ຢ່າງຕາມຫລັງ ຜູ້ຊາຍ. ປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຊາຍສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ມັກຈະຢ່າງອອກ ຫນ້າເມຍ.

ເມື່ອ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຄື "ພະເຈົ້າ" ອົງທີ່ສອງ, ເລື້ອຍຜູ້ຍິງຖືວ່າ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ເປື້ອນແລະເປັນຂອງບໍ່ດີ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຕ້ອງບໍ່ປະປົນກັບຂອງຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ເຄື່ອງຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງຊັກລ້າງຕ່າງຫາກ. ບາງຄົນລາວຢູ່ ປະ ເທດ ທີ່ 3 ຍັງ ໃຫ້ເມຍເຮັດແບບນັ້ນ. ໃນວັນນະຄະດີເຊັ່ນ ນະທາກາບທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ (ສິລາ 1988) ຍິນຄາຖາ ຈະຫນົດຄວາມຄຶງຫລືຄວາມສັກສິດຖ້າຫາກວ່າ ຖືກ ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງຂອງ ຜູ້ ຍິງ (Fertus 1979 ຫນ້າ 352). ຄວາມເຮັດຂວາງ ດັ່ງກ່າວໃນເຫບນິຍາຍໂຫ, ໂດຍຫວັງຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ສັດຕູຫນົດອຳນາດ ຈາມມາເຫວີໄດ້ໃຊ້ສິນນຸ່ງປົນເລືອດລະດູເພື່ອເປັນອາວຸດຕໍ່ກັບສັດຕູ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ເປັນລະດູຈະບໍ່ໃຫ້ຢູ່ໃກ້ບ່ອນຍ້ອມຜ້າດ້ວຍອີງ. ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ແລະຕາມການເຊື່ອຖືວ່າຜ້າອາດຍ້ອມຈະບໍ່ເປັນສິ ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການຖ້າ ຫາກຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຍ້ອມນັ້ນມີລະດູ (ດວງເດືອນ 1992).

1. ຜູ້ຍິງຫາບແບກຫລາຍຜົນທະ

"ຜູ້ຍິງເບິ່ງລູກເຕົ້າຫນຶ່ງເຂົ້າເປົ່າໄຟຄົວຄົບຄົວກິນເຮັດຫູກ
ເຮັດຝ້າຍ" (ຫຼຸມຜົນ 1991 ຫນ້າ 5)

ນິທານຕ່າງໆເຊັ່ນ ຫນຶ່ງສິນສອນລູກ (1965)

ຫລື ສິນສອນລູກຍິງ (1969) ໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ເຖິງການປະ ບົດ
ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ຫນຶ່ງສິນສອນລູກຍິງ (1967 ຫນ້າ
36-40) ໄດ້ບັນທຶກວ່າຫລັງຈາກສິ່ງລູກຊາຍ ທັງເຮັດອົງກ່ອນຈະ
ໄປບໍລິຫານເມືອງຕ່າງໆແລ້ວຂຸນບຸລີນໄດ້ສິ່ງລູກໄຜ້ໄວ້:

ຢ່າໄດ້ ລວນ ຄຳສອນພຣະ ບາດ ອົງເປັນເຈົ້າພໍ່ເນີ.
ຍາມເມື່ອຕົ້ນແຕ່ເຈົ້າ ລຸກ ກ່ອນ ພູມີ ເມື່ອເດີນມາງຊົງ
ບົວລະບົດຄອງ ແຕ່ງ ແປງ ບຸນໄວ້ນີ້ທັງໄພສະນາເອົາ
ອາຫານຍິ່ງຈີ່ ກໍ່ຕີນາງ ຈິ່ງ ຕົກແຕ່ງໄວ້ພາເອົາເຄື່ອງ
ສະເວີຍນັ້ນດາຍ (ຢ່າໄດ້ຄາ ເຄີກ ຮ້າງຮາມເຈົ້າພ່າງ
ເພົາ) ຍາມເຈດພຣະສະເວີຍເອົານ້ຳ ແລ້ວຢ່າຖະລາໄລ
ເມື່ອເຈດຄັນຫາກບໍ່ຮະບວນນາຍກໍ່ຈິ່ງກິນລຸນເຈົ້າເຫດວ່າ
ບຸນເຮືອງໄທ້ ກະສັດຕິຍັກໂຫຍ່ ຈິງ ດາຍ ນາງຢ່າໄດ້
ອວດອ້າງ ສະຫາວແທ້ລິ້ນຄອງພໍ່ເນີ. ອັນວ່າຄຳກິລັນ
ຈັດເອົາໄປຫາມແຈກຢ່າໄດ້ອຳຖິ້ໄວ້ ຕົວແທ້ບໍ່ດີ ພໍ່ແລ້ວ,
ອັນວ່າແປງນາງມີອຍໂຮງຫລວງ ຫລາຍຫນຶ່ງ ກໍ່ດີກໍ່ ທີ່
ຕັ້ງຕໍ່ເຈົ້າບຸນກ້ວາງແກ່ນສາມພໍ່ ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້
ນິຄຳເຂັ້ມຈັດແປງຈາກອັນຊີພໍ່ດາຍ ຮັກຈັດລ້ວນຜູ້ຄົນ ແທ້
ກໍ່ຈິງຖືກພໍ່ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ ຄຳນຳທູກທ້າທມນັ້ນ
ເນີຈິ່ງຈັດນິໄມຕີໄພໂຫຍ່ຄ້າຍ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ ຝັງ
ຄວາມເປື້ອງຝຸງຄົນສັບຊ້ຳນັ້ນເນີຈັດ ເຈົ້າຖາມ ຖີ່ ຖ້ວນ

ເຖິງຮ້າຍ ແລະ ດີ ແທ້ ດາຍ ຄັນ ຫາກ ຮູ້ແຈບແຈ້ງ
ເຖິງທີ່ອັນກະທຳ ດັ່ງນັ້ນຄວາມຜິດນີ ພຣົງເດ ຈັ້ງ ໄດ້
ຕອງຕາຖ້ວນຢ່າໄດ້ຫວນຄຳຮ້າຍ ແຮງ ແຖມ ຖືມາສ່
ຄັນຫາກໂທດບໍ່ຮ້າຍຄວນຈັດສິ່ງ ສອນ ຊອບ ດາຍ ຢ່າ
ໄດ້ແຜງຕ້ານ ຈາມາເຊິ່ງຕ່າງ ພະບາດຂ້າເສຍ ແທ້
ບໍ່ນາມ ພໍ່ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງອ້ອຍ ຊ່ວງຈັດ ຮອງບາດບົວ
ລະບົດ ກໍ່ດີ ຈິ່ງຈັດປານີເອົາ ໂຜດຜາຍຝຸງໄຮ້ ເອົາ
ນັ້ນ ທີ່ຫາກອາໄສຍອັນສົມພາບທຸກ ສິ່ງ ຈິງແລ້ວ. ອັນ
ວ່າສິນຜ້າເສື້ອເອົາຫາກໄຮ້ເອົາ ຈັດ ທອດທານ ບຸນກໍ່
ຫາກໄດ້ເມືອຫນ້າກໍ່ຮຸ່ງເຮືອງ ພໍ່ ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ຄຳ
ລະຫັດນັ້ນຈົນໂຮງພະຍາໂຫຍ່ ກໍ່ດີ ຢ່າໄດ້ເອົາ ອອກ
ຕກັນ ໄປເວົ້າມອກໂຮງນັ້ນເດີ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຄວາມນອກ
ຖືກຂ່ວງພຣະຣາຊະວັງຫລວງກໍ່ດີ ຢ່າ ໄດ້ເອົາມາໂຮງ
ຮອດຫຼະອົງເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ສົມບັດ ເຈົ້າ ຂອງແພງ
ຈັດຈຳຈີ່ ໄວ້ເນີ ຄັນວ່າພະຫາກ ເຕືອນ ຈັດໄດ້ມາແທ້
ທ່ຽວພລັ້ນ ແທ້ຈິງ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງວາຈາ ຖ້ວນ ຄວນຕອງດູ
ກ່ອນບໍ່ຄວນຫຼຸນຕໍ່ເຈົ້າຢ່າຝ້າວກ່າວຖະແຫລງ (ການນີ້)
ຄວນຈັດແລ້ວ ຈົນອາດຍາຕິນ (ຊາດທິ) ຄວາມຊາມາຜ
ບໍ່ຫວນຫວນຫຼຸນເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຈັດເລືອກໄວ້ ຝຸງຫມູ່ນີ
ຜະຫຍາ ນັ້ນເນີ ອັນວ່າກັນລະຍານີ ສິນາງຈັດ ຈຳໄວ້
ອັນຫນຶ່ງຈັດນິຈາແຜ່ກ້ວາງ ທົ່ງສະຫວາດທຳສິນ ພໍ່ເນີ
ຈິ່ງຈັດນິຈາບຸນ ຄ່ຽມຄົມແຄວນຮູ້ ຄວນທີ່ຕົບ ແຕ່ງໄວ້
ຍິງ ແມ່ ສາວ ສະຫນົມ ຍາມຈັກທຳການເດ ຈັດອີ່ຍິນ
ເອົາ ເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ນິຈາລ້ວນໂລພາ ລັກໂລບ
ເອົາເນີຈັດເຈົ້າເສີງສິ່ງເຖົ້າຝຸງ ຮູ້ຈິ່ງ ກະທຳ ນັ້ນ ເນີ
ຄັນວ່າ ຝຸງເຖົ້າ ມາລາວ່າ ຊອບຄວນ ແລ້ວ. ຄັນວ່າ
ໂທດຮ້າຍ ແທ້ຄວນແລ້ວ ຈິ່ງກະທຳແທ້ດາຍ ຢ່າໄດ້ບັກ

ໂຫດຮ້າຍພອຍຕູ່ຊາວໄທ ນັ້ນເນື່ອງມາໄດ້ຫາຄວາມ ເສີມ
 າສກັນການຮ້າຍ ມີຄວາມແທ້ທ້າມຮຸນຮຸນຮຸນ ຫລອມວ່າ
 ໂພຍແລ່ນຕ້ອງ ເຖິງເຈົ້າຊົມມອນ ບໍ່ຮູ້ອັນ ຫນຶ່ງອົງຄະ
 ແກ້ວຝູງຮາຊເທວີກໍ່ດີ ຢ່າໄດ້ຕິຕຽນເອົາບໍ່ດີ ເນື້ອຫນ້າ
 ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ທຳການຮ້າຍ ຢາມາຕີບາດ ແມ່ນວ່າຈຳ
 ທ່ານຮ້າຝູງນີ້ບໍ່ຄວນ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງສົມບັດເຈົ້າ ຮາຊາພູວະ
 ນາດກໍ່ດີ (ຫລືຫາກ) ຂອງຜູ້ອື່ນແທ້ຢ່າໄດ້ ລັກເອົາແທ້
 ດາຍແມ່ນວ່າທິສຣາດລື້ນຂອງຝາກມາ ຖວາຍ ກໍ່ດີ ຢ່າ
 ມີຈາໂລພາໂລບອຳເອົາໄວ້ ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ຢ່າໄດ້ຄິດຫລິ້ນຮູ້
 ຄິດຈາກຈອມຜົວ ແທ້ເນື້ອແມ່ນວ່າ ຜົນ ກາງຄືນກໍ່ຢ່າຍື່ນ
 ດີດັ່ງ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ຄິດ ລາຍ ລ້ຽວຄິດຈາກຮາ ຊາ
 ຄວາມເຈັບກໍ່ຈິງຈາມີແທ້ ຢ່າໄດ້ຈອງຫອງຕ້ານຄຳສັບ
 ງອນແຮງແມ່ນວ່າເຈົ້າບໍ່ລ້ຽວ ຄືນນ້ອຍຍ່ອມວາຍແທ້ດາຍ.
 ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ກິນຢາເຫລົ້າ ສຸລາການຖອຍນັ້ນເນື້ອເກງ
 ຈັກຕ້ອງ ໂຫດ ຮ້າຍຕາຍຊ້າ ຊາກຕ່າວນັ້ນແລ້ວ. ອັນ
 ຫນຶ່ງເຖິງ ເນື້ອລະດູຝ້າດັ່ງມາ ປີໂຫມ່ຍາມເຈັບແລ້ວຈິ່ງ
 ເຕີນໄພ່ນ້ອຍກະທຳສ້າງໂຮ່ນາ ນັ້ນເນື້ອ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງເຖິງ
 ເນື້ອຍາມສະຫນຸກຫລິ້ນ ມະໂຫ ສົບຊົມຊື່ນ ກໍ່ດີເຈົ້າຈິ່ງ
 ເຕີນໄພ່ນ້ອຍເອົາຫລິ້ນຊື່ນຊື່ນ ພໍເນື້ອ.

ການ ສົ່ງສອນໃນ ລັກສະນະດຽວກັນ ກໍ່ມີໃນກິດ ຫມາຍ ຂອງ
 ສັກດິນາ ແລະ ປະເພນີຂອງເຜົ່າໄຕໃນສົບສອງຜົນ ນາ (ຍຸນນານ
 ປະເທດຈີນ)(ແບນ Bain 1988; ເອງຈັນ Enchanh 1989)
 ຖ້າ ຈະເວົ້າແລ້ວທຸກສິ່ງ ທຸກຢ່າງທີ່ຈະເຮັດຜູ້ຍິງປະພຶດ ແມ່ນຍື່ນອ້ອມ
 ຮັບຮູ້ຜົວ. ທຸກ ວັນນີ້ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຍິງສືບຕໍ່ປະຕິບັດ ກິດລະ ບຽບບູຮານ
 ດັ່ງກ່າວ. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານ ຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ຍົກຕົວຢ່າງທີ່
 ຮາວາຍ ຍິງສືບຕໍ່ປະຕິບັດຮີດຄອງດັ່ງກ່າວ (Rakow 1990).

ຫນ້າສື ພື້ນຊຸມບູລິມະສາດຊາຕິລາດນິຈຸດປະສົງແນ່ນອນ ເຮັດ
 ຈຸດ ບັນດາເຊື້ອສາຍຮາຊະວົງຫລວງພະບາງໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ວ່າເພດ ຊາຍ
 ເປັນ ຜູ້ນຳໃນຄອບຄົວແລະເປັນຜູ້ສືບທອດບັນລັງ ຊຶ່ງມັນກົງກັນຂ້າມ
 ກັບລະບົບມານດາຕິລາດ.

2. ມາລະຍາດຕໍ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ

ເນໂລກທີ່ສີວິໄລ, ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະເປັນຜູ້ສະແດງ ມາລະຍາດຈຸດ
 ກຽດແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ, ແຕ່ໃນສັງຄົມແຕ່ກ່ອນຂອງລາວສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ
 ແມ່ນຕຳຫລືຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນພຽງ "ອ້າຫາດຜູ້ຝັກດີ" (ຮັຕ ນາ 1975
 ຫນ້າ 123) ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນ.

ໃນເນື້ອ ກ່ອນ, ຜູ້ຍິງໂຕ ລວມທັງຢູ່ທີ່ສົບສອງຜົນນາ, ແລະ
 ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ, ຕ້ອງມີມາລະຍາດ ຕໍ່ຜົວເຫນືອນກັບ ຕໍ່ນາຍເຫນືອຫົວ.
 ຜູ້ຍິງ ຜູ້ເຮັດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຈະຕ້ອງເວົ້ານຳຜົວດ້ວຍສຽງອັນອ່ອນໂຍນ ແລະ
 ຈະຕ້ອງຍື່ນສະເຫນີກ່ອນຈິ່ງເວົ້ານຳຜົວແລະ ຈະບໍ່ມີສິດ ຕັດຄວາມ
 ເວົ້າຂອງຜົວ(ອິນແປງ 1970 ຫນ້າ 5). ວັນນະຄະດີລາວເຊັ່ນ
ຍອດຄຳສອນບູຮານ (1972), ຫນ້າສືອິນທິຍານສອນລູກ
 (1965), ປຶ້ມຫາວຄຳສອນ (1966) ຊຶ່ງເຮັດເປັນເມຍທີ່
 ດີນັ້ນຄວນເຮັດແນວໃດຫລືຜູ້ເປັນເມຍບໍ່ມີສິດເຮັດຈຸດຜົວທຸກໆຈາດຍ
 ຜົດກັບຜົວຫລືແມ່ແຕ່ຈະສະແດງທາທີ່ບໍ່ມັກ ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້. ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນ
 ຍິງຜູ້ນັ້ນອາດຖືກຜີຮ້າຍມາ ກວນ ຫລື ຕິກນາລິກ ແລະ ອະ ເວຈີ
 (Peltier 1988 ຫນ້າ 358).

3. ຜົວຄື "ເຫວະດາ"

ເນື້ອຕ້ອງຕົ້ນກ່ອນ, ນອນລຸນ, ກິນເອົາຕ້ອງກິນນຳຫລັງ,

ແນວໃດແຊບນິວຕ້ອງຍົກເຖົ້າຜົວກິນ, ຍາມວັນສິນມາເມື່ອ
ຕ້ອງເອົາດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນຄາຣະວະຂາບຕີນແລະເອົາຝົມ
ເຊັດກາງໃຈຕີນຂອງຜົວ, ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຝ່າຍຜົວນັ້ນ ຈະ
ປະກອບກັນອັນທີ່ສ້າງຄວາມເຈັບແຄ້ນເຖິງຫລາຍປານ ໃດ
ກໍ່ດີ (ຮັຕນາ 1975 ຫນ້າ 18).

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ທີ່ມີຜົວແລ້ວກໍ່ດີ ຜູ້ຍິງຈຸນສັງຄົມ ທີ່ເຊື່ອຖືສາ ສະ
ຫນາພຸດໄດ້ຖືກ ສັ່ງສອນຈາກ ສາສະຫນາ ວ່າໄດ້ມີຜົວຈຸນຊາດນີ້
ຍ້ອນຄວາມ ຜູກຝັນມາແຕ່ຊາດກ່ອນ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈິ່ງຕ້ອງເອົາລົບເຖົ້າ
ກຽດ ຜົວເຫມືອນ "ເຫວະດາ". ຂໍ້ 6 ແລະ 7 ຂອງ ຮີດ
ສິບສອງ ຄອງສິບສີ່ ຊຶ່ງເປັນປຶ້ມຄູ່ມືໃນສະໄຫມກ່ອນໄດ້ຍິ່ງ
ໄວ້ວ່າກ່ອນຈະເຂົ້າມອນຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງລ້າງຕີນເຖົ້າຜົວ. ເວລາວັນສິນ
ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງເອົາດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນສິນມາຄາລະວະຜົວ ແລະບໍ່ແມ່ຜົວ.

ການບູຊາຜົວດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ບັນທຶກໂດຍນັກທ່ອງທ່ຽວຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ
ທີ່ໄດ້ ຍ້ຽມຢາມຫລວງພະບາງຈຸນປີ 1896 ວ່າ ການສິນມາຄາ
ລະວະຜົວຄືນວັນສິນຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງໄດ້ຮູ້ເຂົ້າແລ້ວຂ້າໂທດຕໍ່ການກະທຳ
ທີ່ປະຕິບັດຜ່ານມາ. ຜູ້ຍິງເອົາລົບປະເພນີດັ່ງກ່າວຫລາຍຊົ່ວມື້ສະ
ແດງ ເຖິງເທັ້ນເຖິງລັກສະນະ ນະບອກນອນສອນວ່າຍອມຮັບ ຍິງລາວ
(ມັດຊີເອີ Massieu 1901 ຫນ້າ 267). ຈຸນລະຍະສຸດທ້າຍ
ຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ, ອະດີດລັດຖະມົນຕີກະຊວງຍຸດຕິທຳລາວ
ໄດ້ບັນທຶກການ ປະພຶດ ກັນວ່າ "ທຸກ ໆ ຄົນ, ກ່ອນຈະໄປ ມອນ,
ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ຕ້ອງຄາ ລະວະຜົວຕີນໂດຍກາຍນົບຕີນຜົວ, ເພື່ອຂໍອະ
ໄພ ຜົວຈຸນການ ປະພຶດບໍ່ດີຂອງຕົນຜ່ານມາ" (ອິນແປງ 1970
ຫນ້າ 5). ຈຸນບັນດາເຜົ່າໂຕທີ່ສິບສອງຝັນມາ, ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກອົບ
ລົມເຊັ່ນກັນ "ເມື່ອເດືອນໄດ້ເອື້ອນໄປຢູ່ເທິງປາຍໄມ້ ແລ້ວຫມິດ
ຄອບຄົວໄດ້ຜັກຜ່ອນ ຢ່າງສະຫງົບ, ແລ້ວຕໍ່ມາເນຍໄດ້ຢ່າງຫງຽບ
ໆ ໄປຕີນຕຽງໂດຍບໍ່ເຖົ້າຜົວຂອງຕົນຕິກເຮ່ຍ, ແລ້ວກິນລົງສາມຕັ້ງ

ທີ່ຕີນຜົວ. ຫມອນມອນກໍ່ຕອ້ງເຖົ້າຜົວລົງ ຕໍ່າກ່ວາຂອງຜົວສີ່ມື້ແລະ
ບໍ່ເຖົ້າຜົວຂອງຕົນມອນສູງກ່ວາຫົວຜົວ (Bain 1988 ຫນ້າ
12).

4. ຜົວ "ກິນ ສາມ ຄຳກ່ອນ"

ຄວາມ ບໍ່ ສະເໝີພາບ ລະຫວ່າງ ຍິງຊາຍ ຈຸນສັງຄົມບູຮານ
ລາວ ແມ່ນ ຈະພົບໄດ້ ຈຸນທຸກແງ່ມຸມ ຂອງຊີວິດ ລວມທັງການກິນຢູ່
ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຖືກ ອົບລົມສັ່ງສອນບໍ່ເຖົ້າກິນຈຸນກ່ວາ ຜົວຈະກິນກ່ອນ ສາມ
ຄຳ. ທ່ານ ປ. ສ. ງິນ ໄດ້ ບັນທຶກຂຽນໄວ້ຈຸນປຶ້ມ ຄວາມສຸພາບ
ແລະອະນຸບົດທຳມະຊາດ (1965) ເຊັ່ນກັນ. ສະພາບດັ່ງ
ກ່າວບໍ່ ແມ່ນແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງລາວໄດ້ພົບພໍ້ແລະປະຕິບັດຫາກຜູ້ຍິງສະຫຍາມ
ແລະໂຕທີ່ສິບສອງຝັນມາກໍ່ໄດ້ຄຽດຖ້າຜູ້ຊາຍກິນເຂົ້າໄດ້ສາມຄຳກ່ອນ
ຕີນເອງຈິ່ງຈະເລີ່ມກິນໄດ້. ວັນນະຄະດີລາວເຊັ່ນນີ້ທາມທ້າວຄຳ
ສອນ (1966) ໄດ້ສິດສອນເຖົ້າຜູ້ຍິງປ່ອຍເຖົ້າຜົວກິນເຂົ້າກ່ອນ
ຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍສາມຄຳຕີນເອງຈິ່ງຈະເລີ່ມລົງມື ກິນໄດ້. ຮີດຄອງປະ
ເພນີລາວ ບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ທຳມະຊາດ ຜູ້ຍິງກິນເຂົ້າກ່ອນຜົວ ຫາກແຕ່ກິດ
ລະບຽບຂອງເຊື້ອພະວົງ ທີ່ຫລວງ ພະບາງ ໄດ້ຍິ່ງ ໄວ້ ຈຸນ ປຶ້ມ
ໂລກາວິນາດ ໄດ້ທຳມະຊາດຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ ເຖົ້າກິນ ຮ່ວມໂຕະແລະຫນ້າຜູ້
ເປັນເນຍບໍ່ເຖົ້າກິນຮ່ວມໂຕະ ກັບຜົວ. ເຊື້ອພະວົງແລະເສນາອາ
ຫມາດ ຈະທຳມະ ບໍ່ເຖົ້າຜູ້ຍິງ ກິນຮ່ວມພາເຂົ້າ ກັບເຖົ້າຊີວິດ, ລັດ
ຖະມົນຕີ, ອຳລາຊການ ອັນຜູ້ໂຫຍ່ຖືວ່າ ອຳ ນາດຈະຫມິດຄວາມ
ສັກສິດ.

ກິດລະບຽບ ບູຮານດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຖືກສັງເກດໂດຍ ຈອນ ອິມບຣີ
(John Embree) ນັກເຜົ່າຝັນວິທະຍາ ທີ່ຍ້ຽມຢາມລາວ ຈຸນປີ

1949 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ:

ທ່ານທີ່ປຶກສາຝຣັ່ງປະຈຳຢູລາວມີເນຍເປັນຄົນລາວ ແລະ ໄດ້ລຸກນຳກັນ, ແຕ່ໃນຖານະເປັນແມ່ເຮືອນເນຍບໍ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ຮ່ວມ ນຳ, ບໍ່ໄດ້ກິນເຂົ້າຕອນຮັບນຳໃນຕອນແລງ. ທັງ ນີ້ ອາດ ຈະຍ້ອນວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວບໍ່ ປາຖະໜາ, ແຕ່ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ເວລາ ທ່ານ ທີ່ປຶກສາ ຈັດກິນເຂົ້າແລງກໍ ຈະມີ ແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ ເຮັດ ວຽກຫວາງການ ຊຶ່ງເປັນທັງຜູ້ມາຢ້ຽມ ແລະ ຄົນມາແຕ່ທ້ອງ ຖິ່ນ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວອາດຈະມີຄົນຮັບຈຸ ທີ່ ດຶຊ່ວຍບໍ່ຕ້ອງການປະປົນ ຊີວິດສ່ວນຕົວກັບຊີວິດຫວາງການ ແຕ່ ເຖິງແນວຈັດກໍ່ດີ ມັນກໍເປັນຫນ້າສົນໃຈ ທີ່ໃນເວລາ ທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຝັກຢູ່ນຳມັນໃນຖານະທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າເປັນແອກ ບ້ານຂ້າພະເຈົ້າກໍບໍ່ເຄີຍເຫັນຜູ້ກ່ຽວແນະນຳເນຍ ຈັດຂ້າ ພະເຈົ້າຮູ້ຈັກເລີຍ (ອິມບຣີ Embree 1949 ຫນ້າ 151).

ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວກໍອອກຫ່າງ ຈາກກຸ່ມເພດຊາຍ.

ຜູ້ ຍິງລາວມັກເວົ້າໃຫ້ອອກຫ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍໃນການຮ່ວມ ໂຕະອາຫານ, ກຸ່ມຜູ້ຍິງຈະຢູ່ຕ່າງຫ່າກພວກເຮົາຕ້ອງ ບ່ຽນແປງ ແຕ່ນີ້ມີ ເຈດຕະນາທີ່ດັ່ງກ່າວ ເພາະບ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຕ້ອງຢູ່ລະຫວ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ສອງຄົນ... ບາງຜູ້ ຍິງ ບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບ ອະນຸຍາດ ຈັດ ກິນພ້ອມກັບຜົວ. ພວກເຮົາ ຕ້ອງຈັດກຽດຜູ້ຍິງລາວເທົ່າ ກັນກັບ ຕະເວັນຕົກ ຈັດ ກຽດຜູ້ຍິງເຮົາໂດຍທີ່ໃນທີ່ອຸມ ນຸມຜູ້ຍິງຈະບໍ່ ນຶ່ງ ພື້ນ ເຮືອນໃນເວລາທີ່ ຜູ້ຊາຍນຶ່ງໂຕະ; ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງນຶ່ງສັບ ລະຫວ່າງຜູ້ຊາຍສອງຄົນ; ບ່ອນເປັນກຽດຕ້ອງເຮົາໄວ້

ຈັດຜູ້ຍິງ; ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງຈັດກຽດຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ບໍ່ຄວນຖືຜູ້ ຍິງ ວ່າເປັນເພດທີ່ຕ່ຳກ່ວາຕົນ (Nginn 1965 ຫນ້າ 47).

ແຕ່ຄຳເວົ້າອັນທີ່ເປັນຫ່ວງຍັງດັງຢູ່ ຂອງ ບ.ສ. ເຖິງບໍ່ສາມາດຈະ ບ່ຽນປື້ມ ຄວາມຊືນເຄີຍເກົ່າແກ່ນັ້ນໄດ້ແລະມັກຂຽນຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ:

ຈົນວົງສັງຄົມກໍບໍ່ສູ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມສຳຄັນແກ່ແມ່ຍິງເທົ່າທີ່ຄວນ. ເຮົາຈະສັງເກດໄດ້ຈາກຄຳທີ່ວ່າເຮືອງຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ແມ່ ຍິງບໍ່ ມີ ສ່ວນກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ. ເວລາໄປສູ່ຖານທີ່ອຸມນຸມຊົນ ແມ່ຍິງກໍຈະ ຕ້ອງ ຮຸ່ນກັນຢູ່ບ່ອນນຶ່ງ ຜູ້ຊາຍກໍຢູ່ບ່ອນນຶ່ງ ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສາມັກຄີ ເວົ້າ ລົມ ກັນຢ່າງສດວກສບາຍໃນ ລະຫວ່າງສຸພາບບຸຣຸດແລະ ສຸພາບ ສຕຣີ. ບາງເທື່ອກໍ ມີແຕ່ການສັງສັນກັນລະຫວ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍແລ້ວກໍມີແຜນການ ສ້າງ ຄວາມອະພິຣົມຊົມຊື່ນນຳສູ່ຮານາຣີແລະການພັນ. (ອັຕນາ 1975 ຫນ້າ 120-121).

ພາຍ ຫລັງ 1975, ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ ຢູ່ໃນທີ່ອຸມນຸມ ຕ່າງໆ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຍັງກິນຢູ່ສະເພາະ ຜູ້ຍິງ, ຜູ້ຊາຍກໍຢູ່ສະເພາະຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລະ ອັນທີ່ ຍັງເຫັນຢູ່ທຸກບ່ອນທຸກຍາມແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງ ຍັງ ພາກັນຢູ່ແຕ່ຈົນເຮືອນຕົວ ແລະ ກິນຢູ່ໃນເຮືອນຕົວ. ບາງບ່ອນກໍເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງນຶ່ງພື້ນເຮືອນແລະ ຜູ້ ຊາຍນຶ່ງໂຕະ. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານ ຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ ເຫັນມາລະຍາດສັງຄົມຕ່າງປະເທດຈັດກຽດຜູ້ຍິງທັງໃນທຳທີ, ໃນ ການ ກິນ, ການເວົ້າ, ການປະພຶດນັ້ນແຕ່ບາງ ຄົນຍັງບໍ່ສາມາດ ລົບລ້າງຮິດຄອງເກົ່າຄອບງ່າຈຶ່ງຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ປະພຶດແບບເກົ່າມາຫລັງ. ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ພິພາກສາ, ຮາວາຍ, ອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍ.

ທີ່ລາວຈົບວິຊາການກົມລ້ຽງກັບຕ່າງປະເທດ, ສ່ວນຫລວງຫລາຍຕ່າງປະເທດໂດຍສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງຕາມປົກປະຕິ ຍິງ-ຊາຍລວມກັນສິນທະນາ, ແຕ່ຈະມັກພົບພໍ້ຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ກຸ່ມໜຶ່ງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຢູ່ເປັນອີກກຸ່ມໜຶ່ງສິນທະນາບັນຫາບ້ານເນື່ອງໜຶ່ງແລກປ່ຽນສະພາບການ. ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງນອກຈາກຈະຖາມຂ່າວຄາວກັນເຖິງລູກເຕົ້າຫລືດິນຟ້າ ອາກາດແລ້ວເກືອບວ່າບໍ່ມີຫຍັງຈະລົມກັນແລະລໍຖ້າແຕ່ເນື່ອງຈາກຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລ້ວ ລົມແລ້ວຫລືຮອດໂມງຈະກັບກໍຈະກັບບ້ານເທົ່ານັ້ນ.

ເວົ້າລວມແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະແມ່ນເຝົ້າລາວລຸ່ມຫລືເຝົ້າອື່ນໆກໍ່ຕົເປັນຕົ້ນເຝົ້າລາວສູງໄດ້ຮັບຈຸດຜົນ ຢ່າງ ບໍ່ຫຍໍ້ທີ່. "ສັງຄົມ ຊົນເຝົ້ານຶ່ງບ້ານແກ້ງສາງຈົນເມື່ອກ່ອນກໍ່ຕົກຢູ່ພາຍໃຕ້ໂບດໄຟແລ້ວເຂົາເຈົ້າເຄີຍຖືບົດບາດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນສິ່ງສັກສິດຕິດສິນທຸກໆວຽກງານຂອງຄອບຄົວແລະສັງຄົມ. ສ່ວນບົດບາດຂອງແມ່ຍິງແມ່ນ ຖືກມອງຂ້າມຫລືຖືກບິດບັງທັງໝົດ" (ຄຳແພງທຶນມູນຕາລີ 1993).

3/ ການຊຸດຮິດຜູ້ຍິງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດແລະວັດທະນະທຳ

ລາວໄດ້ມີຊື່ສຽງວ່າເປັນ "ຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວສາວ". ວັດທະນະທຳດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ມີທ່າອຽງສະດວກໃນການປົນເຮົາວັດທະນະທຳຂອງທາງນອກຈົນສະຕະວັດທີ່ 19 ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຕະເວັນຕົກໄດ້ມີຫນ້າ ຢູ່ລາວໂດຍສະເພາະທະຫານຝຣັ່ງທີ່ປະຈຳ ຢູ່ເອເຊຍ. ປາກົດ ການຂອງໂສເພນີແລະການບູຊາເງິນຝ້ອມທັງສັງຄົມບໍລິໂພກໄດ້ຊື່ນເຂົ້າ ຈົນສັງຄົມລາວ. ຜູ້ຍິງສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ໂດຍສະເພາະຈົນຊົນນະບົດຍັງຕ້ອງ ຕົກ ຢູ່ໃນຮີດຄອງອັນຫນັກຫນ່ວງຊຶ່ງມັນໄດ້ສະແດງອອກແຕ່ ນີ້ ກໍ່ເປັນ ເຖິງວັນແຕ່ງການ. ຍ້ອນການເກີດເປັນ

ເພດຍິງ ຊຶ່ງ ໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງສະແດງຫາບຸນເພື່ອຊີວິດອັນດີໃນຊາດຫນ້າ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວ ໄດ້ມີ ຊີວິດທີ່ປະກອບຂຶ້ນຢ່າງເຂັ້ມງວດໂດຍການມູນວຽນຂອງການຜະລິດ ແລະ ການວິວັດທາງສັງຄົມທີ່ລ້ວນແຕ່ປົນອ້ອມການ ຜະລິດດັ່ງດຽວກັບຫລາຍໆສັງຄົມໃນຫລາຍປະເທດໄດ້ເປັນມາແລ້ວ.

ກ- ການກ້ຽວບ່າວສາວຈົນສັງຄົມທີ່ບໍ່ທັນຈະເລີນ

ການກ້ຽວ ບ່າວສາວແມ່ນເປັນອິດທນາຍລະຍະຂອງຊີວິດແລະມີຈຸດພິເສດສະເພາະທີ່ປະເທດລາວໂດຍໄດ້ເປັນອັນເວົ້າເຖິງຂອງນັກທ່ອງທ່ຽວ ຕ່າງປະເທດທີ່ໄດ້ມາຢ້ຽມຢາມລາວ "ຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວສາວ".

ການກ້ຽວ ບ່າວສາວແມ່ນການສະແດງຄວາມພໍໃຈແລະຄວາມຮັກລະຫວ່າງຜູ້ບ່າວ ແລະ ຜູ້ສາວ (ຫຍຸ້ຍ 1949 ຫນ້າ 491). ນອກຈາກການນັດພົບຢູ່ນອກເຮືອນແລ້ວ, ຮີດຄອງຍັງອະນຸລິນາທີ່ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມແລະຍິງສາວທີ່ ອາຍຸເກີນ 16 ປີພົບກັນຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍ. ແຕ່ຖ້າແມ່ນພົບກັນຢູ່ເຮືອນ ຂອງຍິງສາວປະເພນີຈະ ອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມພົບໄດ້ຈົນຂອບເຂດຈຳກັດຂອງເຮືອນ. ເວລາຢ້ຽມຢາມປະເທດລາວຈົນ ທ້າຍ ສະຕະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມານັ້ນ ເຈົ້າຮັງຮີດອກເລື້ວ Henri d'ORLEANS (1894) ໄດ້ ບັນທຶກໄວ້ຈົນບັນວ່າປະເທດລາວເປັນຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວ ສາວ, ດິນແດນປະຫລາດແຫ່ງນີ້ຖືຄວາມຮັກສູງ. ຈົນຍາມເດືອນເຝັນສິ່ງທີ່ຈະພົບເຫັນເປັນປະຈຳຕົວແຕ່ຕະ ເວັນຕົກຂອງເຝົ້າລາວເຮືອນຮີດຄອງ...

ແມ່ນກຸ່ມຍິງສາວຈະພາກັນຮ້ອງ ເຝັງໄປຕາມທິນຫາງແລ້ວມັກຈະມີ
ກຸ່ມຜູ້ຊາຍຕິດຕາມ ໄປທ່າງໆ. ໃນບັນດາຍິງສາວເຫລົ່ານີ້ຈະມີຜູ້
ຫນຶ່ງເອົາຄໍາກອນ ນາເວົ້າດ້ວຍ ສຽງ ອັນອ່ອນອ່ອນ, ບາງຄົນກໍ
ເອົາເຝັງມາຂັບປະສານສຽງກັບຊາຍຫນຸ່ມທີ່ຢ່າງຜ່ານກາຍໄປ.

ໃນເມື່ອປະຊາຊົນລາວມີພອນສະ ຫວັນ ຫາງ ດ້ານກາຍກອນ
ດ້ານຂັບລໍາຫລີແຕ່ງເຝັງມັນຈຶ່ງເປັນການສະດວກສໍາຫລັບບ່າວສາວ
ເພື່ອຈະເອົາມາເວົ້າຮ້ອງແລະກ້ຽວກັນ.

ພະຍານອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ພາຍຫລັງໄດ້ຢ້ຽມຢາມຫລວງພະບາງຈາກ
ຫ້າຍສະຕະວັດທີ່ 20 ແລ້ວໄດ້ບັນທຶກໄວ້ວ່າ ຈາກຍາມເດືອນເຝັງ,
ຍິງສາວທີ່ຫລວງພະບາງຈະພາກັນອອກມາຍ່າງຫລິ້ນທຸກະຄືນເປັນ
ກຸ່ມຕາມທິນຫາງ, ແອນເອົາເຈົ້າກ້ຽວກັນແລ້ວກໍພາກັນຂັບລໍາເຖິງ
ອະດີດຂອງຄວາມຮັກຫາມກາງອາຕຣີຂອງຫນຸ່ງຄວາງ. ເຈົ້າຍິງ
ແລະຍິງສາວສາມັນຊົນ, ເປັນ ຫນູ່ເປັນເພື່ອນຂັບລໍາໄປຈົນຮອດ
2 ຫາ 3 ໂມງເຊົ້າຂອງມື້ຕໍ່ໜ້າ. ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຍິງສາວບໍ່ມັກຫຍັງ
ນອກ ຈາກ ຄວາມ ນ່ວນຊື່ນ, ຂັບລໍາ ແລະເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມຮັກ
(Massieu 1901 ຫນ້າ 210).

ການກ້ຽວພາລາສີຈະມີລັກສະນະ ແຕກຕ່າງໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະ
ທ້ອງຖິ່ນແລະແຕ່ລະເຜົ່າຊົນ. ໂດຍທົ່ວ ໄປແລ້ວ, ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຈະ
ເຕົ້າໂຮມກັນທີ່ລະບຽງເຮືອນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງພາຍໄຕ້ແສງຫຽນຫລີແສງ
ກະບອງຊຶ່ງບາງຄັ້ງບໍ່ແມ່ນຂອງຜູ້ສາວກໍ ນອນແລ້ວ. ການ ທີ່ຊາຍ
ຫນຸ່ມໄປພົບປະກັບ ຍິງສາວທີ່ບ້ານມັກຈະແມ່ນຈາກເວລາທີ່ຍິງສາວ
ກໍາລັງເຂັ້ມຝ້າຍຫລືກໍາລັງຕົ້າເອົາເພື່ອ ຄວາມ ຕ້ອງການອັນຈໍາ
ເປັນປະຈໍາວັນສໍາຫລັບຄອບຄົວຫລືກໍາລັງຝັນຢາໂສ້ຍກວ້ຍ ແຫ້ງ
ເພື່ອເຮັດເປັນກອກຢາຖະວາຍໄທ້ວັດເພື່ອກະກຽນບຸນຫາງສາສະ

ຫມາ. ພາຍຫລັງ 1975, ຈາກລະຍະຖິ່ນຂອງລະບອບໂຫມ່ການ
ງົນບຸນສະຊາຍແລະຜູ້ເພື່ອນບໍ່ຄື່ຍປາກົດ. ແຕ່ປະຈຸບັນທຸກເຫດຜົນ
ແມ່ນມີຄຸນຄ່າສໍາຫລັບບຸກຄົນກໍຄືຫນູ່ບ້ານເພື່ອຈະຈັດງານບຸນ.

ປະເທດລາວເປັນປະເທດທີ່ປະຊາຊົນແມ່ແຕ່ຈາກຍາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ
ທາງການເມືອງກໍຄືເສດຖະກິດຍັງສືບຕໍ່ດໍາລົງຊີວິດແບບວ່າຍດາຍທີ່
ມີທັງຄວາມຮັກແລະຄວາມເລີ້ນເລີງ ເຫນືອ ກວ່າອື່ນໆ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ
ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ (1949 ຫນ້າ 492) ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້ວ່າ "ປະເທດ
ລາວເປັນປະເທດທີ່ງົດງາມຊຶ່ງຄວາມຮັກແລະຄວາມເລີ້ນເລີງເປັນ
ເຈົ້າຊີວິດ". ການດໍາລົງຊີວິດດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງສືບຕໍ່ເຊັ່ນກັນສໍາຫລັບຄົນ
ລາວທີ່ຕິດຕໍ່ຕາມຢູ່ປະເທດ ທີ່ ສາມ (ມະຍຸຕີ 1993a). ພາຍ
ຫລັງ 1975, ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຊາຍ ຫນຸ່ມ ບໍ່ສາມາດຈະກ້ຽວພາລາສີກັນ
ແບບເປີດເຜີຍ ໂດຍສະເພາະຈາກຕົວເມືອງເພາະຖືວ່າຮູບການດັ່ງ
ກ່າວແມ່ນ ວັດທະນະທໍາ "ເປື້ອຍເປື້ອຍ", ຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍຈາກລະຍະ
ກ່ອນການເປີດປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ.

ປະເພນີລາວກໍຄືທ້ອງຖິ່ນຈະອະນຸລິນການກ້ຽວພາລາສີ, ການ
ປາກເວົ້າແລະການນັດຫມາຍເພື່ອກ້ຽວ ກັນຈາກຂອບເຂດໃດຫນຶ່ງ.
ທັງນີ້ເພື່ອປ້ອງ ກັນເພດ ອ່ອນແອຄືຜູ້ຍິງ. ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມອາດຈະຈຸຊັ
ຄວາມເວົ້າຫລືທໍາທີ່ຕ່າງໆ ໄດ້ຖ້າຫາກບໍ່ແຕະຕ້ອງເຖິງກຽດສັກສີ
ຫລືຈິດຈະຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນຊາຍຫນຸ່ມອາດຖືກປັບໂຫມ່ຢ່າງ
ເຫມາະສົມຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນກັນ ທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ແປງເຮືອນ" ເພາະຖືວ່າບໍ່
ພຽງແຕ່ແຕະຕ້ອງເຖິງ ກຽດສັກສີຫລືຈິດຈະຂອງຍິງສາວເທົ່ານັ້ນຫາກ
ແຕ່ການກະທໍາຫລືການເວົ້າດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງຜິດພິດເຮືອນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງ
ຄາລະວະ. ການ "ແປງເຮືອນ" ແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບຄວາມ ຫນັກເປົາ
ຂອງການລະເມີດແລະຂຶ້ນກັບອິດຄອງຂອງ ແຕ່ລະທ້ອງຖິ່ນແລະ
ຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ຖ້າຫາກຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຈາກເວລາກ້ຽວ
ພາລາສີນັ້ນເຮັດຈັກຜູ້ຍິງມີທ້ອງແລະຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງຝ້ອງ, ຜູ້ຊາຍມີທາງ

ເລືອກສອງທາງຄືປ່ອຍໜີ້ຖືກປະໂຫມຫລືຄ່ອງເອົາຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເມຍ.

**ຂ - ການແຕ່ງດອງແລະການສູ່ຍິງຕົກເປັນຜູ້ຮັບເຄາະສົມ
ຫມາຍຂອງລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ**

ການ ທີ່ຫມູ່ມສາວຈະເອົາກັນເປັນຜົວເມຍແມ່ນບັນຫາທີ່ຫຼາກສ່ວນ
ຄົນໄດ້ເອົາ ຈາກສ່ວນ ຢ່າງເທົ່າອີກ. ຄວາມຈິງແລ້ວກ່ອນກັບບັນຫານີ້
ຜູ້ເຖົ້າຜູ້ແກ່ ຈະ ບໍ່ປະປ່ອຍໜີ້ຖືກເປັນໄປຕາມນິຕານເກີດ. ມີຜູ້ແຕ່ງ
ງາມ ຈະໄດ້ຖືກຈັດວາງຢ່າງລະອຽດທີ່ສຸດນັບແຕ່ມີເລີ່ມຕົ້ນຈົນຮອດ
ນີ້ສຸດທ້າຍຂອງ ງາມດັ່ງກ່າວ. ການແຕ່ງດອງແມ່ນຈຸດຫມາຍທີ່ຍິງ
ສາວປາກະຫມາກໍ່ຄືຄວາມປະສົງອັນແຮງກ້າຂອງພໍ່ແມ່.

1. ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງແລະມີຜົວເມຍ

ຢູ່ລາວ ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງມອກຈາກອີງສຳຄວາມຮັກມັກແລ້ວ
ບາງກໍ່ລະນີຍັງມີການຊອກຮູ້ຄົນປະຫວັດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງດັ່ງສຸພາສິດລາວ
ໄດ້ ເວົ້າໄວ້ວ່າ "ເບິ່ງຊ້າງໜີ້ຖືກຕ່າງ ເບິ່ງບາງໜີ້ຖືກຕ່າງ
ເບິ່ງ ໜີ້ຖືກຕ່າງ ບໍ່ຢາ ອາວອາ". ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີຄວາມ
ຄ້ອງການວ່າເມຍທີ່ຄື ຄ້ອງປະກອບດ້ວຍ ເລືອນສາມນ້ຳສີ່. ແຕ່
ມາບໍ່ດົນນັ້ນສຸພາສິດຕ່າງ ງາມຄືກັບເອົາໄປໄວ້ຫວງຂ້າງເພາະ
ຫນັງສືພົນວຽນຊຸມໝູ່ ລົງວັນທີ 26 ພະຈິກ 1986 ໄດ້

ຂຽນປົດ ຫນຶ່ງວ່າ: ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະແຕ່ງດອງກັບຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຮູບຮ່າງງາມ
ແຕ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ແຕ່ງ ກິນ ຫລື ຈະແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ບໍ່ມີຮູບຮ່າງງາມ
ຫາກຮູ້ຈັກແຕ່ງກິນ? ຫນັງສືພົນໄດ້ສະຫລຸບວ່າ ຄວາມເລືອກເອົາ
ຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ປະກອບດ້ວຍສາມຕີ ຄື ເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີ, ເມຍທີ່ດີ
ແລະ ແມ່ທີ່ດີ ຂອງລູກ. ໄດຍທົ່ວ ໄປແລ້ວ ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງມັກ

ເຮັດໄປຕາມ ຄວາມມັກຮັກຂອງຍິງຊາຍ ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຄວາມເວົ້າວ່າ
"ປຸກເຮືອນຕາມຈຸຜູ້ຢູ່ ແຂວນອຸ່ນຕາມຈຸຜູ້ນອນ".

ເມື່ອມີການ ຕົກລົງ ແລ້ວທັງ ສອງຝ່າຍຍິງຊາຍ ກໍ່ໄດ້ມີສິດ
ຫມັ້ນ ແລະ ການກຳນົດໄລຍະຫມັ້ນ ແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບການຕົກລົງຂອງ
ທັງສອງຝ່າຍ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫາກ ມີການຮ້າງຫມັ້ນ ຈາກຝ່າຍໜຶ່ງ
ຫນຶ່ງອາດຖືກປັບໄຫມເພາະອາດເຮັດ ຈັກກະທົບເຖິງ ກຽດສັກສີ
ຂອງ ອີກ ຝ່າຍ ໜຶ່ງຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນກັນວ່າຮ້າງຂັນຫມາກ. ນາຕາ 7
ຂອງກົດໝາຍຄອບຄົວ 1989 ໄດ້ກຳນົດແໜ້ນຄວາມເສຍຫາຍ.
ຢູ່ລາວ, ອີກຄອງແລະກົດໝາຍເກົ່າໄດ້ມີການຈັດຄ່າຄອງຊຶ່ງພໍ່
ແມ່ຝ່າຍຊາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ເອົາຈັດຝ່າຍຍິງ. ແຕ່ກົດໝາຍຄອບຄົວ
1989 ບໍ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງເງິນຄ່າຄອງເລີຍ.

ເງິນຄ່າຄອງຄືຮູບການຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງການ "ແລກປ່ຽນ ຄຸນຄ່າ"
ເພາະເມື່ອຜູ້ຊາຍເສຍເງິນຄ່າຄອງແລ້ວມັກຈະອິດສະ ແດງການ
ຄວບຄຸມ ເຫນືອຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້. ເງິນຄ່າຄອງມີສາມລັກ ສະນະທີ່ໄດ້
ສ່ວນແສງຈັດເທົ່າເຖິງວັດທະນະທຳທີ່ປະຊາຊົນລາວ ໄດ້ ເຊື່ອມ
ຊຶມ ມີດັ່ງນີ້:

ຄ່າຂຶ້ນສີ ຈະ ນອບຈັດເທື່ອຄາລະວະນິເຮືອນ. ຈາກສະໄຫມ
ກ່ອນ ຄ່າຄອງ ແມ່ນຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງເອົາຈັດ ແລະ ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ຈາກກົດ
ໝາຍຄອບຄົວແລະ ຈະບໍ່ສິ່ງຄືນ ຈັດຜູ້ຊາຍເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າພາຍຫລັງ
ມາຈະມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍ່ຄື.

ຄ່າຫມັ້ນ ອາດຈະເປັນປະເພດແຫວນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍນອບຈັດຜູ້ຍິງ
ແລະຈະກາຍເປັນກຳນະສິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ຜູ້ຄວບຄຸມແມ່ນພາຍຫລັງ
ມາຈະມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍ່ຄື.

ຄ່າຄອງ ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ຈາກກົດໝາຍຫາກ ແຕ່ ຝ່າຍ
ຊາຍຜິຈຈເອົາຈັດ. ຄ່າຄອງທີ່ໄດ້ມາອາດຈະເຮັດຈຸສ ດ້ານ ສະ

ລ້ຽງແຂກເຊີນມາໃນງານແຕ່ງດອງ.

ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວຄຳດອງ ຖືກສວຍໂຊດຊຶ່ງເຮັດອຸດປະສົງລ້ຳລວຍຫລື
ການນິທນຳນິຕາ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈິ່ງຖືກວິຈານໃນວາລະສານບັນນະສິນ
(ນິທຸນາ 1988) ວ່າຍ້ອນຄຳດອງ ຜູ້ຍິງຈິ່ງເປັນລັກສະນະສິນຄ້າ.

ນອກຈາກນັ້ນບ່າວສາວຍັງຈະຕ້ອງອີງໄສໂຫລາສາດເພື່ອເບິ່ງ
ວ່າ ຫາດຂອງຫຼັງສອງຈະເຂົ້າກັນ ຫລືຂັດກັນແລະເບິ່ງເລິກ ງາມ
ຍາມດີ ກ່ອນຈະຈັດພິທີ. ແຕ່ ວ່າ ພາຍຫລັງ 1975 ເງື່ອນໄຂ
ທີ່ຍິງຊາຍຈະເຂົ້າກັນແມ່ນຍິງອີງໄສຜົນງານປະຕິ ວັດ ເພາະການ
ຈະແຕ່ງດອງກັບພາກສ່ວນທີ່ມາແຕ່ເຂດປົດປ່ອຍໂຫມ່ແລະ ປົດປ່ອຍ
ເກົ່າ ໃນຊຸມປີ 1980 ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກສົງເສີມ. ຜົນສະທ້ອນໄດ້ ມີ
ບາງຄູ່ພາກັນອ້າໂຕຕາຍ ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາສະພາບມີການບໍ່ຮູ້ແປງເພາະ
ສິ່ງຄືມເກີດມີຄືນຮຸ່ງມີໂຫມ່ ແລະຊັ້ນຄືນໂຫມ່. ການກຳເນີດຊົນຊັ້ນ
ຮຸ່ງມີໂຫມ່ແລະຊັ້ນຄືນໂຫມ່ໄດ້ອ່ານວຍມີການກ່ຽວດອງລະຫວ່າງກັນ
ແລະກັນ.

ໃນ ຊຸມປີ 1980 ພິທີແຕ່ງດອງ ແມ່ນຈັດຂຶ້ນແບບກະທັດ ລັດ
ໂປຕາມແນວທາງທີ່ຮຽກຮ້ອງໄດ້ມີການປະຢັດ (ຕາເກໂກ Takeko
1992). ດັ່ງນັ້ນໃນງານແຕ່ງດອງ, ໂດຍສະເພາະຂັ້ນພາກສ່ວນທີ່
ຢູ່ການຈັດຕັ້ງຈິ່ງມີແຕ່ພຽງກິນເຂົ້າຫມີນ ແລະນ້ຳຊາ ແລະທຸກຢ່າງ
ແມ່ນການຈັດຕັ້ງຊ່ວຍເປັນເຈົ້າການ. ນອກນັ້ນກໍ່ມີການອ່ານໃນອະ
ນຸມັດໄດ້ເຂົ້າກັນຈາກກົມກອງ ທີ່ຍິງ ຫລື ຊາຍສັງກັດ ແລະຈະຈັບ
ດ້ວຍການໄດ້ໂອວາດຈາກອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງແລະຕາງໜ້າ
ຄູ່ພົວເມຍໂຫມ່ກ່າວໄດ້ຄຳປະຕິຍາມ. ພິທີດັ່ງກ່າວຈະຕິດຕາມດ້ວຍ
ການມັດແຂນບ່າວສາວ ຕາມອິດຄອງຈາກຍາດມິດແລະເພື່ອນທີ່ຖືກ
ເຊີນມາຮ່ວມ. ແຕ່ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບການຮຽກຮ້ອງໄດ້ມີການປະຢັດ ກໍ່ ມີ
ບາງງານດອງ ທີ່ເຊີນແຂກມາຮ່ວມເປັນສີ່ຮ້ອຍຫລືຫ້າຮ້ອຍຄົນແລະ

ອຸ່ນ ດອງກັນ ເປັນສາມນີ້ສາມຄືນ. ການແຕ່ງດອງດັ່ງກ່າວຖືກຄຳ
ນິຍົມວ່າເປັນການຝຸ້ມເພື່ອຍແລະເປັນການສະ ແດງຄວາມລ້ຳ
ລວຍໃນ ຂະນະ ທີ່ປະເທດລາວຍັງເປັນປະເທດທີ່ທຸກຍາກກ່ວາຫມູ່
ໃນໂລກ.

ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ແຕ່ງດອງແລ້ວເພື່ອຈະດຳລົງຊີວິດຮ່ວມກັນຄູ່ສົມລົດ
ນິທາງເລືອກສາມຫາງຊຶ່ງເປັນປະເພນີທີ່ປະຕິບັດກັນມາແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍ
ໂປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ຜູ້ຍິງ. ອັນນີ້ກໍ່ສອດຄ່ອງກັບສຸພາສິດທີ່ວ່າ "ເອົາລູກ
ເຂີຍມາລ້ຽງພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າບານໄດ້ເຂົ້າມາຈະເລົ່າຈະເລຍຍ" ວິທີ
ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຊ່ອຍໄດ້ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຢູ່ໄກພໍ່ແມ່ຊຶ່ງຖ້າຫາກເປັນລູກສາວຫລ້າ
ຢູ່ນຳພໍ່ແມ່ກໍ່ຈະໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ສືບພັນມໍລະດົກ. ນອກນັ້ນບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າ
ໄດ້ອອກຄຳເຕັມວ່າແມ່ນວິທີທີ່ພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າຈະໄດ້ກະກຽມລູກເຂີຍ
ໃນການເປັນຫົວໜ້າຄອບຄົວ. ແຕ່ອີກດ້ານໜຶ່ງອາດຈະແມ່ນວິທີທີ່
ຮັບປະກັນຈັດຜູ້ຍິງມີບາງສິດຂອງຕົນເອງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຕິເລຍ
ບໍ່ໄດ້ຕາມອາລົມຂອງຕົນເອງ ໂດຍທີ່ຈະບໍ່ມີການຄຸ້ມກັນຈາກພໍ່ເຖົ້າ
ແມ່ເຖົ້າ. ນອກນັ້ນ ພໍ່ເຖົ້າ ແມ່ເຖົ້າຍັງສາມາດດຳລົງ ກໍ່ສ້າງ ລູກ
ເຂີຍ ຖ້າຫາກ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວເຮັດຜິດ ແລະຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດຜິດຜູ້ເປັນຜົວ ບໍ່
ສາມາດຮ້າຍຕິຫາກຕ້ອງໄດ້ຂໍຈັດພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າເປັນຜູ້ສັ່ງສອນ ຕັກ
ເຕືອນເຖິງສາມເທື່ອກ່ອນ ແລ້ວ ຜູ້ເປັນຜົວຈິ່ງມີສິດສົມບູນສັ່ງສອນ
ຜູ້ເປັນເມຍ (Aymonier 1885 ຫນ້າ 186).

ນອກຈາກວິທີດັ່ງກ່າວແລ້ວ ຄູ່ ສົມລົດຍັງມີວິທີ ທີ່ສອງເພື່ອຈະ
ເລືອກບ່ອນຕັ້ງຕົ້ນ. ວິທີ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງ ໂປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ຜູ້
ຊາຍ. ວິທີນີ້ແມ່ນປະຕິບັດກັນຫລາຍ ທີ່ ປະເທດຈີນ, ຫວຽດນາມ.
ແຕ່ທີ່ລາວໂດຍທົ່ວໄປແລ້ວຖ້າຫລຽບຊາ ວິທີທີ່ໜຶ່ງ ແລ້ວຈະບໍ່ຄ່ອຍມີ
ການນິຍົມເທົ່າໃດຊຶ່ງສຸພາສິດລາວເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ເອົາລູກໄພ່ມາຢູ່ນຳ
ຍ່າ ບານເອົາຜີຫ່າມາຈະເຮືອນຈະຊານ" ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຄວາມຈິງ

ແລະ ຄວາມບໍ່ເປັນຈິງຈະມີພຽງໃດຢູ່ຫ່າງເບື້ອງຫລັງຂອງສຸພາສິດ ນີ້ກໍຕາມ ແຕ່ວິທີນີ້ບໍ່ຄ່ອຍປະຕິບັດກັນ ຈົນ ນະບົດເພາະມີນະວັດ ຈັດຕາມຂະໜອງຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່າ ຫາກແຕ່ວ່າມີການ ປະຕິບັດກັນ ແຕ່ຈົນຕົວ ເນື່ອງໂຫຍ່ຫລີ ຈົນຄອບຄົວ "ຕະກຸນໂຫຍ່" ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການ ຢາກ ເສີມຂະຫຍາຍ ອິດທິພົນໂດຍການພູກຜັນຜ່ານການແຕ່ງດອງ ແລະ ວິທີການນີ້ຖືກປະຕິບັດຫລາຍ ຈົນແຂວງຫົວພັນ ແລະ ເຝົ້າມີງເປັນ ຕົ້ນເພາະ "ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ໄດ້ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວຈະມີກໍລະນີ ຈຸດ ເກີດຂຶ້ນກັບ ເອົາກໍຕາມ, ເອົາບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດທີ່ຈະກັບຄືນມາ ເປັນ ສະມາ ຊິກຖາວອນຂອງ ຄອບຄົວ (ພໍ່ແມ່ເກີດ) ເຫມືອນ ເດີມ ໂດຍສະ ເພາະເອົາຈະ ບໍ່ ຮັບອະນຸຍາດກັບມາເກີດລູກມາຂາດລົມຫາຍໂຈ ກໍຄືການກະທຳພິທີສຳຄັນຫ່າງສາສະໜາບາງຢ່າງໃນເຮືອນຂອງພໍ່ ແມ່ຕົນອີກ" (ຄຳຊາວ 1992). ນັກ ຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ລາວຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ ຂຽນວ່າ ແຕ່ກ່ອນກໍຄືປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຍິງໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ພີ່ ແລະຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະເປັນຫົວ ຫນ້າຄອບຄົວຊຶ່ງມີສິດໄລ່ເມຍອອກຈາກ ເຮືອນຖ້າ ບໍ່ ຕ້ອງການ. ແຕ່ເວລາເລີ່ມເອົາກັນເປັນພີ່ເມຍໂຫຍ່ ງ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ອາດ ຈະຢູ່ນຳພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າ ເພື່ອບໍ່ໃຫ້ມີການເອົາລູກສາວ ອອກ ຫນີຈາກເຮືອນໂດຍກະທັນຫັນ ຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຊ່ວຍພໍ່ແມ່ເພື່ອຄົງຕົວ. ແຕ່ຢ່າງໃດກໍຕາມ ຜູ້ຊາຍຍັງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີສິດສະເຫມີ ທີ່ຈະເລືອກ ເຮືອນຢູ່ (ພູວົງ 1974 ຫນ້າ 974) ແລະຜູ້ຍິງຈຳຕ້ອງຕິດ ຕາມດັ່ງຄຳ ພີ່ງ ເພີຍໄດ້ກ່າວໄວ້ວ່າ "ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຊ້າງຂາຫນ້າ, ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຊ້າງຂາຫລັງ".

ນອກຈາກສອງວິທີດັ່ງກ່າວມາ ນັ້ນ ໃນສັງຄົມລາວຍັງພົບ ວິ ທິການທີ່ກຸ່ມຕົນເອງ. ວິທີການດັ່ງ ກ່າວຊຶ່ງມັກ ຈະແມ່ນກໍລະນີທີ່ ຍິງຫລືຊາຍ ບໍ່ມີພໍ່ແມ່. ຍິງຫລື ຊາຍ ໄດ້ຍ້າຍຈາກບ້ານເດີມໄປ ອາໄສຢູ່ຕົວເນື່ອງໂຫຍ່. ດັ່ງ ນັ້ນ ພາຍຫລັງຮັກມັກເອົາກັນແລ້ວ ຍິງຊາຍຈະພາກັນ ດຳລົງຊີວິດຕາມລຳພີ່ງ. ວິທີນີ້ຄູ່ພີ່ເມຍເປັນ

ເຈົ້າຕົນເອງ ແລະຮັບຜິດ ຊອບຮ່ວມກັນ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍບໍ່ມີບັນຫາ ເພາະຊາຍຍິງ ໄດ້ທົດສອບກັນເອງ ແລະ ຜູ້ຍິງຖືກຢູ່ໄດ້ອຳນາດ ດຽວຄືພີ່. ເຖິງຈະແມ່ນວິທີການໃດ ກໍຕາມ ເມື່ອສັງຄົມໄດ້ຂະ ຫຍາຍຕົວຂຶ້ນໄດ້ນຳເອົາການ ບ່ຽນແປງ ເຂົ້າມາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຢູ່ຕົວ ເນື່ອງໂຫຍ່ຜູ້ຍິງມັກໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນຜູ້ຊາຍຫລາຍ ຂຶ້ນ.

2. ລະບົບເອົາຫລາຍເມຍ

ນອກຈາກວິທີ ຕ່າງໆທີ່ເວົ້າມາຂ້າງເທິງກ່ຽວກັບພິທີແຕ່ງດອງ ເອົາກັນເປັນພີ່ເມຍແລ້ວແລ້ວ ໃນສັງຄົມລາວ ກໍຄືຫ່າງກົດຫມາຍ ເກົ່າແກ່ໄດ້ມີລະບົບເອົາຫລາຍເມຍ. ເນື່ອການເອົາຫລາຍ ເມຍ ໄດ້ມີຂຶ້ນໃນສັງຄົມຂອງລາວແລ້ວ, ບູຮານຍັງມີສຸພາສິດໜຶ່ງທີ່ຮູ້ຈັກ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປເວົ້າວ່າ: "ຖ້າຢາກທຸກໆທີ່ເປັນ ນາຍ ຄົນ, ຖ້າ ຢາກມີຊີວິດສົມລະວົນໆທີ່ເອົາເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ" ຫລືອີກສຸພາສິດໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄ້າຍຄືກັນວ່າ: "ຢາກຍາກໆທີ່ ເປັນນາຍຄົນ, ຢາກ ສາລະວົນໆທີ່ເອົາເມຍນ້ອຍ, ຢາກໆທີ່ຄົນປ້ອຍຕ່າງໆທີ່ອີ່ໄສສົມຫ່າງ" ສຸພາສິດແບບຄືດັ່ງນີ້ໄດ້ຖືກແບ່ງປັນຢ່າງກວ້າງຂວາງຈາກ ວັດທະ ນະທຳອື່ນໆເຊັ່ນທີ່ປະເທດອາລັບອາບູດາບີ ໄດ້ເວົ້າຄ້າຍໆກັນວ່າ: "ເມຍຜູ້ ໜຶ່ງ ບັນຫາໜຶ່ງ ສີ່ເມຍສີ່ບັນຫາ".

ເຫມືອນ ດັ່ງທຸກສັງຄົມ, ສັງຄົມລາວໃນເນື້ອກ່ອນຜູ້ຊາຍມີສິດ ມີ ເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ. ປະເພນີດັ່ງກ່າວມີເຄົ້ານາຈາກຕ່າງປະເທດ ເຫມືອນ ດັ່ງຜູ້ຂຽນຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ: "ກົດຫມາຍກ່ຽວກັບການມີ ຫລາຍເມຍໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະ ຄວາມສິວິໄລ ຂອງອິນ ເດຍທີ່ຢືນຢ່ວນນັ້ນ ໄດ້ຖືກນຳເອົາເຂົ້າມາໃນລາວ ໃນໄລຍະດຽວ ກັນກັບສາສະໜາ ພຸດ" (ພູວົງ 1974 ຫນ້າ 976). ແຕ່ຜູ້ທີ່ຮູ້

ຈັກກີຈາກນັ້ນຢູ່ຫນຶ່ງ ຄື ຊາຍເດັນຟາເດັນ Seidenfaden (1958 ຫນ້າ 92) ນິຄາເຕີນວ່າ "ການນິເມຍຫລາຍຄົນແມ່ນ ເປັນ ຂອງທຳມະດາສຳຫລັບປະຊາຊົນລາວທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນນັກຮັກສາ ຊາຍ". ຈາກ ສະໄຫມກ່ອນການນິເມຍຜູ້ດຽວຖືກເຍາະເຍີ້ຍຈາກຜູ້ ທີ່ ນິຫລາຍເມຍ ດັ່ງທີ່ ເດີນາຮິນີ De Marini ໄດ້ປັນທຶກຂຽນ ໄວ້ວ່າ:

ປັນດາເຈົ້າຊາຍຈາກທີ່ນິເມຍດຽວກໍຖືກເຍາະເຍີ້ຍດ້ວຍສຽງຂັບ ລຳແລະຄຳເວົ້າສຽດສີຕ່າງໆ. ປະຊາຊົນຊາດນັ້ນແນ່ນອນຈະ ເປັນ ຜູ້ ໄດ້ຮັບການຍົກຍ້ອງທີ່ສຸດຖ້າຫາກວ່າການດັບກິເຫລດ ຂອງພວກ ເຂົາເຈົ້າເປັນຄຸນສົມບັດອັນຫນຶ່ງ. ແຕ່ກໍບໍ່ເປັນ ເຊັ່ນ ນັ້ນໄດ້ເລີຍຫາກວ່າມີຊາຍເດັນຟາເດັນຈຳນວນຈຳກັດກໍຍ້ອນ ວ່າເຂົາ ບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂດ້ານເງິນຄ່າພຽງພໍທີ່ນັ້ນ. ອີກປະການ ຫນຶ່ງນອກຈາກນິເມຍແລະເມຍນ້ອຍແລ້ວພວກຜູ້ຊາຍຍັງ ພາກັນ ດັບກິເຫລດຂອງພວກເຂົາຮ່ວມກັບຄົນຊາຍເຊິ່ງພວກເຂົາອຸ ທິດ ຈາກແກ່ຄວາມບ້າຕັນຫາອັນຮ້າຍແຮງແລະບໍ່ມີຂອບ ເຂດ ຂອງ ພວກເຂົາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບທາງຍຸລິບທີ່ເຮົາກັນລ້ຽງຝູງ ຫມາຫລືຝູງມ້າເລີຍຊາວລ້ານຊ້າງພາກັນເຮົາກັນລ້ຽງເມຍເຊິ່ງ ບໍ່ສະເພາະແຕ່ເພື່ອສະຫນອງຕົນຫາຂອງພວກເຂົາທີ່ນັ້ນແຕ່ຍັງ ເພື່ອຕອບສະຫນອງກັບຄວາມອວດຊື່ງຂອງເຂົາດ້ວຍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ເອງທີ່ຕ່າງຄົນກໍຕ່າງມີຈຳນວນເມຍຫລາຍຫນ້ອຍຕ່າງກັນແລ້ວ ແຕ່ເງື່ອນໄຂຂອງຊາຍລາວ...ເປັນທີ່ຍອມຮັບກັນແລ້ວວ່າບໍ່ມີຜູ້ ຊາຍຄົນໃດ ເລີຍຈະພໍຈຳນວນເມຍຂອງຕົນມີຢູ່ແລະຈະ ຍຸດຕິການຂະຫຍາຍຈຳນວນເມຍຂອງພວກເຂົາໄວ້. ຍິງສາວ ຜູ້ໄດ້ຮັບເຄົາລົບ ຮ້າຍນັ້ນເພິ່ນຈຳນວນອັນນັ້ນມີບໍ່ຫລາຍຖືກຂັງ ຕົວແລະຂາດຄວາມມີສາມິດຕັ້ງສ່ວນ. ຈາກຈຳນວນນັ້ນມີຜູ້ດຽວ ທີ່ນັ້ນທີ່ຖື ວ່າເປັນເມຍທີ່ຖືກຕ້ອງນັ້ນຄືເມຍກິກສ່ວນເມຍຜູ້ອື່ນໆ ນັ້ນເປັນເມຍນ້ອຍ (ຫຼຸມຜັນ ຫນ້າ 31-32).

ການນິເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ແມ່ນບໍ່ເກີດແຫ່ງຄວາມເຫລືອງເຫລື້ອມ ຫາງ ສັງຄົມແລະສຳຫລັບບາງເຜົ່າຊົນ ແມ່ນເປັນກຳລັງແຮງ ຊຶ່ງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ນັ້ນ ຖືກຖືກສັດອອກແຮງງານແລະ ຖ້າມີເມຍຫລາຍເທົ່າໃດ ເມຍ ເປັນ ຜູ້ຜະລິດອາຫານ. ເຫມືອນດັ່ງອັດຕະໂນສະຊາຍໄດ້ ປັນທຶກໄວ້ຈາກປຶ້ມສຸຂສັນວັນສະຕິສາກິລ 8 ມີນາແລະປິສຕິສາ ກິລ 1975ວ່າ:

ມີບາງສິ່ງທີ່ເຮົາເມຍຫລາຍຄົນແລ້ວແບ່ງຫນ້າວຽກຈັດນາງ ເມື່ອ ແຕ່ ລະ ຄົນເຮັດໄຮ່ເຮັດນາແລະວຽກຫນັກສາລະພິດ, ສ່ວນອາຍາຜີວຍຸ່ງຕ່າງນອນເທົ່າຊະເນີງຢູ່ເທິງຊະເນນ (ຮ້ານ) ຊະແຄງສູບຝັນກັນຊາ ຫລືເຕີມເຫລົ່າພ້ອມກັບກິນຂອງແກ້ນອັນ ໂອຊາຮິດທີ່ນາງ ເມື່ອໄດ້ຊອກຫາມາຕິກແຕ່ງຈາກ. ເມື່ອບໍ່ມີ ສິດຈະຊື່ນເຮືອນຫາງ ຫມ້າ, ຕ້ອງຂຶ້ນຫາງກອຍ, ທຸກໆວັນ ຕ້ອງຝັດ ປ່ຽນ ກັນ ປະ ຄັບ ປະຄອງບິບນວດບຳຣຸງບຳເຮີ ຄວາມສຸຂອາຫານສາມິ. ເວລາໄປ ຖ້າຂາຍກໍໄປຊອກຫາຄວາມ ສຸຂສຳຄານໄປຕາມອຳເພີຈາດວັຍການມີເມື່ອນ້ອຍຫ້ອຍເມື່ອ ປາຍຫລືນາງບຳເຮີຊິວຄູ່ຊິວ ຍາມ ສ່ວນເມື່ອຢູ່ບ້ານຕ້ອງຂຶ້ນ ຂວາຍຫລັງຕົວເອງກັບລູກ, ຊ້ຳ ບໍ່ພໍທຸກເຊົ້າຄ່ຳຍັງໄດ້ ພຽນເຮົາດອກໄມ້ໄຫ້ວອນອໍາຫລິວ ໄປ ຮອດມາເຖິງດ້ວຍ ຄວາມປອດໄພ. ບາງຄົນກໍໄປເປັນ ເວລາ ຫລາຍເດືອນບໍ່ ຕ່າງຄົນມາ (ອັດຕະໂນ 1975 ຫນ້າ 119).

ຈາກ ປະເທດລາວບູຮານ ຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍຈາກຕົວເມືອງ ກໍຄືຈາກ ຊົນນະບົດ ມັກມີຊີວິດສະຫງົບ, ເຂົາເຈົ້າບໍ່ລ້າລວຍ ແລະ ບໍ່ມີຫິນ ຫາງເຮັດ ດອງເປັນເທື່ອທີສອງ. ແຕ່ການນິເມຍຫລາຍຄົນກໍຜິບພໍ ຈາກບາງເຜົ່າຊົນ ເຊັ່ນ ລາວສູງ ຫລືລາວເທິງ. ຕໍ່ປັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວ

ສະມາຊິກຊົນຊາດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ແຈ້ງໃຫ້ຜູ້ຮຽນໃນເດືອນກຸມພາ 1987 ວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ໃນເມືອງລາວເທິງ ຊື່ ອ້າກະຕູ ແລະ ຕາໄອ້ຍຈະ ມີ ເມຍຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍ 5 ຄົນ.

ທຸກວັນນີ້ບາງຄັ້ງຖິ້ມ ແລະ ເຝົ້າຊົມຢັ້ງປະຕິບັດລະບົບຫລາຍ ເມຍ (Inuma 1992). ຍ້ອນ ການມັກຫ່ຽວຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນໄດ້ມີ ເມຍໄວ້ແຕ່ລະບ່ອນເພື່ອຕົນເອງຈະຜ່ານ ກາຍໄປຢູ່ນຳ ແລະ ມັກ ຈະຢູ່ບ່ອນທີ່ມີຕະຫລາດເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ມີ ຜູ້ຕາງ ຫນ້າຂອງຕົນເປັນຕົວ ແທນ ໃຫ້ຕົນແລະ ເປັນຜູ້ເຈລະຈາ ການຄ້າ ຕາງຕົນໃນເວລາບໍ່ ຢູ່ ແລະ ຫຼັງເປັນທີ່ຝັກເຊົາ.

ນອກຈາກ ເຫດຜົນທີ່ຈະອອກຄວາມທະນົງຫາງ ສັງຄົມ ແລະ ກຳລັງແຮງງານແລ້ວ, ເຫດຜົນຫາງການເນື່ອງ ກໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກອ້າງຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອສະສົມເມຍ.

ເພື່ອ "ເຫດ ຜົນຫາງການເນື່ອງ" ຫລາຍປະເທດຈະມີເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບ ເຈົ້າ ຍິງຕ່າງປະເທດ, ເຈົ້າຊີວິດລາວກໍ່ໄດ້ ປະຕິບັດເຊັ່ນກັນ, ເປັນຕົ້ນ ເຈົ້າຝາງຸ່ມ (1350-1393) ເປັນ ຜູ້ທີ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງຣາຊະອານາຈັກ ລ້ານຊ້າງ ໄດ້ເອົາເຈົ້າຍິງ ຕ່າງປະ ເທດເຊັ່ນປະເທດອະເຫມນຫລືອະຍຸທະຍາ. ລູກຊາຍ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ສາມແສນໂທ (1393-1415) ໄດ້ມີເມຍຕ່າງປະເທດ ນາຈາກ ເປຣູ, ອະຍຸທະຍາ ແລະ ລ້ານນາ. ສ່ວນ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ວິ ຈຸນ (1501-1520) ໄດ້ແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບເຈົ້າຍິງມາຈາກ ຊຽງໄຫມ່. ເຈົ້າເສດຖາທິລາດ (1559-1571) ໄດ້ ແຕ່ງດອງກັບເຈົ້າຍິງ

ຕ່າງປະເທດ ເຖິງ 8 ຄົນ ແລະ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ສຸສິຍະວົງສາ (1637-1694) ໄດ້ ແຕ່ງ ດອງ ກັບນ້ອງ ສາວຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ສົບສອງ ຝັນນາ. ນອກຈາກນີ້ເຈົ້າຊີວິດຕ່າງໆ ຍັງເກັບເອົາລູກ ສາວ ຂອງເສນາ ພ້ອມທັງຜູ້ຍິງມາຈາກ ຄອບຄົວ ທີ່ບໍ່ມີເຊື້ອສາຍ ເຈົ້າມາເປັນສາວສະຫນິນ.

ວັນ ນະຄະດີລາວໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ການ ມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ. ພະ ເອກມັກຈະມີ ເມຍເຖິງ 80.000-84.000. 84.000 ແມ່ນ ເລກທີ່ເປັນສັນຍາລັກແລະເຮັດໃຫ້ຄິດເຖິງຈຳນວນອາຍຸຂອງພະເຈົ້າ ໂຄຕະນະ ທັງ ເປັນຕົວເລກດຽວກັບຈຳນວນຄາຖາໂດຍສະເພາະ ໃນຕຣີປິຕະກະ (Peltier 1988 ຫນ້າ 120) ຫລື ໃນນິ ທານ ພູທ້າວ ພູນາງ ແລະໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ສິນາຊ ພໍ່ ຂອງພະເອກ ມີ ເມຍ ຈຳນວນ 8 ຄົນ ແລະ ເມຍນ້ອຍ ມີເຖິງ 500 ຄົນ. ຫນ້າສີທ້າວສຸລິວົງ (1968) ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ເຖິງພະ ເອກມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ. ຫນ້າສີກາລະ ນັບມື້ສ່ວຍ (1968) ໄດ້ ເວົ້າ ເຖິງເມຍສີ່ປະເພດ. ໃນວັນນະຄະດີລາບາງຢ່າງ ຈະ ເຫັນໄດ້ພາບ ອັນ ເຄົາຫມອງ ຂອງຜົນສະທ້ອນຂອງການທີ່ມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ ເພາະ ຄອບຄົວຖືກ ແຕກຫັກ ແລະ ລູກໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບ ຜົນບໍ່ດີຂອງການຕໍ່ສູ້ລະຫວ່າງເມຍໆ ທີ່ເອົາເປັນເອົາຕາຍແລະສຸດ ທ້າຍຖ້າບໍ່ມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍ່ແມ່ນເມຍນ້ອຍຫລືເມຍຫລວງຕ້ອງ ຕາຍ ໄປອ້າງຫນຶ່ງເຊັ່ນໃນນິທານເລື່ອງຈຳປາສັກ ຫລື ນາງ ສົບສອນ.

3. ຮາກເຫງົ້າຂອງສັງຄົມລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ ແລະການ ຕຳຫນິການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ

ເຖິງ ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງລະບົບເມຍຫລາຍຄົນອັນເພື່ອຜູ້ຊາຍເອງ ແຕ່ບໍ່ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງຫນີດທຸກຄົນຈະຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງຕິດເປັນເມຍ ນ້ອຍຫ້ອຍ ເມຍປາຍດັງ ກາຍກອນໄດ້ຮຽນຮູ້ ເພື່ອແນະນຳ ລະບາຍຄວາມຮັ

ສຶກດັ່ງກ່າວ ເປັນຕົ້ນ "ຮຽນບໍ່ຂໍເປັນນ້ອຍໆທີ່ເພີ່ມເບິ່ງຕ່ຳ, ຮຽນ
ຂໍເປັນຜູ້ສາວເຖົ້າຄັ້ງໂຄກ ຈົນເຮົາຊິວາວາຍ". ໃນຊີວິດຕົວຈິງ
ການຕໍ່ສູ້ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງເພື່ອຮັກສາຄວາມກິນກຽວໆທີ່ເປັນຄອບຄົວທີ່ມີ
ຄົງແມ່ນຈະເຮັດທຸກວິທີທາງດັ່ງກ່າວຜິດເພື່ອລາວໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນ
ປັນຫານີ້ "ເສຍຄຳເທົ່າທົ່ວ ບໍ່ຍອມເສຍຜິວໆທ້າຍ". ໃນປັດຈຸບັນ
ທີ່ຈັດປິດຮຽນ ອັນເຮັດແສບຂອງ ການມີຫລາຍເມຍ ຂຽນໂດຍອະ
ດີດ ນາຍ ປົກ ລັດ ຖະມົນຕີຂອງອາຊະອານາຈັກລາວແມ່ນເລື່ອງ
ລາວຕັກຫລາຍ, ແມ່ເຮົາ ຊຶ່ງເລື່ອງຫຍິບທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ເລົ່າວ່າ:

ຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ໜຶ່ງມີເມຍສອງຄົນ. ເມຍໆໜຶ່ງຈະຮ້າຍເມື່ອເຫັນ
ຜົວຢູ່ຕຽງກັບເມຍນ້ອຍ. ຜູ້ເປັນເມຍໆໜຶ່ງກໍຈັບນິດຕັດອັນທີ່
ເຮົາຂອງປຶ້ມເອີ້ນ "ສິ່ງເອີ້ນຊື່ງານທີ່ສຸດ", ແລ້ວເມຍໆໜຶ່ງ
ກໍໂຍນຖິ້ມໆສ່ເມຍນ້ອຍ, ສ່ວນຜົວກໍຕາຍ. ເມື່ອເລື່ອງຖືກ
ເພີດເພີນແລ້ວຜູ້ຊາຍຫລາຍຄົນຕັດສິນໃຈປະເມຍນ້ອຍ.
ການຕາຍຂອງຜູ້ເປັນຜົວຖືວ່າແມ່ນການຄາດຕະກຳທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍ
ມີໃນປະເທດລາວເກົ່າແກ່ເພາະຕາມປົກກະຕິຜູ້ຍິງມີແຕ່ຜົວ
ຜົວ (ກະຕ່າຍ 1958 ຫນ້າ 61-2).

ເຫດການໃນທຳນອງດຽວກັນໄດ້ເກີດຂຶ້ນອີກຄັ້ງຮຽງຈົນໃນປີ 1977.
ຍ້ອນອຳນາດທາງອິດຄອງ ປະເພນີ, ການມີເມຍຫລາຍໆ ກາຍ
ເປັນ ສະຖາບັນທີ່ຖືກກົດຫມາຍອັນໜຶ່ງ. ເມື່ອປະເທດລາວຖືກປົກ
ຄອງໂດຍຝັ່ງທັງສອງທີ່ເປັນປະເທດລະບົບຜົວດຽວເມຍດຽວ ກໍຕາມ
ແຕ່ຍັງໄດ້ປະລະໆຈັດປະເທດລາວ ສືບຕໍ່ມີລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ. ເຖິງ
ຢ່າງໃດ ກໍຕິການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ແມ່ນສ່ວນໜຶ່ງໃນຕຳນານຂອງ
ການກຳເນີດ ຂອງໂລກຊຶ່ງອຸນບູລົມໄດ້ມີເມຍສອງຄົນຕິດຕາມມີ ຊື່
ນາງ ຍົມມະພາລາ, ນະເທສີຝ່າຍຂວາແລະນາງ ອິກແຄງ, ນະ
ເທສີຝ່າຍຊ້າຍ. ພໍຂອງອຸນບູລົມເອງໄດ້ເວົ້າໆທີ່ອຸນບູລົມວ່າ: ຖ້າ

ຈະມີສິບຝ່າຍນາງກໍບໍ່ໄດ້ລົມເມຍໆໜຶ່ງ (ໜັງສືພິມ ອຸນບູລົມ ອາ
ຊາທິລາດ 1967 ຫນ້າ 14). ດັ່ງນັ້ນໃນອາຊະວັງ ລາວ
ໄດ້ມີຕົວຢ່າງ ຊຶ່ງຄົນຜູ້ເຮົາບູຮານໄດ້ເວົ້າຂ້າມວ່າໃນລະບອບເກົ່າ
ເຮົາຊີວິດຫລວງພະບາງ ມີເມຍ ທ້າຮ້ອຍຄົນ. ຄຸນພໍ ເດີ ນາຮິນີ
De Marini (1910 ຫນ້າ 163) ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ໃນ ເວລາທີ່
ຢ້ຽມຢາມປະເທດລາວ ໃນອຸມປີ 1640 ເຮົາຊີວິດມີ ເມຍຮ້ອຍ
ກ່ວາຄົນ. ມັດຊີເຊີ Massieu (1901 ຫນ້າ 240) ຢ້ຽມ
ຢາມຫລວງພະບາງ ໃນໂອກາດທີ່ເຮົາ ຊີວິດ ສັກກະລົມ ອາຊາ
ທິເສດ (1888-1903) ໄດ້ມີໂອກາດລົມກັບແມ່ ຂອງເຮົາຊີວິດ
ທີ່ມີອາຍຸໄດ້ 70 ປີ ແລະໄດ້ເພີດເພີນວ່າພໍ່ຂອງ ເຮົາສັກກະລົມ
ມີເມຍ 800 ຄົນເພາະເປັນຄອບຄົວທີ່ຈັດຫລວງຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຈັດເວລາ
ທຸກເຮົາໆທີ່ແຕ່ລະເມຍແລະລູກໆ ເຂົ້າເຝົ້າ.

ທາງດ້ານກົດຫມາຍຜູ້ຊາຍສາມາດມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ ໄດ້ເທົ່າ
ທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂທາງດ້ານເງິນຄຳ ວັດຖຸ ອະນຸ ຍາດ ແຕ່ ມີແຕ່ເມຍ
ດຽວເທົ່ານັ້ນ ທີ່ຈະຖືກຖືວ່າເປັນຜູ້ທຳອິດ ຫລືເປັນເມຍຊັ້ນໜຶ່ງ
ຊຶ່ງຮູ້ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າເມຍຫລວງ. ສ່ວນຜູ້ອື່ນໆເປັນເມຍຊັ້ນສອງ
ຫລືເມຍນ້ອຍ. ຊັ້ນແມ່ນຈັດຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນໂດຍອັດຕະໂນມັດລະຫວ່າງເມຍ
ໆ ແລະ ທຸກຄົນກໍຢູ່ໃນຊັ້ນທີ່ຖືກຈັດໆ ໃນວັນທີ່ເຂົ້າມາໃນ ເຮືອນ,
ການຜິດຖຽງລະຫວ່າງເມຍໆຈະຖືກລົງໂທດທາງຮ່າງກາຍ.

ຕາມອິດຄອງ ແລະກົດຫມາຍ ເມຍນ້ອຍ ຈະຢູ່ໄດ້ການຊີ້ແນະ
ຂອງເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງ. ເມຍນ້ອຍຈະບໍ່ຖືກອະນຸຍາດ ໆທີ່ນັ້ງແຖວດຽວ
ກັນກັບ ເມຍໆໜຶ່ງ ຫລືບໍ່ໄດ້ສ່ວນເຄື່ອງເອ້ ຫລືນຸ່ງຖື ແບບຮັ່ງມີກວ່າ
ເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງ. ຫລັງຈາກເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງຕາຍແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ ເປັນຜົວຈະ
ແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເມຍຊັ້ນທີສອງ ຜູ້ຈັດຜູ້ໜຶ່ງແທນໂດຍອີງຕາມ ຂັ້ນອະວຸໂສ.

ຈົນມີສິ່ງຂ້າງໜ້າ ແຕ່ງດອງ ບາງໜ້າພອນສູ່ຂ້າງ ມັກຈະຈັດພອນ
ແກ່ ບ່າວສາວ ແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະມັກຈະອອຍພອນໄດ້ເຈົ້າບ່າວ
"ມັດແຂນດ້ວຍຜ້າຍຂາວທີ່ແຂນຊ້າຍ ຂໍໃຫ້ເຈົ້າມີຜົນເມຍ", ຫລື
ບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍອາດຈະໄດ້ຍິນສຽງຂອງໂຄສິກຍູ່ບຸນຕ່າງໆເຊັ່ນຢູ່ ທີ່ບຸນ
ອອກຝົນສາ ຈົນວັນທີ່ 30 ຕຸລາ 1993 ຂອງວົງ ຄົນຕົວຊົນນະ
ຄອນທີ່ມີນ້ຳສຽງເຮັດໄດ້ຄົນທີ່ມາຊົມແລະຟັງສຽງຮ້ອງ ຂອງ
ນັກຮ້ອງຂອງນັກສິນລະປິນມີຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບລຽບລ້ອຍຢ່າງເປັນ
ຫນ້າຊົມເຊີຍ ແຕ່ວ່າພໍ້ໄດ້ເຫລົ້າເບຍ ສອງແກ້ວເປັນຄ່າລາງ ວັນ
ຈາກຜູ້ເຫລົ້າລຳວົງຮອບຫນຶ່ງ, ໂຄສິກ ກໍໄດ້ອວຽພອນສິນທີ່ "ຂໍ
ໃຫ້ໄດ້ເມຍນ້ອຍເປັນສອງລ້ອຍ, ສາມລ້ອຍຄົນຜູ້ເດີ!" ການ
ນິເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ ທີ່ລາວນິຍົມກັນນິເບຍມີດຽບແຕ່ມັກຈະປະຕິບັດ
ກັນ ສະ ເພາະຈົນບັນດາພວກຊົນຊັ້ນຮຸ່ງມີ ທີ່ຫວັງໄດ້ຜົນປະໂຫຍດ
ແລະ ກຳໄລ. ຈົນສັງຄົມລາວບູຮານ ເຈົ້ານາຍສ່ວນໄດ້ມັກຈະນິ
ເມຍ ຫລາຍໄດ້ ເພາະມີເງິນລວມທັງຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ. ກ່ອນປີ
1975 ທີ່ລາວ, ສ່ວນຫລາຍນາຍທະຫານເຈົ້ານາຍຜົນລະເຮືອນ
ແລະ ພໍ່ຄ້າມັກມີ ເງື່ອນໄຂຫລາຍ. ບັນຫາ ນີ້ໄດ້ຖືກຂຽນອອກຈົນ
ຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 ຈົນ ກຸ່ມກິນສາວຄາວຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ຈົນຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 ປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມີປະຕິກິລິຍາຕໍ່ການ
ການເປັນ "ເຈົ້າຮູ້" ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ(ຮານເປີກ Halpern 1964a
ຫນ້າ 41). ຈົນເວລານັ້ນຈະໄດ້ຍິນເລື່ອງ ເມຍໄຫຍ່-ນ້ອຍ ຜິດ
ຖຽງກັນຈົນຮ້ານເຮັດຜົມ ແລະ ຈົນຕະຫລາດ. ບາງຜູ້ຍິງຈະໄປ
ຫາບາງໝູ່ໝູ່ເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໂຄງທີ່ຊ່ວຍນຳເອົາຜົວກັບຄືນແລະບາງ

ຄົນກໍຈະຢາສະແນ່ຫລືຄາຖາອາຄົມເພື່ອດຶງເອົາຜົວໄວ້ (ສົມໂອ
1969; ເພື່ອນໆ 1975). ເມື່ອບັນຫາເກີດຂຶ້ນຢ່າງເນື່ອງມືດ
ລຽນຕິດລະຫວ່າງເມຍໄຫຍ່-ເມຍນ້ອຍໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍຈົນ ວົງ
ລາຊະການບໍ່ມັກນິຍົມວິທີເອົາຫລາຍເມຍເພາະຢ້ານຈະເກີດການ
ຂັດແຍ້ງທີ່ຈະເປັນຜົນບໍ່ດີຈົນແກ່ຄອບຄົວ.

ແຕ່ແຜນທີ່ຈະນິເມຍຫລາຍຄົນບາງຜູ້ຊາຍນິເມຍຊ້ອນຄື ບຣານ
ຝະນານ Brannan (1970 ຫນ້າ 226) ເວົ້າວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ຊົນ
ນະບົດໄດ້ຖືກຈັດຢ່າຍໄປຢູ່ຕົວເມືອງໄຫຍ່ເພື່ອເຈົ້ານາຍເອົາໄວ້ຈະ
ເປັນເມຍລັບຈົນກວ່າເຈົ້ານາຍດັ່ງກ່າວຈະເປັນຫນ້າຍ (Brannan
1970 ຫນ້າ 226). ຫລາຍມຸມຊຸບຊົບສັງຄົມວ່າພາຍຫລັງ 1975
ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ກັບຄືນມາຈົນບາງບ່ອນຈົນຮູບການເປັນ ຜູ້ "ຮັບ
ຈະຊ້".

ຢູ່ລາວຈົນຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 ຄະນະລຽບລຽງ ປັບປຸງ ປະ
ມວນກິດຫມາຍອາບານີທັງນັກກິດຫມາຍລາວແລະຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ສະ ເຫນີ
ຮ່າງກ່ຽວກັບການນິເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ຊຶ່ງໃຫ້ເຫດຜົນວ່າບາງຊົນເຜົ່າ
ລາວ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນກຽມພ້ອມທີ່ຈະປະລະການນິເມຍຫລາຍ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ປັບ
ປຸງແລະດັດແປງຮ່າງປະມວນກິດຫມາຍໄດ້ໄກ່ແກ່ຍປະນີປະນອມລະ
ບົບ ຜົວດຽວເມຍດຽວແລະລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍໄດ້ປະຊ່ອງວ່າງຈັດຖ່
ສົມ ລົດໄຫມ່ເລືອກເອົາຖ້າຕ້ອງການການແຕ່ງງານພາຍໄຕ້ລະບົບ
ຜົວ ດຽວເມຍດຽວ ຄູ່ສົມລົດທັງສອງພຽງແຕ່ລະບຸໄວ້ໃນຫນຶ່ງສີຜົວ
ເມຍ. ແຕ່ 1975 ການນິເມຍຫລາຍຖືກລົບລ້າງແລະມາຕາ 4
ຂອງກິດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວ ຂອງລະບອບໄດ້ຍິ່ງການເອົາກັນເປັນ
ຜົວເມຍຈັດປະຕິບັດຕາມ ລະບົບຜົວຫນຶ່ງເມຍດຽວ. ຈົນພາກປະຕິ
ບັດຕົວຈິງລະບົບດັ່ງກ່າວຈະ ຍັງຜົບປັນຫາເພາະກິດຫມາຍມີຄວາມ
ສັກສິດແຕ່ພຽງຜູ້ຊີ້ຮູ້ເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ມະໂອກາດນີ້ຜູ້ຂຽນຂໍອອບໂຈແລະ

ຊົມເຊີຍທາງສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສໍາເລັດໃນການຕໍ່ສູ້ກັບກົດໝາຍລະບົບຜິດຮຽວເມຍດຽວ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີການຮັບປະກັນທາງດ້ານກົດໝາຍບໍ່ໄດ້ຜູ້ຊາຍມີຫລາຍເມຍແຕ່ເມື່ອປະເທດໄດ້ໂອປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວໂອກາດດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ມີ "ເມຍລັບ". ກ່ອນການເປີດປະຕູຂອງປະເທດ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຄອບຄົວໄດ້ອົງໄລ່ມະຫາຊົນຊ່ວຍເປັນຫຼວງຫຼາຍຕາມຕົວຕົນ ຈຶ່ງມີປາກົດການທີ່ເມຍໄດ້ເອີ້ນຫາການຈັດຕັ້ງໄດ້ຊ່ວຍເອົາຜົວໄປ ດັດສ້າງຍ້ອນບັນຫາ "ໄພສັງຄົມ". ແຕ່ 1988 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ ບັນຫາ "ໄພສັງຄົມ" ໄດ້ກັບຄືນມາ ແລະ ຫລາຍຄອບຄົວກໍາລັງ ມີບັນຫາການແຕກແຍກ ເພາະຮູບການໂອກາດຂອງເມຍທີ່ສອງໄດ້ກັບປະກົດຂຶ້ນຊຶ່ງຮູ້ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ: "ເມຍເກັບ", "ເມຍເຊົ້າ", "ເມຍບໍລິການ" ແລະສະພາບການ ຊື້ຮ້າງໄດ້ເລີ່ມມີມາແຕ່ປີ 1986 ແລະມີລາຄາມື້ນີ້ມີບາງຊ່ວຍເຊັ່ນໃນປີ 1986 ການຊື້ຮ້າງມີລາຄາ 1 ລ້ານກີບແຕ່ໃນປີ 1993 ການ ຊື້ຮ້າງໄດ້ຂຶ້ນເປັນ 3 ແສນບາດ.

ສະພາບດັ່ງ ກ່າວຍັງເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່ສູ້ດ້ວຍຄວາມທົ່ວທຶດເພື່ອຈະຮັກສາຄວາມກົມກຽວ ໃນຄອບຄົວບໍ່ໃຫ້ແຕກແຕງໄປແລະຫົງທ້າທາຍຕໍ່ສະພາບການປ່ຽນແປງຂອງສັງຄົມໃໝ່ໂດຍບໍ່ມີເບື້ອງເຊິ່ງບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບການເວົ້າຕະຫລົກເຮຮາຢູ່ຕາມແຄມຮີ້ຂອງສັງຄົມທີ່ສົມທຽບວ່າ "ຜູ້ຊາຍມັກປຽບທຽບຜູ້ຍິງຄືປີນໂຕເຮືອເຂົ້າກິນຊຶ່ງຖືວ່າກັບເຂົ້າແຕ່ລະມື້ໃນປີນໂຕແມ່ນແຕ່ກັບເຂົ້າເກົ່າ. ສ່ວນ ຜູ້ຍິງ ມັກປຽບທຽບຜູ້ຊາຍຄືແມວມີອົບຫນ້າຮັກແຕ່ສະຫລາດທີ່ຍາງໄປກັບຜູ້ຈູງປົນເສັ້ນທາງທີ່ໄປນໍາກັນແມວມັກຈະເບິ່ງທັນໆກໍມີ ແຕ່ເມື່ອໄດ້ກິນບ່ອນຈົດແມວໂຕນັ້ນກໍຈະຢຸດແລະເວລາຈົດທີ່ຜູ້ຈູງທັນຄວາມສົນໃຈໄປທາງອື່ນເຊືອກທີ່ຢຸດຢູ່ຄໍແມວນັ້ນກໍທຸລຸດຈາກມືຜູ້ຈູງໄປ!"

ຄ- ຮູບການຂອງວັດທະນະທຳອັນສະໄໝ: ໂສເຟນີ ແລະ ເງິນ

ເຫດການທາງປະຫວັດສາດໄດ້ກະທົບປະເທດລາວຢ່າງແຮງ, ປະເທດທີ່ປະຊາຊົນໂດຍສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກປົກປ້ອງຈາກອິດຄອງປະເພນີ. ເຫດການທາງການເມືອງໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມມີຄວາມປັ່ນປ່ວນ ເຊິ່ງ ແມ່ນ ຍ້ອນອິດທິພົນຂອງຕ່າງປະເທດ. ໃນປີ 1827, ບາງກອກໄດ້ສໍາເລັດ ການຂັບໄລ່ຮາຊະວົງສຸດທ້າຍຂອງລາວທີ່ພະຍາຍາມຈະຮັກສາຄວາມ ເປັນລາວ. ໃນປີ 1893, ຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ປົກຄອງລາວເປັນເມືອງອື່ນ ແຕ່ ປີ 1954 ປີ 1975, ສົງຄາມໄດ້ທຳລາຍສັງຄົມຊຶ່ງລັດຖະບານ ຝ່າຍຂວາວຽງຈັນໂດຍມີອາເມຣິກາ ໃຫ້ການສະໜັບສະໜູນ. ອີກ ດ້ານໜຶ່ງກໍແມ່ນຂະບວນຮັກຊາດທີ່ໄດ້ມີທີ່ຕັ້ງ ຢູ່ໃນເຂດປົກປ້ອຍ ແລະ ຖືກຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຈາກປະເທດ "ສັງຄົມນິຍົມ". ກ່ອນ ປີ 1975, ບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າໄດ້ຂຽນກ່ຽວກັບສັງຄົມວັດທະນະທຳໄດ້ ເຫັນດີ ຢ່າງສົມບູນວ່າສັງຄົມສັກດີນາຢູ່ວຽງຈັນແມ່ນສັງຄົມຕະເວັນ ຕົກຊຶ່ງ ເຮັດໃຫ້ເສຍລັກສະນະບູຮານ ແລະ ຊາດແລະເປັນສັງຄົມທີ່ ມີແຕ່ ການເຊື່ອຖືງົມງວາຍແລະຈຳແນກ. ທຸກແຂ່ງຂອງ ສັງຄົມລາວ ແມ່ນອົງໄສແຕ່ຄວາມເພີດເພີນ, ການພະນັນ, ການສະແດງເຖິງຄວາມຮູ້ມື, ການເອົາແບບຢ່າງຂອງວັດທະນະທຳຕ່າງປະເທດ, ການກິນ, ການນຸ່ງຖືແລະການນິຍົມເງິນ. ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມລາວປັ່ນປ່ວນໂດຍສະເພາະໃນຕົວເມືອງໄຫວ້. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ "ເພື່ອແລກປ່ຽນເອົາອັນຈິດອັນໜຶ່ງ, ພວກສັກດີນາປະພຶດຄືຄົນຮັບໃຊ້ຂອງຈັກກະພັດ, ສ່ວນຊາວນາ ແລະຊົນຊັ້ນອື່ນແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບຄວາມສະດວກ. ເປືອຂອງ "ແບບຢ່າງ" ໄດ້ປະກົດໃນສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ດີເຊັ່ນ: ໂສເຟນີ, ສຸຣາ ແລະ ປາເສບຕິດ (ບຣາວສະແຕນ Braunstein 1978 ຫນ້າ 166).

ກ່ອນ 1827 ມີກ່ອງໜ່ວຍໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າສັງຄົມມີຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບ ແລະ ບໍ່ມີການຈື່ງຸ່ມ ຫລື ອ້າກັນ. ເມື່ອສະຫຍາມໄດ້ມາບຸກລຸກລາວ ແລະປະຊາຊົນຕ້ອງຖືກກວດຕ້ອນໄປຢູ່ໄທ, ສັງຄົມລາວຖືກແຕກຫັກ. ນາຍພົນສະຫຍາມ ພະຍາຍົກຄືນຫອນດຸດຊາ ຖືວ່າຕົນເອງໄດ້ມີຫນ້າຕາທີ່ ໄດ້ ສົ່ງເຈົ້າຍິງ ແລະ ຍິງໝູ່ມລາວທີ່ມີຄວາມງາມຖືກກວດຕ້ອນອອກຈາກ ເຂດລາວໄປຢັງຢັງເຈົ້າຊີວິດສະຫຍາມແລະຈັດປັນດາເຈົ້ານາຍທີ່ບາງກອກ.

ການກວດ ຕ້ອນ ເອົາຜູ້ຍິງລາວດັ່ງກ່າວ ດຶງເພື່ອປະກອບເຮົາເປັນໂສເພນີ, ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ ກາຍເປັນສະຖາບັນທາງການຂອງໄທດັ່ງແຕ່ປີ 1680 ໃນເວລາທີ່ ເຈົ້າຊີວິດສະຫຍາມໄດ້ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທາງການສະຫຍາມຜູກອາດການ ອຸດອິດໂສເພນີ ທີ່ນະຄອນຫລວງອະຍຸທະຍາ (66 Reid 1988) ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ມີການອະຫຍາຍຕົວໃນສະຕະວັດ 21, ປະເທດໄທ ກາຍເປັນ "ຊ່ອງໂສເພນີຂອງເອເຊຍ" (ບາງກອກໂພດສ 14 ກໍລະກົດ 1988). ຍ້ອນການລືຊາໃນການເອົາຜູ້ຍິງເປັນການ ຄ້າປະເວນີ ແລະໃນເວລາຢູ່ໄດ້ການຄວບຄຸມຂອງສະຫຍາມເມື່ອຮູ້ວ່າເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທາງການ ສະຫຍາມຈະມາໄກ້ຫນູ່ບ້ານ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈະພາກັນໄປລີ້ຊ້ອນຢູ່ຖານປ່າ (ແອໂມນີເອ Aymonier 1885 ຫນ້າ 177-78). ພົນສະຫຍາມທີ່ເຫລືອໄວ້ແມ່ນມີກຸບຸກເປີກຟຮັງ ປາວີ Pavie (1894) ໄດ້ເລົ່າຄືນວ່າໃນຕອນຕົ້ນຂອງສະຕະວັດທີ 20 ວ່າ "ຍິງໝູ່ມເປັນບ້າສ່ວນຍິງທີ່ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວຍັງຊີ້ສັດຕໍ່ຜົວ".

ທີ່ປະເທດ ໄທ, ໂສເພນີເປັນສະຖາບັນອັນເກົ່າແກ່ແລະໄດ້ງອກ ງາມຂຶ້ນ ໃນເວລານະຄອນຫລວງຈະກາຍເປັນນະຄອນຫລວງແບບ ສາກົນ (ວານ ແອດສະເຕຣິກ Van Esterik 1989). ການວິໄຈ ດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ່ເຫມາະກັບກໍລະນີຂອງປະເທດລາວ. ເດີເຣ

ນາກ De Reinach (1911 ຫນ້າ 174) ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍວ່າ "ເງື່ອນໄຂອິດຄອງປະເພນີລາວໄດ້ອ່ານວຍໃນດ້ານການແຕ່ງດອງແລະຢ່າຮ້າງຈິ່ງບໍ່ມີໂສເພນີ. ແຕ່ບ່ອນຕົວເມືອງແລະໂດຍສະເພາະໄກ້ບ່ອນພວກເຮົາຢູ່ ຈະມີຜູ້ຈັດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຟັບກັບຜູ້ຍິງ "ສາທາລະນະ" ທີ່ຮູ້ຈັກດ້ານການເຮັດໂສເພນີເຖື່ອນແຕ່ກໍ່ມີຄວາມຈຳກັດທີ່ສຸດເພາະຝຣັ່ງມີຄວາມຕ້ອງການຜູ້ຍິງຈິ່ງໄດ້ ເອົາໂສເພນີຕ່າງປະເທດເອົາມາລາວ". ເຫມືອນດັ່ງນັກເລົ່າຜົນວິທະຍາຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າພວກຕະເວັນຕົກນອກຈາກວ່າຈະເຊື່ອມເອົາຢ່າງຜິດເສດໃນສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມຂອງລາວແລ້ວ ແມ່ນຈະຊອກຫາຄວາມສຸກກັບຜູ້ຍິງກຸ່ມທຳອິດທີ່ເອົາມາຈາກຫວຽດນາມໂດຍ ເຈົ້າຫນ້າ ທີ່ຝຣັ່ງ ທີ່ເປັນໂສເພນີທີ່ຕ້ອງການເປັນໂສເພນີຫລືສະພາບການບັງຄັບ. ໃນໄລຍະ ຕົ້ນ ທີ່ວຽງຈັນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມີໂສເພນີເຖື່ອນ ທີ່ແມ່ນຍິງໝູ່ມເອົາມາ ຈາກປະເທດໄທເພື່ອທ້າຍສັບປະດາ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງໂສເພນີຫວຽດນາມໄດ້ເອົາມາລາວຢ່າງບໍ່ຍຸດຍັງແລະຍັງສືບຕໍ່ເອົາມາລາວຫລັງຈາກ 1954. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບສົງຄາມອິນດູຈີນໂສເພນີລາວເຖື່ອນກໍ່ຄ່ອຍອະຫຍາຍຂຶ້ນ (ໂດເຣ Dore 1974 ຫນ້າ 61-62).

ການ ຄ້າປະເວນີ ໄດ້ສືບຕໍ່ໃນເມື່ອຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ຫນີອອກຈາກລາວແລ້ວການເອົາມາມີຫນ້າໃນປີ 1954 ຂອງອາເມຣິກາໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ໂສເພນີໄດ້ອະຫຍາຍຕົວ (Dore 1974 ຫນ້າ 61). "ອາຊີບທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງໂລກ" ໄດ້ລາມໄປເຖິງພວກໝູ່ມຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍ່ຄື ໃນ ຊົນນະບົດ"; "ຍາແມ່ຊື່ເອົາຍິງສາວຊົນນະບົດຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ເອົາດ້ວຍ ເງິນ 250 ຫາ 400 ໂດລາເພື່ອເປັນໂສເພນີແລະຜູ້ຈັດທີ່ແລ່ນຫນີ ຈະຖືກຕຳຫລວດຈັບຄືນ" (ບຣາມຟະມານ Brannfman 1970 ຫນ້າ 228). ບຣາມຟະມານ Brannfman ນັກອາ ສາສະນິກສາກົນຂອງອາເມຣິກາທີ່ປະຕິບັດວຽກງານໃນລາວໃນເວລານັ້ນຍັງໄດ້ເວົ້າອີກວ່າຊ່ອງໂສເພນີເກີດຂຶ້ນຄືຄອກເຫດເປັນຈຳນວນ

ຫລາຍ ໃນໄລຍະຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 (Brafman 1970; ອໍ
ຈັດເຢິງຕີນ ໂວນແລະດອນນັນ Wolf ແລະ Donnan 1970;
Braunstein 1978). ບ່ອນທີ່ດັ່ງກ່າວຫຼາຍໃນວຽງຈັນໃນເວ

ລານີ້ແມ່ນຜູ້ອາໄສໃນຄຣັບວຽງຈັນ, ລັກກີບາຣ, ວຽງຈັນ
ສະຕຣີບຕີ (ດິກປ່າລາມ) ຊຶ່ງມີກ່າວຕ່າງປະເທດຮູ້ຈັກຊື່ຫຼາກ
ກຳລັງມີຄວາມສຸກ (St of Thousand Joys) ຫລື ໂມຄຣັບ
ແບບວິທະຍະດິກ El Morocco, Nontane, White Rose,
Madame Lulu's. ໃນບັນດາອາເມຣິກາລຸ້ນອາຊີທີ່ມາລາວ
ແມ່ນຮານເປີກ Halpern (1964a ຫນ້າ 11) ໄດ້ຂຽນໃນຊຸມປີ
1960 ວ່າສິ່ງທີ່ ເຮັດໃຫ້ມີການປະກົດເຕັມທີ່ວຽງຈັນແມ່ນໂສ
ເພນີເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າ ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ຈະແມ່ນຄົນຫວຽດນາມຫລືຄົນໄທຈາກ
ພາກຕະເວັນອອກສຽງເໜືອແຕ່ໃນໄລຍະບໍ່ດົນໂສເພນີຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງ
ແມ່ນມາຈາກຊົນນະບົດຂອງລາວເອງ. ຈຳນວນ ໜຶ່ງ ພົວພັນກັບ
ທະຫານແລະຄົນຫຸ່ນຂອງທາງການ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງເຫລົ່ານີ້ ເຮັດວຽກ
ຢູ່ຊ້ອງເຊິ່ງຄົນລາວເປັນເຈົ້າຂອງ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ໂສເພນີ ມາ ຈາກຮົງ
ກົງແລະຫວຽດນາມແມ່ນມາຫາກິນຢູ່ໃນຄຣັບຊຶ່ງເປັນຂອງຕ່າງ ປະ
ເທດແລະອຸປະຖຳໂດຍພວກກຳອຳນາດໃນລາວໃນລະບອບເກົ່າ.

ສະພາບການຂອງສັງຄົມດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເພີ່ມທະວີເນື້ອການ ຊ່ວຍ
ເຫລືອຂອງອາເມຣິກາໄດ້ຫລັງໂຫລເອົາມາລາວເຊິ່ງເຮັດໃຫ້ ສັງ
ຄົມຈຳນວນເລື່ອງກໍ່ຄືຊົນນະບົດບໍ່ມີການຜະລິດ (Braunstein
1978). ອະດີດຜູ້ນຳຂະບວນລາວອິດສະຫລະທີ່ຕໍ່ຕ້ານກັບ ຝຣັ່ງ,
ເຈົ້າເຝິດຊະລາດ, ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ: "ທຸກວັນມີຄົນລາວແລ່ນມາ ເຮັດ
ຫລາຍກ່ວາກຽດສັກສີ" (Halpern 1964a ຫນ້າ 41). ຜູ້
ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກບັງຄັບໃຫ້ຍອມໃຈເປັນເປືອໂສເພນີຊຶ່ງມີບົດຂຽນໃນ ເວ
ລານີ້ໄດ້ລະບາຍໃຫ້ເຫັນສັງຄົມຈຳນວນສະໄຫມກ່ອນໂດຍສະເພາະຈຳນວນ

ເລື່ອງບໍ່ບານກໍ່ບໍ່ຫມ. ນອກນັ້ນກໍ່ມີບົດຂຽນຂອງຮັດນາແສງ
ສຸຣິບຈຳນວນປີ 1975 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ:

ຜູ້ທີ່ມີເງິນກໍ່ຈຳນວນນ້ອຍສ້າງຄວາມພໍໃຈໃຫ້ຄົນເອງການ
ຮ້າຍອະນາຄົດຂອງຄະຣຸນີຮຸ່ນສາວແລະສາວຢ່າງນັ້ນນີ້ຢ່າງນັ້ນ
ບໍ່ຖ້ວນ. ນາງເຫລົ່ານີ້ບໍ່ໄດ້ເປັນຄົນຊົ່ວຊຳນານແຕ່ກໍ່ເກີດແຕ່
ທ່ານສຸພາບບຸລຸດຕ່າງຫາກທີ່ສ້າງໃຫ້ນາງໄດ້ກາຍຈາກສະພາບ
ແມ່ຍິງລາວທີ່ມີກຽດມາຕິກຢູ່ໃນຊຸມຫມໍ້ນາຮັກເຊັ່ນນີ້ ບາງຄົນ
ກໍ່ຍອມ ຄວາມໂງ່າຂະເຫລືອ ຮູ້ເທົ່າບໍ່ເຖິງການຈຳເຊິ່ງຂອງ
ຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນກໍ່ຍອມມີບາງສິ່ງ ບາງຢ່າງຍິບຍັງຄັບຈັກນາງ
ຊອກຫາງອອກດ້ວຍການຂາຍຕົວ. ບາງຄົນກໍ່ຖືກສະພາບຫມົບ
ເຕັງໄກ້ໄດ້ຮັບຈຸຊັບຜູ້ມີອຳນາດທີ່ເປັນແຮງຈູງໃຫ້ນາງຕ້ອງມີ
ອັນເປັນໄປຢ່າງຫລີກລ້ຽງບໍ່ໄດ້ (ຮັດນາ 1975 ຫນ້າ 121).

ຫລັງຈາກປ່ຽນແປງໃນປີ 1975, ລະບອບໂຫມ່ໄດ້ພະຍາຍາມ
ເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມປອດຈຸສູນ. ແຕ່ໂສເພນີແລະຢາເສບຕິດໄດ້ຄ່ອຍກັບ
ຄືນ ໃນ ຊຸມປີ 1990 ພ້ອມກັບບັນຫາຝືນຊຶ່ງລັດຖະບານ ສ.ປ.ປ.
ລາວຕ້ອງໄດ້ມີທ້ອງການສະເພາະ. ວັນນະຄະດີໃນປີ 1990 ເຊັ່ນ
ໃນສິ່ງໜ້າທີ່ມີກະຣຸນບຸນທະນອງຊົນໂຊດົນໄດ້ວິຈານຢ່າງແຂງ
ແຮງຍິງຫມຸ່ນລາວໄປເຮັດວຽກເປັນ "ນັກເສີບ" ຈຳນວນ"ກາເຟ"
ແບບຂອງໂຫລວຽງຈັນ "ຮ້ານກາເຟແຕ່ຊື່, ແຕ່ຫາກປົກປິດໂສເພນີ"
(ກຸລຸດເຕີເປືອກ Clutterbuck 1993 ຫນ້າ 33).

ໃນຊຸມປີ 1970 ຍິງຫມຸ່ນ ເລີ່ມ ເປັນໂສເພນີແຕ່ອາຍຸ 14 ປີ
(Dore 1974 ຫນ້າ 62). ແຕ່ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ໃນປີ 1970 ໄດ້
ເປີດເຜີຍໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າບາງຍິງຫມຸ່ນທີ່ໄດ້ວຽກຢູ່ຊ້ອງທີ່ ວຽງຈັນ ໃນປີ
1964 ມີອາຍຸພຽງ 13 ປີ (Wolf ແລະ Donnan 1970).

ສ່ວນໜຶ່ງສະເພາະທີ່ມາຈາກຊົນນະບົດມັກຈະປົກປິດຊື່ແທ້ໂດຍຊື່ ຊື່ ຫລິ້ນ. ຄອບຄົວພໍ່ແມ່ເຊື່ອວ່າລູກສາວໄປຢູ່ນາເມືອງໆຫຍ່ເພື່ອ ຮຳ ຮຽນວິຊາອາຊີບເປັນຕົ້ນຫຍັງ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນ ວ່າ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຜ່ານມາຍິງໂສເພນີຈະເປັນຫນ້າມີບຸກຄົນ, ສຸພາບແລະຖ່ອມ ຕີນ, ແຕ່ສິ່ງໜຶ່ງທີ່ໜ້າສົນທິສະຫລະແມ່ນເຂົາມີຈຳນວນອິດສະຫລະ ທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍມີເພາະເຂົາເປັນຜູ້ມີອິດສະຫລະ ແລະຊື່ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງໄດ້ຕາມ ຈາວເພື່ອຈຳນວນລາຕິຫລີທ້ອງທ່ຽວຫລືປະຢັດໄວ້ສິ່ງໆທີ່ຄອບ ຄົວ (Dore 1974 ຫນ້າ 61-62).

ເພື່ອຕ້ານກັບການ ອຸດສິດຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນລະບອບ ຣາຊະອານາຈັກ ໄດ້ມີການຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນສະມາຄົມໂດຍມີການປະທ້ວງ ໄທລິບລ້າງໂສ ເພນີ (Halpern 1964a ຫນ້າ 62).

ໃນ ປີ 1975 ລະບອບໜຶ່ງໄດ້ພະຍາຍາມແກ້ໄຂບັນຫາດັ່ງ ກ່າວໂດຍ ມີ ຄຳຂວັນວ່າ "ປາບພະຍາດປົວເອົາຄົນ" ດ້ວຍວິທີ ປາບການໂສເພນີແລະການຕິດຝິ່ນກິນກັນຊາທີ່ "ສູນດັດສ້າງ" ຮູ້ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ດອນທ້າວ" "ດອນນາງ" ຊຶ່ງໄກຈາກວຽງ ຈັນໄປຫ່າງເຫນືອປະມານ 100 ກິໂລແມັດ. ໃນ ເດືອນເມສາ 1976, ມີ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຈຳ ນວນ 1.200 ຄົນ (Stuart-Fox 1986 ຫນ້າ 37) ທີ່ຖືວ່າເປັນຜູ້ "ຕິດແປດ ວັດທະນະທຳ ອັນ ເປື້ອຍເປື້ອຍ". ກຳນົດຈາກການຢູ່ສູນດັດສ້າງຫລືຢູ່ດອນແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບ ຄວາມຕື່ນເຕັ້ນທາງດ້ານການເມືອງ (ວິນລຽມ Williams 1991 ຫນ້າ 51). ສ່ວນຫລາຍແມ່ນໄດ້ກັບບ້ານຫາຄອບຄົວທັງມີຄວາມຮູ້ ບາງຢ່າງຕິດໂຕເພື່ອຈັດພວກເຂົາໄດ້ມີອັນປະກອບເປັນອາຊີບເຊັ່ນ ການຫຍິບຈັກ, ສານຫມວກຫລືສານກະຕ່າ. ເນື່ອງຈາກຊອກວຽກ ງານທີ່ເໝາະສົມບໍ່ໄດ້ແລະຍ້ອນສະພາບຫລາຍດ້ານທີ່ເປັນ ຫນ້າ ເສຍດາຍທີ່ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນຈຳນວນນ້ອຍຈຳກັດກັບຄືນເຮັດ "ອາຊີບ

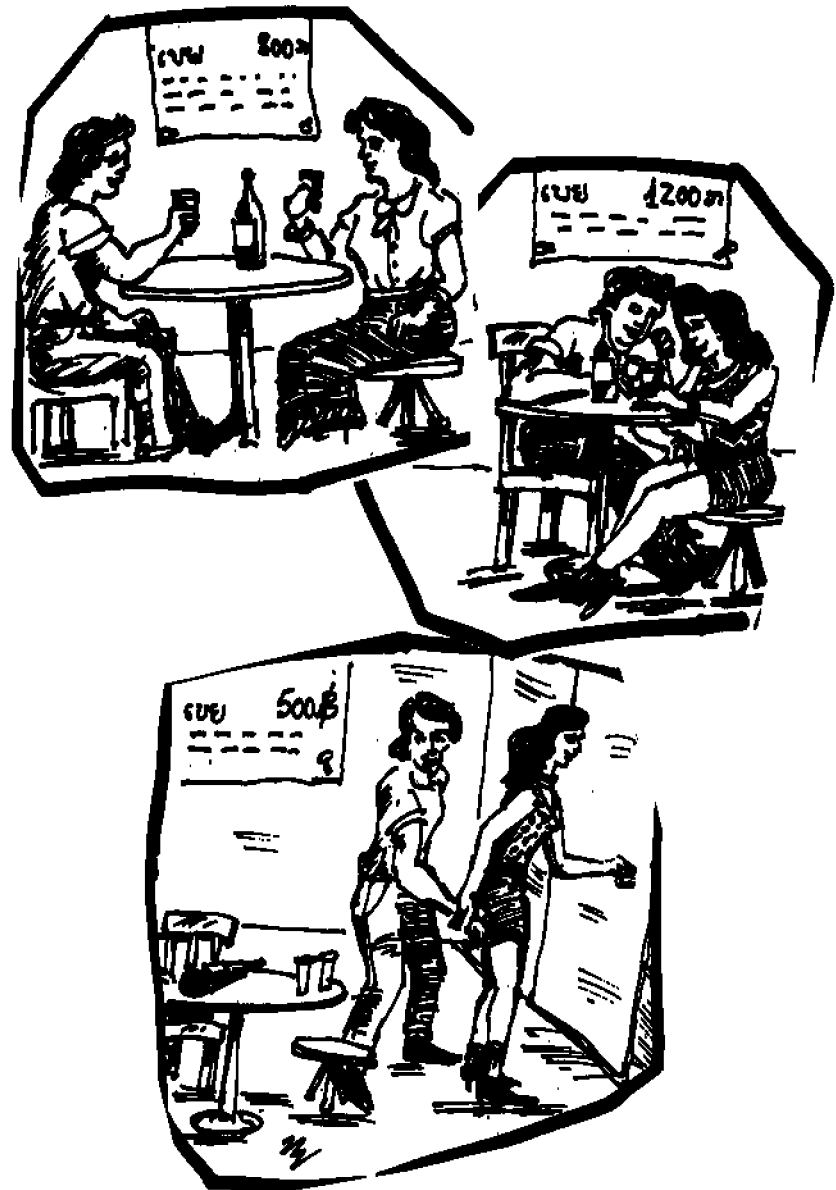
ເກົ່າ". ວິນ ລຽມ Williams (1991 ຫນ້າ 52) ໄດ້ຂຽນ ວ່າ "ແມ່ນອນບໍ່ມີຊ່ອງໂສເພນີຢູ່ລາວ ແຕ່ມີໂສເພນີຊຶ່ງໄດ້ດຳເນີນ ແບບລັບ ໃນລາຄາປະມານ 250 ບາດ (10 ດອນລາ) ສຳ ຫລັບ ຜູ້ຊາຍລາວແລະໃນລາຄາ 2.500 ບາດ (25 ດອນລາ) ຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຊາຍຕ່າງປະເທດ. ແຕ່ຂ່າວນວນຊົນທີ່ ວຽງຈັນໃນຮູບກາຕູນໄດ້ສະແດງອອກຈາກເຫດການວ່າລາຄາທີ່ ວິນລຽມ ບັນຍາຍໃນປີ 1991 ໄດ້ຂຶ້ນເປັນ 500 ບາດສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຊາຍລາວ. ນັກ ຂ່າວອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ: "ການຈຸລັງຂອງນັກຫຸລະກິດຈາກ ປະເທດໄທ ແມ່ນ ກໍ່ ຈັດເກີດບັນຫາທ່ານລາວ". ອາຊີບ ທີ່ ສອງທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ໄດ້ກັບຄືນມານຳຫຸລະກິດ" (ປຣິງເກລິນ Pringle 1991 ຫນ້າ 8). ເມື່ອບໍ່ດົນມານັ້ນບໍ່ມີການເອົາຜູ້ຄົນທີ່ວ່າ "ຕິດ ໂພສັງຄົມ" ໄປດັດສ້າງ. ວິນລຽມ Williams (1991 ຫນ້າ 52) ໄດ້ເວົ້າກ່ຽວກັບການທີ່ເອົາຄົນທີ່ມີບັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວວ່າ: "ການ ເອົາໄປດັດສ້າງບໍ່ບອກຈັດຮູ້ກ່ອນຈັກເທື່ອ". ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍ່ຕົ ກິດ ຫມາຍ ອາຍາ ປີ 1989 ໃນມາຕາ 122-123 ໄດ້ຈຳກັດ 3 ເດືອນຫາ 1 ປີ ບຸກ ຄົນໂດຍບຸກຄົນໜຶ່ງທີ່ເປັນໂສເພນີ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີການໄດ້ກັບຫາງດ້ານແນວຄິດ, ບັນຫາໂສເພນີ ທີ່ປະເທດໄທໄດ້ຖືກອະທິບາຍໂດຍ ສິຣິພອນ Siriporn Skro- banek (1986 ຫນ້າ 22) ແລະມີນັກຖືກທີ່ສຸດກັບປະເທດລາວ "ໂສເພນີບໍ່ແມ່ນອາຊີບທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ແມ່ນແບບການຜະລິດ ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຄວ້ຍສັງຄົມ, ທີ່ມີບັນຫາເພດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຖືກ ຄວບຄຸມ ເພື່ອ ຄວາມສຸກຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ".

ໃນອຸນປີ 70 ພື້ນຖານສິນທຳໃນການສ້າງຄອບຄົວແມ່ນຖືກທຳ ລາຍຈົນໄດ້ມີເຝື່ອງໜຶ່ງໄດ້ຄວນຄາງອອກມາ "ພໍ່ທ່ຽວຮາຕຣີແມ່ນັກ ໄພ". ການ ຜິດ ຖຽງ ໃນຄອບຄົວໄດ້ລະບາດແລະສິ່ງທີ່ເກີດຂຶ້ນ

ເລື້ອຍໆແລະບໍ່ເຄີຍເປັນມາຈົນສິ່ງຄືນກ່ອນໝູ່ທີ່ຈູກຮັກຂອງຕົນ
ເຫມືອນດັ່ງບຣານຟະມານ Braunstein (1972 ຫນ້າ 79) ໄດ້
ເວົ້າວ່າ ຜູ້ທີ່ຕິດການພະນັນແລະຫວຍເວລາກັບເນື້ອເຮືອນກໍ່ຕິດເມຍ
ແລະຈູກ. ແຕ່ກ່ອນທີ່ເຮືອນຈະຕິດຈູກເມຍ, ຈູກເມຍກໍ່ຕົງບໍ່ຕອບໄດ້
ເພາະຈະຖືກຖືວ່າເປັນຈູກທີ່ລະເມີດລືເມຍແຂ້ງຂໍ້. ດັ່ງນັ້ນເຮົາ ຈິ່ງ
ມັກຖືກສະເໜີກ່າວຂອງຕົນເອງຫລາຍກ່ວາຊອກວິທີປ້ອງກັນໂຕເອງ.
ແຕ່ເດັກນ້ອຍຫລືຜູ້ຍິງຈະແມ່ນລາວຫລືອິນດູຈີນກໍ່ຕິດຕັ້ງ ຖິ່ນຖານ ບູ
ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງ, ຖ້າຖືກພໍ່ເຮືອນຕິດຕະຫລົງຊື່ກຳລັງ
ຮຸ່ນແຮງປາຍປານແລ້ວເຮົາຈະ ອີດກັນຈົນກ່ວາຈະອີດກັນບໍ່ໄດ້ແລ້ວ
ເຮົາຈະມຸ້ນເລກຍົກໂທລະສັບແຈ້ງເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທີ່ຈະເຮັດຕາມຫນ້າທີ່
ແລະຕາມກົດໝາຍບ້ານເມືອງ (ຂໍ້ຈຳກັດປີ້ນມະນຸດ 1993a).

ຊຸມນາງ ແລະ ນາຍທິນ ນັບມື້ນັບ ລ້ຳລວຍກັບການ ອຸດຮິດນຳ
ຊ້ອງໂສເພນີແລະ ບ່ອນການພະນັນ ທັງຍົກຍອກຊັບສິນຂອງຫລວງ
ຂອງປະຊາຊົນແລະການຄາດຕະກຳໄດ້ລາມໄປ, ດັ່ງທີ່ເລີຍາກແລະ
ສູດາກ Lebar ແລະ Suddard (1967 ຫນ້າ 187) ໄດ້ຍັງ
ຍືນວ່າ "ຊາຍໜຸ່ມທີ່ເຮັດງານຫາງທີ່ບໍ່ຖືກໄດ້ຄືນຜົນທີ່ວຽກ ແລະ
ການຄາດຕະກຳເຖິງຈະມີຈຳນວນຕ່ຳແຕ່ໄດ້ເລີ້ມຂຶ້ນ". ສິ່ງເຫລົ່າ
ນີ້ແມ່ນເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ມີໃນມະນຸດພາບຂອງວັດທະນະທຳລາວແຕ່ ກ່ອນ
(ແວດສະແຕກມາເຮີ Westermayer 1973a ຫນ້າ 123-
131; 1973b ຫນ້າ 740-745. ຜົນຮ້າຍ, ໂດຍ ທີ່ວ່າໄປ,
ແມ່ນເສດຖະກິດຊົນນະບົດຖືກກະທົບ ຢ່າງ ຮ້າຍແຮງ (ບາກເບີ
Barber 1973). ສິລະປະບູຮານແລະທັດຖະກຳຖືກທຳລາຍສະ
ລາຍຕົວໄປແຕ່ລະມື້ລະວັນໂດຍການນຳເອົາວັດຖຸ ສິ່ງຂອງຈາກໂທ
ແລະຍຸຮົບເອົາມາລາວ. ສິນຄ້າທັດຖະກຳນອກ ປະເທດໄດ້ ຫລົ່ງ
ໂຫລເອົາມາຈົນຕະລາດນ້ອຍໆຂອງລາວແລະຊ່າງ ທັດຖະກຳລາວ
ຕ້ອງໄດ້ຍຸດສະຖັກກິດຈະການ (Braunstein 1978). ພາບ



ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ, 18/4/1993, ຫນ້າ 12.

ຜົນຂອງສັງຄົມທີ່ແຕກອ່ອນທີ່ມີແຕ່ຄວາມປອດໄພແມ່ນໄດ້ສູນຫາຍ ໄປ ແລະຍັງຄົງເຫດຊົນໄວ້ແຕ່ຄວາມບໍ່ປອດໄພ, ການນອນບໍ່ຫລັບ, ປະຕູແລະປ່ອງຢ້ຽມຕ້ອງຍັກຢ່າງແໜ້ນຫນາແລະປິດລ້ອມດ້ວຍຮິ້ວ ໄປຝາຫລືຈຸ່ມປ້າຍ "ລະວັງຫມາຮ້າຍ", ຢ່າງນ້ອຍແມ່ນສຳຫລັບ ຜູ້ຈັດທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂເຮັດໄດ້.

ການສັງເກດຢ່າງປະຊາຊົນແມ່ນລາມໄປຫົວສັງຄົມລາວທີ່ເງິນກາຍ ເປັນຄຳ ຂວັນປະຈຳຈາ (Halpern 1964a). ສະພາບດັ່ງ ກ່າວບໍ່ແມ່ນ ສິ່ງໜ້າເພາະໄດ້ຖືກປັນທຶກກ່ອນແລ້ວໃນຊຸມປີ 40 ໂດຍທ່ານໂຣເຊ Rochet (1946 ຫນ້າ 107) ວ່າ "ແຕ່ ເທິງຂອງປັນຈຸສັງຄົມ, ທຸກຢ່າງຖ້າພໍກອບໂກຍເອົາໄປໄດ້ ແມ່ນ ຈະກອບໂກຍ". ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ມີຄຳພີ່ງເພີ່ມກ່າວໄວ້ວ່າ "ຄົນ ຄົດແລ້ວ ລວຍ ຄົນຊວຍແລ້ວຖືກຕິດຄຸກ". ຄວາມລ້ຳລວຍຮ້າຍມີເປັນ ປັດຈຸບັນຕໍ່ການຍຶດຫມັ້ນຖານະທາງການເມືອງແລະສັງຄົມ. ກໍາ ນົດສິ່ງຂອງຜູ້ກຳການເມືອງແລະເສດຖີໄດ້ຄອບງຳເວທີທີ່ລາວ. ຄຸນ ຄ່າຂອງສິນທຳໄດ້ຖືກພິພາດລາຍ, ການຂະຫຍາຍການສ້າງກຸງແລະສັ ລັດຢ່າງປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ເປັນຈຸດຈຳເປັນທີ່ເຊື່ອມເສຍພາບພົດ ສັງຄົມ ຈາກ ຕົວ ເມືອງ (Braunstein 1978) ແລະທຸກສິ່ງທຸກຢ່າງແມ່ນ ເປັນ ເຫດຜົນເປື້ອເຮືອແລະຄຳມາດ. ຕົວຢ່າງການເອົາລຳລົງເປັນບ່ອນ ຫາສຽງຫາຄຳມາດແລະການຝ່ອມແບບຕະເວັນຕົກໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ ຊາວ ຫນຸ່ມລາວເສຍຄືນ (Nginn 1956a). ການຝ່ອມປະຈຳ ຊາດ ລາວເຊັ່ນລຳລົງແມ່ນການຝ່ອມທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍແລະຜູ້ຍິງຝ່ອມຢູ່ຮ່າງໆ ກັນ ໂດຍບໍ່ຈັບມືຖືແຂນແຕ່ຊາວຫນຸ່ມກັບຝ່ອມໄປແບບລັກສະນະ ຮາວາຍ (ຫຍຸບ 1956). ແຕ່ທີ່ ຮາວາຍ ຫລື ການຝ່ອມຮູລາ Hula ແມ່ນການຝ່ອມທີ່ຖືວ່າງາມແລະຖືກນິຍົມທີ່ສຸດຈາກລາວພາຍໃຕ້ ລະ ບອບໜ້າ. ການຝ່ອມຮູລາຂອງຊາວຮາວາຍແມ່ນວັດທະນະທຳ ທີ່ ອາເມຣິກາໄດ້ນຳສະແດງເປັນຄັ້ງທຳອິດຕັ້ງແຕ່ 1975 ທີ່ວຽງຈັນ ຈາກປີ 1991 (Rakow 1992).

ຈາກຊຸມປີ 50 ແລະ 60 ໄດ້ມີແບບຈຳໜ່ວຍຂອງການຝ່ອມລຳລົງຊຶ່ງຮູ້ ກັນ ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ລຳລົງໂທ" ເຊັ່ນ "ກົງກ້າ" ທີ່ເປັນຈັງວະ ໂວກວ່າຈັງວະຂອງລຳລົງລາວ. "ລຳລົງໂທ" ໄດ້ຂ້າມຂອງມາ ລາວ (ມິເກີ Meeker 1959). ປັນດາ ນັກຝ່ອມອາຊີບໄດ້ຈັດ ຕັ້ງຝ່ອມຢູ່ນາງາມບຸນວັດແລະບ່ອນອື່ນໆ. ຜູ້ຊາຍຊື່ນີ້ແລ້ວເລືອກນັກ ຝ່ອມທີ່ຄົນຕ້ອງການຢາກຝ່ອມ. ນັກຝ່ອມລຳລົງອາຊີບໂທແມ່ນນຸ່ງ ກະໂປ່ງສີນ້ຳ. ກົງກັນຂ້າມ "ລຳລົງໂທ", ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປລຳລົງ ລາວຈະຈັດຂຶ້ນໃນງານບຸນບ້ານ ຫລືງານແຕ່ງດອງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ຈັດ ຕ້ອງການຈະຝ່ອມບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຊື່ນີ້, ມັນແມ່ນການສົມທົບການມ່ວນ ຊື່ນລະຫວ່າງຊາວບ້ານຫລາຍ ກວ່າແມ່ນສິ່ງອື່ນ. ແຕ່ວ່າເງິນແລະ ອິດທິພົນຂອງວັດທະນະທຳໂທໄດ້ປ່ຽນລຳລົງເປັນການຫາລາຍໄດ້. ແຕ່ກ່ອນຍິງສາວລາວຕ້ອງໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ທີ່ ສະມັກ ໄປ ເປັນນາງສາວຝ່ອມລຳລົງ. ເພື່ອຈະມີສິດຝ່ອມກັບຍິງສາວ, ຊາຍ ຫນຸ່ມຕ້ອງນຸ່ງຖືສຸພາບແລ້ວຊື້ພວງມະໂລມອບຄຶງເອົາຍິງສາວ. ເວ ລາກຳລັງຝ່ອມຊາຍຫນຸ່ມບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງຫລີກສູບຢາ. ຍິງສາວຈະ ຖືກ ຄວບຄຸມດູແລໂດຍພໍ່ແມ່ຫລືເອື້ອຍ-ອ້າຍທີ່ມີບຸ້ນຢູ່ຫ່ວງຫລັງຮ້ານລຳລົງ. ພໍ່ແມ່ມີຜົນໄດ້ສົມທົບຊ່ວຍຮ້ອຍພວງມະໂລແລະເງິນທີ່ຂາຍໄດ້ແມ່ນ ນອບໜີ້ວັດ. ເມື່ອສັງຄົມຂາດສິນທຳຈາກໄລຍະຊຸມປີດັ່ງກ່າວ, ຊຸມ ນາງແລະເສດຖີໄດ້ສວຍໃຫ້ລຳລົງເປັນບ່ອນເອົາຫນ້າເອົາຕາແລະ ໂດຍບໍ່ຮູ້ສຶກ ຕົວຜູ້ຍິງກໍຄ່ອຍໆກາຍເປັນ "ສິ່ງຂອງ" ຫລື "ສິນຄ້າ" (ວັນນະສິນ ຕຸລາ 1986 ຫນ້າ 9 ແລະ 12). ການປະ ບຸນລາຄາ ພວງມະໂລແມ່ນເປັນລາຄາສູງເທົ່າກັບລາຄາເອົາຫນຶ່ງ ຫາ 2 ກະເປົາຫລືເທົ່າກັບເງິນເດືອນ 2 ເດືອນຂອງພະນັກງານ ຊຶ່ງຜູ້ ປະມຸນຊະນະຈະໄດ້ສິດຝ່ອມກັບຍິງສາວທີ່ງາມທີ່ສຸດຈາກຄຳຄືນ ນັ້ນ.

ການ ຈຸ້ ລຳລົງເປັນບ່ອນສ້າງຊື່ສຽງອິດທິພົນກໍມີແຕ່ ປັນດາ

"ເຈົ້ານາຍ" ທີ່ມີເງິນເຜີຍຈ່າຍຄ່າກິນດື່ມຢູ່ນັ້ນຈຶ່ງມີສິດນຶ່ງໂຕະຈົນເຂດ ຮ້ານລຳວົງ. ເມື່ອ ຕົກ ຄ້ອນຄືນໄປແລ້ວ "ເຈົ້ານາຍ" ໄດ້ອອກ ຈາກຮ້ານໄປ, ຊາວບ້ານສາມັນທຳມະດາຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີໂອກາດມ່ວນຊື່ນ (ໂຕຢາກ Taillard 1977). ພາຍຫຼັງການເຂັ້ມງວດຈົນປີ 1975 ຫາ 1980 ພວງນະໂລບໍ່ຖືກນຳເອົາມາຈູ້, ແຕ່ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງຖືກຍິງຕົວຈັກປາກົດກາຍຢູ່ກາງເວທີ ລຳວົງເພື່ອລໍຖ້າຝ່ອນ ກັບ "ຜູ້ໂຫຍ່" ຊຶ່ງຄະນະຈັດຕັ້ງບຸນຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ກຽດ (ວັນນະ ສິນ ກໍລະກົດ ແລະ ຕຸລາ 1986; ນະຍຸຕິ 1988; ອຸທິມ 1988; ຮຸ່ງແດນວິໄລ 1988). ດ້ວຍສອງມືບໍ່ຂຶ້ນກັບລົງຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ຄຳນີ້ ເຊິນ "ຜູ້ໂຫຍ່" ຝ່ອນ. ການປະຕິບັດດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ວຽກຈົນບາງຄົນບໍ່ສາມາດຈະອິດກັນຄວາມບໍ່ພໍໃຈຂອງຕົນ ອອກມາຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຄວາມເວົ້າເຍາະເຍີ້ຍວ່າ "ແມ່ນຮູບການໜຶ່ງຂອງ ມາລະຍາດທີ່ສັງຄົມໄດ້ໄກ້ໄຫຼດເພດຍິງປະຕິບັດຕໍ່ເພດຊາຍ!". ລາຄາລຳວົງຮອບໜຶ່ງປະມານ 500 ຫາ 3 000 ກີບ. ໃນ ລາຄາດັ່ງກ່າວຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍສາມາດເຫນົ້າໄດ້. ດັ່ງເຊັ່ນນາງ ບຸນ ອອກ ພິມສາຊວ່ງເຮືອ 1993, ທີ່ຮ້ານດິນຕິເສບໂດຍ ວຽງ ນະຄອນ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ສາມາດເຫນົ້າຮອບລຳວົງແລະໄດ້ເອົາຜູ້ຍິງ ດ້ວຍກັນໂດຍທີ່ເຮົາຈະຮ້ອງເອີ້ນອີກຜູ້ໜຶ່ງທີ່ຜູ້ເຫນົ້າຮອບລຳວົງຈະ ຝ່ອນ ນຳມັນຈັດອອກປາກົດກາຍຢູ່ກາງເວທີ. ນອກນັ້ນຕາມທີ່ອະໄພ ຍິງສາວ ທີ່ຖືກເອີ້ນຈັດປາກົດກາຍກາງເວທີເພື່ອຜູ້ເຫນົ້າຮອບລຳວົງ ຮອບໂດຍຮອບໜຶ່ງຈະຝ່ອນນຳ, ບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຕ້ອງມີພວງນະໂລແລະ ບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຕ້ອງຈຳສິນເພາະຈົນຮອບລຳວົງຮອບໜຶ່ງທີ່ຖືກເຫນົ້າ ຈົນກາງຄືນບຸນຊ່ວງເຮືອນນັ້ນຍິງສາວທີ່ຖືກເອີ້ນຈັດປາກົດກາຍຊຶ່ງບາງ ຮອບຈະ ເຫັນຍິງສາວນຸ່ງສິ້ງຂາຍາວໜົດທັງ 6 ຄົນກໍມີ. ສະພາບ ດັ່ງກ່າວເຮັດໃຫ້ເຂົາເຈົ້າຈຳການນຸ່ງຖືບໍ່ເປັນປັນຫາໃຫຍ່ອີກແລ້ວ.

ຮູບການໜຶ່ງ ຂອງວັດທະນະທຳທີ່ແຜ່ຈາກຫາງນອກເຂົ້າມາ ລາວຫລືມີແມ່ນການຝຶ້ນຟູວັດທະນະທຳຂອງລະບອບເກົ່າຄືການປະ ກວດນາງງາມ. ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຫລາຍຄົນໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບເຄາະຂອງຜູ້ຄ້າ ເສດຖີແລະຜູ້ກຳອຳນາດຈົນລະບອບເກົ່າ. ເພື່ອຕ້ານກັບຮູບການ ດັ່ງກ່າວຈົນຕອນຕົ້ນຂອງລະບອບໂຕມື້ໄດ້ມີການປະກວດນາງງາມ. ຈົນຮອດປີ 1988-89 ການປະກວດນາງງາມໄດ້ມີຂຶ້ນຈົນລັກສະ ນະເປັນການປະກວດ "ນາງງາມປະຈຳປີ" ຫລືນາງງາມສິງຂາມ. ສະພາບດີກັນກໍມີທີ່ຫວຽດນາມຊຶ່ງມີຄືນຄວ້າອາເມຣິກາຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ ຍັງຍືນວ່າທີ່ພາກໃຕ້ຫວຽດນາມການປະ ກວດ "ນາງງາມ" ແມ່ນ ໄດ້ຈັດຂຶ້ນໂດຍທີ່ຜູ້ເຈດູນຈະເປັນ ນາງງາມ ຈະໄດ້ພຽງປີເຮືອປີນ ຈາກບໍລິສັດເຄື່ອງສຳອາງໄທ ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການຂາຍເຄື່ອງສຳອາງໄທ ຫວຽດນາມ (ໂວເຕີ White 1989).

ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈົນບໍ່ດົນມານັ້ນຈະມີຄວາມພະຍາຍາມທີ່ຈະປົກປັກ ຮັກສາວັດທະນະທຳອັນດີງາມແລະຮັບໄລ່ວັດທະນະທຳທີ່ຖືວ່າເປັນ ເປັນ, ແຕ່ຝ່ອນກັນນັ້ນກໍໄດ້ມີຄວາມພະຍາຍາມຂະຫຍາຍວັດທະ ນະທຳມວນຊົນແລະສ້າງຊາວຫນຸ່ມໃຫ້ເປັນຄືນໂຕມື້, ຫລັງຈາກປະ ເຫດໄຂປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວຈຸດນຶ່ງຫວັງດັ່ງກ່າວພົບອຸປະ ສັກ. ອະດີດບັນນາທິການໜຶ່ງສີມິນ ແມ່ຍິງລາວ ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຢູ່ ປະ ເຫດລາວພວກເຮົາຈຶ່ງເກີດມີສະພາບ "ປົກອ້ອມຝາຍົກຫລາ ຂຶ້ນຂັ້ນ" " (ວິໄລວຽງ 1991 ຫນ້າ 37). ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ ໄດ້ຍັງຍືນໃນທຳນອງຄຽວກັນວ່າ: "ຊາວຫນຸ່ມລາວເອົາແບບຢາງ ທີ່ເຫັນຈົນໂທລະທັດໄທທີ່ມາຕາມຊາຍແດນແມ່ຂອງ. ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຈະຖື ວ່າເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ໄກ້ເກີດຖ້າໄດ້ເວົ້າພາສາໄທປົນໄປໃນການສົນທະນາ" (ອິວັນສ Evans 1989 ຫນ້າ 24). ນັກຂຽນລາວຜູ້ໜຶ່ງອີກ ໄດ້ຂຽນກ່ຽວກັບສະພາບຂອງສັງຄົມໃນປະຈຸບັນວ່າ:

ຫນ້າເສຍດາຍ ຈົນຍຸກສະໄໝເດັກນົກ-ວິທະຍາສາດກ້າວ

ຫນ້າ, ມີເອື້ອຍນ້ອງຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງທີ່ປັບຕົວບໍ່ສົມຫລືບາງ ເທື່ອ ກໍລືມສະຕິຊາດ ຈຶ່ງເຮັດຈັດຕົນເອງຫລືງໂຫລແລ່ນນຳ ວັດ ທະນະທຳ ແບບຕາເວັນຕົກເຊັ່ນວ່າຂະບວນຕັດຜົມສັ້ນໝູ່ ແບບຜູ້ຊາຍ, ນຸ່ງກະໂປ່ງ, ສະເກີດ, ນຸ່ງສິ້ງ. ຮ້າຍແຮງ ໄປກ່ວາມື້ນຊ້ຳຝັດນຸ່ງສິ້ງອາສັນ, ເຂົ້ອຊ້ຳຝັດຍາວໜ້າ; ເອົາ ສິນ ໂຫມທີ່ມີລາຄາແພງໄປຕັດເຮັດກະໂປ່ງ, ສະເກີດໄປ ເຕັ້ນລຳ, ເບິ່ງຫນຶ່ງໄປ, ຝັງແຕ່ຝັງຕ່າງປະເທດ...ຊຶ່ງ ສິ່ງຫມົດນັ້ນເປັນການຜິດສະໜະວັດທະນະທຳອັນດີງາມຂອງ ຊາດລາວ (ພ.ສຸກນາວົງ, 1993 ຫນ້າ 55).

ເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນສິ່ງດັ່ງກ່າວ, ຈຸນຍີ 1989, ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ລາວ ໄດ້ອະນຸຍາດ ໄຂ ໂນຄຣັບຮອດ 11.30 ໂມງກາງຄືນ (Williams 1991 ຫນ້າ 52). ຈຸນຕົວເມືອງ, "ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທ້ອງ ຖິ່ນແຕ່ກ່ອນໄດ້ຫາມື້ນຊ້ຳຝັດຮູບໄປຂອງດາຣາໂທຕາມຝາຂອງຮ້ານ ອາຫານ, ຮ້ານເຮັດຜົມ, ແຕ່ມື້ນມາສະພາບກໍປ່ຽນໄປຢ່າງຊັ້ນເຊີງ ແມ້ແຕ່ ຈຸນຊິນ ນະບົດຫລາຍເຮືອນ (ໂດຍສະເພາະເຮືອນທີ່ມີຊາວ ຫມຸ່ມ) ແມ່ນຈະ ມີຮູບດາຣາຂອງໂທທີ່ມີຊື່ດັ່ງຊຶ່ງຕັດອອກຈາກວາລະ ສານ ແລ້ວ ເອົາ ມາ ຕິດເຮືອນຫລືປະຕິທິນເອົາທ້ອຍຢູ່ຝາເຮືອນ" (ພິດສະເຕີ Pfister 1989 ຫນ້າ 32).

ຈຸນດ້ານຫນຶ່ງບັນຍາກາດສົງຄົມວັດທະນະທຳ ກຳລັງປ່ຽນແປງ ແຕ່ອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງຍັງມີການຄວບຄຸມການໂສເພນີເຕມືອນດັ່ງນີ້ກໍ່ອາດ ໄດ້ຂຽນຢູ່ປະເທດລາວ, ການທຳນາໂສເພນີແມ່ນປະຕິບັດຢ່າງເຂັ້ມ ງວດ (ຊຸນທອງທິງພຽງຄຳ 1989). ຜົນສະທ້ອນ ອັນຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນ ຍິງສາວລາວອາຍຸລະຫວ່າງ 10 ແລະ 15 ປີໄດ້ຖືກເອົາໄປເປັນ ຫາດ ຈຸນໂຮງງານຢູ່ບາງກອກໂດຍອົງການຈັດແຮງງານທີ່ ທຶນບຸຣີ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍເດັກນ້ອຍຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຖືກລັກເອົາໄປໂທໂດຍຜ່ານທາງ

ອຸປະ ຣາຊະທານີ, ເຂັ້ມນະລາດ ຫລືມຸກດາຫານ (ອອກ-
kok Post 1989). ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີສະພາບ ທີ່ຫນຶ່ງ ສີ ຜົມ
ປະຊາຊົນບັນອາທິດ ລົງວັນທີ 28 ເດືອນ ມີນາຄືນ 1993
ໄດ້ອ້າງເຖິງວາລະສານ ສະຫຍາມຮັດ ຂອງໂທ ໂດຍ ໄດ້ອອກ
ຂ່າວວ່າ "ພໍ່ແມ່ຈາກປະ ເທດ ລາວເອົາລູກສາວຂອງຕົນອາຍຸ 11
ປີໄປມອບໆທ້ແກ່ຜົວເມຍຄືນ ໂທ ຄູ່ ຫນຶ່ງໆທີ່ລ້ຽງດູໂດຍໄດ້ຄ່າຕອບ
ແທນເດືອນລະ 500 ບາດແລ້ວເດັກ ນ້ອຍກໍຖືກຂົ່ມຂຶ້ນຈາກຜູ້ຊາຍ
ໂທໂດຍການເປັນໄຈຂອງຜູ້ເປັນເມຍຄືນໂທ".

ກອງປະຊຸມ "ການຝຶກປະສົມດູຈິນ-ໂທ" ດັ່ງທີ່ສອງເດືອນ 3,
ວັນ ທີ 16-21, 1990 ໄດ້ສະແດງ ຄວາມຫວັງໄຍຂອງຕົນກ່ຽວ
ກັບ ບັນຫາ ເດັກ ເປັນໂສເພນີ ທີ່ອະຫຍາຍໄປ ລາວ ຜ່ອມກັບ
ການເປີດປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ (ຊິດ ອອບບິດເຊີ Seeds of
Peace ພິດສະພາ 1990). ຕາມຫນຶ່ງ ສີຜົມ ເດິຊອນ
ເດແມນ The Sunday Mail ຈຸນຍີນ ທີ 23 ກຸມ ພາ
1992 ໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າມີ 800.000 ໂສເພນີທີ່ມີ ອາຍຸຕໍ່າກວ່າ 16
ປີທີ່ປະເທດໂທແລະ 90 ກ່ວາເປີເຊັນ ທີ່ເປັນ ໂສເພນີເດັກນ້ອຍ
ທີ່ປະເທດໂທນັ້ນແມ່ນມາຈາກ ພາກໄຕ້ ຂອງຈີນ, ພະມ້າ, ລາວ
ແລະເຝົ້າຊົນທາງຕະເວັນອອກ ຂອງ ໂທ. ເມື່ອຈຳນວນທີ່ຄືນໂທ
ເປັນໂລກເອດສ໌ AIDS ຊຶ່ງ ມີ ລະ ຫວ່າງ 200.000 ຫາ
400.000ຄົນ (ມະຕິຊິນ, ກຸມພາ 1992). ທີ່ ລາວ ກໍ່ໄດ້
ມີການສົນຈາຈຸນບັນຫານີ້ເຊິ່ງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນບັນຫາຕົວຈິງອັນຫນຶ່ງຊຶ່ງ
ຫນຶ່ງສີຜົມ ປະຊາຊົນບັນອາທິດ ລົງວັນທີ 28 ມີນາ 1993
ລົງທິວຂໍ້ " "ເອດສ໌" ປົນຂ້າມກຳແພງມາຫາເຮົາແລ້ວ" (ຈານ
ເກິ່ງ 1993 ຫນ້າ 1 ແລະ 11). ສັງຄົມລາວຈຸນໂລຍະຊຸມປີທຳ
ອິດຂອງລະບອບໆແມ່ນປອດການຄາດຕະກຳ. ໂຮງຮຽນປອດຢາ
ເສຍຕິດແລະໂລກເອດສ໌. ແຕ່ເມື່ອປະເທດໄດ້ໄຂປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍ

ນອກແລ້ວຫລາຍຊ່ວຍມວນຊົນກໍໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງປັນຫາສະເພາະ ເຊັ່ນ ຫນົງສີພິມລາວທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ຢູ່ລາວນຳສະເພາະ, ຢາເສບຕິດແລະໂລກເອດສ໌. ເຖິງຈະຍັງບໍ່ທັນແມ່ນປັນຫາສັງຄົມ ຈຳນວນ ປະຈຸບັນຄືດັ່ງບາງປະເທດເອດສ໌ເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ ປະເທດໄທ. ແຕ່ ທີ່ ລາວກໍໄດ້ເລີ້ມເຮັດໄດ້ມວນຊົນເຂົ້າໂຈດໂດຍສະເພາະກ່ຽວກັບໂລກ ເອດສ໌ (ລາວສຳພັນ Laos Samphan 1989; ໂພເກໂວ Phokeo 1991). ຖ້າຫຼືບາດສະເຫດອື່ນທີ່ມວນຊົນ ຮູ້ປັນຫາແລະຕິດຕາມເລື່ອງໂລກເອດສ໌ແລ້ວຈະຍັງເຫັນວ່າຢູ່ ລາວ ມວນຊົນ ບໍ່ຍັງທັນໄດ້ຮູ້ຢ່າງທີ່ເຖິງເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນເພາະໂລກເອດສ໌ ສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະມານຳຄືນທີ່ຕິດມາແລ້ວແລະຫລາຍປະເທດເຊັ່ນ ປະ ເທດຍີ່ປຸ່ນຈະອະນຸຍາດຄົນເຂົ້າປະເທດຢູ່ລະຍະຍາວເຊັ່ນຮຽນຫນຶ່ງ ສິຕ້ອງໄດ້ສະເໜີບັດສະແດງ ການປອດໂລກເອດສ໌. ປະເທດຕະ ເວັນຕົກກໍເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນຕ້ອງ ມີ ຫລັກຖານຮັບປະກັນການປອດໂລກ ເອດສ໌ຈິ່ງຈະຖືກພິຈາລະນາໄດ້ ອາໄສຢູ່ລະຍະເດືອນທີ່ປະເທດ ເຂົ້າເຮົາ. ການເອົາມາຕະການ ດັ່ງກ່າວຍ້ອນວ່າໂລກເອດສ໌ບໍ່ ປານີປານອນາຍແລະບໍ່ເລືອກຊົນຊັ້ນ ວັນນະຈະທຸກຍາກຫລືເສດຖີ, ບໍ່ ຈຳແນກຜິວຝັນຈະແມ່ນຂາວ, ດຳ, ເຫລືອງ, ຫລືບໍ່ຈຳແນກ ເພດໄວ, ຈົນຮອດປະຈຸບັນ ຖ້າແມ່ນ ບຸກຄົນຈຸດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງເປັນ ແລ້ວບໍ່ຄົນມີແຕ່ຢ່າງດຽວບໍ່ສາມາດຈະມີຊີວິດຢູ່ຕໍ່ໄປໄດ້. ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີ ສະພາບທີ່ຫນຸ່ມນ້ອຍລາວເຜົ່າຊົນຕ່າງໆກໍາລັງເປັນເງື່ອນຂອງ ການໂສ ເພນີແລະກໍາລັງຖືກຍົວເຂົ້າໄປເປັນຫາດແຮງງານທີ່ປະເທດຍ້ານໄກ ເຮືອນດຽວແລະອີກພາກສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງກໍາລັງສູບກາວຊິງພາຍໃນ 3 ປີສະ ມອງຈະເຊື່ອມເສຍພິການຊິງຫນຸ່ມນ້ອຍທີ່ປະເທດໄທຫລືປະເທດເບຣ ຊິນກໍາລັງໄດ້ຮັບຜົນຂອງນັ້ນ.

໘- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຄ້າສາສະໜາໄທບິນຍົງຄົງຕົວ

ຄຳນຶງເພີຍບູຮານໄດ້ເວົ້າໄວ້ວ່າ:

"ຍິງຮູບຮ້າຍຄອງວັດພາງາມຊາຍຮູບງາມວິຊາພາຮຸ່ງ"

ມັນເປັນ ສິ່ງທີ່ແປກປະຫລາດທີ່ສາສະໜາພຸດບໍ່ໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ ສາສະໜາພຸດຫລືວັດຈະບໍ່ສາມາດຄົງຕົວຖ້າຂາດຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ຈົນມາ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດ ຊອບການກິນຢູ່ແລະມີຄວາມເຫລື້ອມໂສ້ງພະຍຸດ ທະສາສະໜາຈິ່ງ ເຮັດ ເຖິງ ສາສະໜາຄຳລົງຄົງຕົວຢູ່ໄດ້, ເຖິງ ແມ່ນ ຈະຈົນລະຍະທີ່ປະເທດກຳລັງຫຍຸ້ງຍາກກໍດີ. ການເສຍສະລະ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ເພື່ອສາສະໜາແມ່ນເພາະຜູ້ຍິງຢາກຈະຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນຄືຜູ້ ຊາຍເມື່ອຕາຍໄປແລ້ວ.

ນອກຈາກຈະ ຈື່ງຄວາມຮູ້ທາງດ້ານສາສະໜາແລ້ວວັດຍິງເປັນ ບ່ອນທີ່ຈື່ງຄວາມຮູ້ ທາງດ້ານສິນ, ວັນນະຄະດີ, ຢາແຜນບູຮານຫລື ຄາຖາ, ຄຳອວຍ ພອນຕ່າງໆໃນການຈະບຸກເຮືອນໂຫມ່ຫລືເພື່ອໄລ່ ພີ. ຄວາມຮູ້ທາງ ດ້ານ ໂສຍະສາດແມ່ນມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ດຽວເທົ່ານັ້ນ ຈະຮູ້ໄດ້. ຫົງຫມິດນີ້ແມ່ນ ເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ຮັດແຫນ້ນອຳນາດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ໃນສັງຄົມ (Barber 1974 ຫນ້າ 52). ແຕ່ບາງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ສຳ ເລັດ ໃນການອຳນາດລາມແລະກຳແຫນ້ນໃນດ້ານຢາບູຮານ (Ay- monier 1885 ຫນ້າ 199; ບານເປັນ 1963 ຫນ້າ 248). ໃນປີ 1975 ທີ່ລາວເຊັ່ນທີ່ວຽງຈັນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຫົວຫນ້າທຳມະ ການ ວັດເພື່ອນຳພາພິທີທາງສາສະໜາ.

ຈາກ ອະດີດ ເຖິງປະຈຸບັນໃນຍາມມືດຂອງອະລຸນໂຫມ່ມັກທ່ອງ ທ່ຽວຈະໄດ້ ຍິນ ແຕ່ ສຽງຜູ້ຍິງຫນຶ່ງເຂົ້າແຕ່ງຈິ່ງທັນໄປວັດ. ນອກ

ຈາກແຕ່ງກິນ ແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄປເຮັດວຽກຫລືໄປໄຮ່ເຮັດນາ. ຍາມ
ແລງມາກໍ ພາກັນ ໄປ ວັດເພື່ອຝັງຄໍາເຫດສະຫນາສົ່ງສອນຂອງພະ
ຈຸນລະຍະ ສິນສິນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນຮ່ວມໂດຍບິນຂີ້ເພີງ
ຫລືເຮັດກະທົງດ້ວຍຫ່ອມກ້ວຍແລະປະດັບປະດາດ້ວຍດອກໄມ້.

ຈຸນ ໄລຍະທີ່ເສດຖະກິດບ້ານເມືອງສັບສົນທີ່ສຸດນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍັງສືບຕໍ່
ຮັກສາການເຊື່ອຖືທີ່ຍືນຍົງຄົງຄົວໂດຍຕັກບາດໄປຈັງຫັນຫລືໄປເຝັ້ມ
ເປັນປະຈຳ. ຈຸນເວລາຕັກບາດນັ້ນເອົາຈະຕ້ອງຜູ້ເອົາຜ້ອມທັງຖືຂັນ,
ເອົາຈະພະຍາຍາມບໍ່ໃຫ້ແຕະຕ້ອງຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງພະ. ເມື່ອເວລາ
ເອົາເຄື່ອງຂອງໜ້າຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງບໍ່ເອົາໄປໂດຍມືຕໍ່ມືແຕ່ຕ້ອງເອົາ
ວາງ ໄວ້ ຖາດຫລືຜ່ານຕໍ່ມືຜູ້ຊາຍ. ເມື່ອພົບພະຫລືຈົວຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງ
ນຶ່ງ ຈຸນທ່າ ທີ່ເຄົາລົບຊຶ່ງເປັນທ່າທີ່ຕ່າງກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຢູ່ຈຸນ
ທ່າບືນກໍໄດ້. ເຖິງວ່າພະຫລືຈົວຈະແມ່ນລູກຄືງະແຕ່ພະ ຫລືຈົວບໍ່ມີ
ສິດສະແດງຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກຂອງຕົນອອກທັງນີ້ເພາະພະເຄົາລົບຕົນເອງ
ເປັນພະເຈົ້າຈຸນໂລກມະນຸດແລະຜູ້ຍິງມີແຕ່ເຄົາລົບພະ ເຈົ້າ ໂດຍ
ຜ່ານຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງລູກ. ຜູ້ຍິງຈະລະເມີດກົດຕັ້ງກ່າວບໍ່ໄດ້ ຖ້າບໍ່
ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈະຕົກຢູ່ຈຸນຖານະເປັນຜູ້ເຮັດບາບ. ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງ ຈຸນ ຍິງ
ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ເຮັດໄທລະບົບຂອງສາສະຫນາຢູ່ໄດ້ພາະຜູ້ຍິງ ຈຸນ
ນາມເປັນແມ່, ເປັນເມຍເຖິງແມ່ນບໍ່ມີສິດບວດເປັນພະແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງ
ການຜູ້ຊາຍເພື່ອບວດເປັນພະເພື່ອເອົາຈະໄດ້ບຸນນໍາແລ້ວ ຂຶ້ນ ສະ
ຫວັນ ເພື່ອຕາຍໄປ ຫລື ເພື່ອນິຊີວິດດີກວ່າຈຸນຊາດຫນ້າ.

ເມື່ອ ເຖົ້າ ແກ່ ມາຍິງ-ຊາຍຈະພາກັນອຸທິດເພື່ອສາສະຫນາ.
ຫລັງຈາກຕາຍໄປແລ້ວຊາຍ-ຍິງກໍຈະສະເຫນີພາບກັນອີກເພາະສິບ
ຂອງທັງສອງຈະຖືກຈຸດຫລືຝັງຄືກັນ.

ເຫມືອນ ດັ່ງ ທຸກປະເທດທີ່ສາສະຫນາເຫລະວະດາ, ທີ່ລາວ,
ມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍນຸ່ງຜ້າ ເຫລືອງໄດ້ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈິ່ງມີແຕ່ລູກຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ຈະ

ບວດເພື່ອເອົາກຽດ ແລະບຸນມາໃຫ້ແມ່. ເພື່ອຈະເຫັນວ່ານິຄວາມ
ຈໍາເປັນຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍ ຫນຶ່ງເທື່ອຈຸນຊີວິດທີ່ຈະຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ບວດ,
ເຖິງຈະທຸກຍາກເທົ່າ ຈຸດຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍກໍຈະພະຍາຍາມເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່
ດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະ ນຸ່ງຜ້າເຫລືອງຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍສອງເທື່ອຈຸນຊີວິດແລະ
ບາງຄັ້ງອາດ ຈະບວດອີກຖ້າພໍ່ແມ່ຫລືມີມືອງຜູ້ຈຸດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຕາຍເພື່ອຈະ
ຈຸງສົບໄປ ສະຫວັນ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຄວາມເຊື່ອຖືທາງສາສະຫນາ. ຈຸນ
ເວລາປົກກະຕິການບວດ ຢູ່ວັດຈະໄຊ້ເວລາຮ້ອຍນາມານ. ເພື່ອຈະ
ໄດ້ຢູ່ໄກ້ແລະອ່າຮຽນນໍາວັດ ເມື່ອອາຍຸໄດ້ 9 ຫລື 10 ປີເດັກນ້ອຍ
ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະບວດເປັນຈົວ. ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດບວດຈິ່ງບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂໄດ້
ຮຽນຫນຶ່ງສິເພາະຈຸນສະໂຫມ ກ່ອນມີແຕ່ວັດບ່ອນດຽວເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ຈະ
ເປັນບ່ອນໃຫ້ການສຶກສາ. ແຕ່ເມື່ອອາຍຸເຖິງ 20 ຫລື 21 ປີແລ້ວ
ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຈະບວດເປັນພະແລະ ຄິດຄືຕົນເອງເປັນຜູ້ມີບຸນແລະຈະຖືກ
ຖືວ່າເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີບົດຮຽນຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນກັນທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ຄົນສຸກ" ຫມາຍເຖິງ
"ກ້າແກ່ນສາມາດດ້ານລົມດົນໄດ້". ກົງກັນ ຂ້າມຖ້າຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ບວດ
ຈະຖືກເວົ້າວ່າເປັນ "ຄົນດິບ" (ຄໍາພູມພິລາວົງ 1967). ຜູ້ຊາຍ
ທີ່ຜ່ານການບວດ ແລ້ວມັກຈະເປັນທີ່ນິຍົມຊົມຊອບຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ ຂອງຜູ້
ຍິງເພື່ອເລືອກເອົາເປັນລູກເຮຍ.

ສາສະຫນາພຸດມັກຈະເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມສໍາຄັນຈຸນການຮູ້ຄຸນມານ
ດາຊຶ່ງຜູ້ເປັນລູກຊາຍຈະຕ້ອງໄຊ້ແທນຄໍານໍ້ານົມໂດຍຈະບວດໃຫ້ແມ່.
ແຕ່ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນພໍ່ກໍໄດ້ເສຍ ສະຫລະສູງຈຸນການລຽ້ງດູລູກໃຫ້ໄຫຍ່ກໍ
ຈະໄດ້ບຸນເຊັນກັນຈຸນການທີ່ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ບວດ. ພໍ່ແມ່ຫລາຍຄົນເຊື່ອ
ວ່າການບວດລູກຊາຍແມ່ນການຄ້າປະກັນໃຫ້ເອົາເຈົ້າມີຊີວິດດີກ່ວາ
ຈຸນຊາດຫນ້າ. ພໍ່ແມ່ມັກຈະເວົ້າວ່າ "ດຶງຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງລູກເພື່ອ
ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ". ທີ່ລາວຈຸນເວລາທີ່ສາສະຫນາຮຸ່ງເຮືອງຈະເລີນຈຸນ

ສະໄຫມເຈົ້າຊີວິດສຸຍະວົງສາ ຊາວລາວມັກນິຍົມໃຫ້ລູກບວດຢ່າງ
ກວ້າງຂວາງ (ເລີເຈດສະເນີ Lejosne 1987).

ລູກຜູ້ຊາຍຊ່ວຍແມ່ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນດ້ວຍການບວດເປັນພະແຕ່ລູກຜູ້
ຍິງໄດ້ແຕ່ພາວະນາເພື່ອໃຫ້ແມ່ໄດ້ນິຊີວິດທີ່ດີໃນຊາດຫນ້າ. ລູກ
ຜູ້ຍິງອາດໄດ້ບຸນແຕ່ພຽງເບິ່ງແຍງພໍແມ່ເວລາເຊັ່ນເປັນ. ແຕ່ເຖິງ
ບານນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງກໍບໍ່ສາມາດຈະເອົາບຸນມາໃຫ້ແມ່ໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ
ເຫມືອນດັ່ງລູກຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ໃນຖານະທີ່ເປັນເມຍ, ນິກາມເຊື່ອວ່າຜູ້ຍິງສາມາດໄດ້ບຸນໂດຍ
ຜ່ານຜົວແລະນິກາມ ເຊື່ອກັນວ່າເມຍອາດຈະ "ດຶງຜ້າເຫລືອງ"
ຂອງຜົວເມື່ອຕາຍໄປຈະໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ. ໃນພິທີບວດຜົວແລະເມຍ
ຈະຕ້ອງເຮັດພິທີ "ຢ່າຮ້າງ" ກ່ອນຕໍ່ຫນ້າຍາດ ມີນ້ອງ ທີ່ນາຮ່ວມ
ແລະຫົງສອງຈະຕ້ອງຂໍຂະນາລາໂຫດນໍ້າພໍໃນສິ່ງທີ່ໄດ້ລ່ວງເກີນ
ຜ່ານມາ. ອັນນີ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າ ຜູ້ບວດເປັນພະຕ້ອງປອດໄປສູ່
ນິຕິສິນແລະບໍ່ໄດ້ຜູກພັນກັບລູກເມຍ. ເມື່ອຜົວຊົງແລ້ວກໍໄດ້ເຮັດພິ
ທີ "ແຕ່ງດອງເອົາກັນຄືນ". ດັ່ງນັ້ນພໍ່ແມ່ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ຈະສົ່ງ
ເສີມຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ ລູກຊາຍບວດກ່ອນຈະມີຄອບຄົວເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ໄດ້
ບຸນຫລາຍກວ່າ. ຖ້າລູກຜູ້ຊາຍບວດພາຍຫລັງມີຄອບຄົວແລ້ວພໍ່ແມ່
ເຊື່ອວ່າເມຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ໄດ້ບຸນກຸສົນຫລາຍກ່ວາຕົນ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ອາໄສລູກຜູ້ຊາຍຫລື ຜົວເພື່ອມີບຸນໃຫ້ຕົນເອງແລະຈະ
ເຮັດຫຼັກວິທີທາງເພື່ອຈະໃຫ້ໄດ້ບຸນນໍ້າຜົວນໍ້າລູກໂດຍຜ່ານການບວດ.
ແຕ່ເພື່ອຈະບັນລຸສິ່ງທີ່ປາຖະຫນາດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງແບກຫາບຫລາຍ
ເພື່ອຄ້າສາສະຫນາແລະຜູ້ຍິງຍິງຈໍາເປັນຕ້ອງການພະເພື່ອຕົນເອງ
ຈະໄດ້ບຸນແລະຈະໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນເມື່ອຕາຍໄປແລ້ວ.

ຈ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ແບກຫາບວຽກເຮືອນການຊານ 3 ເທື່ອ ຫລາຍກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍ

ຊີວິດໃນຊົນນະບົດເຊັ່ນບົວລະບັດເຮືອນຊານເອົ້າມາຕາກ້າຫລື
ຕ່າຫຼກສາວໂຫມບໍ່ໄດ້ມີການບ່ຽນແປງນັບແຕ່ສະໄຫມເຈດສະເນີ. ດັ່ງ
ນັ້ນຊີວິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນ ຍິງຖືກຈົມບູກັບການແບກຫາບວຽກນາຍຊະ
ນິດຄືສະໄຫມກ່ອນ.

ໂຕແປງ Taupin (1888 ຫນ້າ 9) ໄດ້ຍິ່ງຍືນວ່າ "ທີ່
ປະເທດ ລາວຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດວຽກຢ່າງນ້ອຍ 3 ເທື່ອຫລາຍກ່ວາຜົວ"
ມູນເຊື້ອດຸຫມັ່ນສູ່ຊົນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຍິງຖືກບັນທຶກໄວ້ໂດຍນັກບຸກເບີກຝຣັ່ງ
ກ່ອນ ໂຕແປງ Taupin ຄື ແອໂມນີເອ Aymonier (1885
ຫນ້າ 176) ໄດ້ເນັ້ນວ່າ "ທີ່ປະເທດລາວ, ຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດຫນີດຫຼກ
ວຽກ. ນອກຈາກ ວຽກທີ່ຫນັກໃນໂຮ່ນາແລະວຽກພັນທະແລ້ວ, ຜູ້
ຊາຍຄິດແຕ່ຈະຊັບ ນົກ, ເຕົາແລະໄກ່ປ່າດ້ວຍແຮ້ວ". ຜູ້ບຸກເບີກ
ທີ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ອິດເນື່ອຍ ຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນ ປາວີ Pavie (1947 ຫນ້າ 54)
ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຄົນລາວ ມັກເຮັດວຽກກະສິກໍາຫນ້ອຍດຽວ, ແຕ່ມັກ
ປະວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວໄວ້ໃຫ້ຂ້າທາດຫລືໃຫ້ເມຍຕົນ". ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ
ບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ແບກຫາບວຽກ ຫນັກຂອງຄອບຄົວເທົ່ານັ້ນແຕ່ຖ້າໄດ້ເດີນ
ທາງຮ່ວມກັບຜົວ, ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ຈະແບກເຄື່ອງຂອງຕິດຕາມຢ່າງຫ່າງ
ຫລັງຜົວ. ແອໂມນີເອ Aymonier (1885 ຫນ້າ 176) ໄດ້
ຍົກວ່າ "ຖ້າຜົວແບກອັນໃດອັນຫນຶ່ງກໍຈະແມ່ນອາດຸດ, ຄືກັນກັບວ່າ
ຜູ້ກ່ຽວຕ້ອງການອ້າງຄວາມຮີດໝາຍໂດຍໃຫ້ເຫດຜົນວ່າເພື່ອຈະປ້ອງ
ກັນເມຍ". ແຕ່ ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວກໍມີພໍ່ເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນທີ່ຫວຽດນາມ
ທີ່ເມຍຢ່າງນໍ້າຫລັງຜົວທັງແກ່ຍລູກ (ໂຮກເກ Hocquet 1966
ຫນ້າ 2-3). ແຕ່ກົງກັນຂ້າມທີ່ປະເທດອະເຕມນທີ່ມີວັດທະນະທໍາ
ຄ້າຍຄືກັນກັບລາວໃນຫລາຍດ້ານແຕ່ເມື່ອເມຍເດີນທາງຮ່ວມກັບຜົວ

ໝູ່ ມັກຈະເປັນຜູ້ແບກ ເຄື່ອງແລະປ່ຽນທີ່ເມຍຍ່າງນ້ຳຫນ້າ (Ay-
monier 1885 ຫນ້າ 176). ປະຈຸບັນຢູ່ໃນຊຸມນະບົດລາວຍັງ
ມີທ່າທາງແບບເກົ່າເຫລືອຢູ່.

ເມື່ອຍາມເຮັດນາມາເຖິງຊຶ່ງພາຍຫລັງທີ່ເລີ້ມມີຝົນ, ການໄຖ
ນາແມ່ນວຽກຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຫລື ເຈົ້າອີກຢ່າງໜຶ່ງແມ່ນວຽກສະເພາະ
ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ພາຍຫລັງ ຫວ່ານກ້າແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ຍິງແລະເດັກນ້ອຍໄດ້
ຮ່ວມກັນ ດຳ ນາ. ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ເສຍຫຍ້າຍໄວລະປັດຮັກສາຕົ້ນເຂົ້າ
ອ່ອນ ພ້ອມທັງຕີກກະ ດັ່ງຫາປາທີ່ແຄມໜອງໄກ້ຖຽງນາຫລືກໍ່ຊອກ
ຫາບູຫາກຸ້ງໄປຕາມທິງນາເພື່ອຄາບເຂົ້າຄາບໂດຍທົ່ວໜຶ່ງ ຂອງ
ຄອບຄົວ.

ເມື່ອລະດູເກັບກ່ຽວມາເຖິງສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງແລະເດັກ
ນ້ອຍເຮັດວຽກເກັບກ່ຽວແລ້ວເຂົາເຈົ້າກໍ່ພາກັນຕາກໄທ້ແຫ້ງແລ້ວກໍ່
ພາດໄປສະເດີນນາ. ຈາກນັ້ນເຂົາເຈົ້າເປືອກກໍ່ຖືກເກັບຮັກສາໄວ້ໃນເລົ່າ
ຊຶ່ງຈະນຳເຂົາມາກິນເປັນປະຈຳ.

ພາກນີ້ ຈະບໍ່ສົມບູນຖ້າຫາກຂາດການເວົ້າກ່ຽວກັບການຕຳຫຼກ
ເຖິງຈະແບບຫຍັງກໍ່ຊຶ່ງເປັນທຶນທາງຊີວິດແລະຮູບການວັດທະນະທຳ
ອັນ ໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ ຜູ້ຍິງ ໄດ້ຕິດພັນແບບກາຍອິນຊີ ຈຶ່ງເປັນທີ່ເວົ້າເຖິງ
"ຮ້ວາມນີ ເປັນລາຍ, ຫງາຍນີເປັນຝັຍ" (ຄຳແພງທຶນມຸນຕາລີ,
1992 ຫນ້າ 67).

ໂດຍ ທົ່ວໄປອາຊີບນີ້ໄດ້ຈຳແນກໄປສະເໜີເຖິງເພດ. ຕົວຢ່າງທີ່
ປະເທດມາແກຣບ Magreb ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ຕຳຫຼກ (ແກຣດສະແວນ
Cresswell 1975) ແຕ່ທີ່ລາວອາຊີບດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນເປັນໂອ້ງເອດ
ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຜູກຂາດ (Ngin 1956b; 1959b; ບານເປັນ 1963).

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວເກືອບທຸກຄົນເມື່ອເຕີບໂຕຢ່າງຈະເລີນຈະຮູ້ຕຳຫຼກ (ຄວງ
ເດືອນ 1992). ເມື່ອ ຍິງ ເປັນເດັກ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຮູ້ສຶກອົບອຸ່ນ
ນຳຜ້າແຜ່ຕຳທີ່ແມ່ໄດ້ເອົາມາສູ່ ກະຕິງໄທ້ນອນ. ຕໍ່ມາຍິງສາວເລີ້ມ
ເຂົ້າໄຈພາສາຕຳຫຼກສາວໂຫມ ຂອງ ແມ່ແລະຮູ້ຈັກເບິ່ງແມ່ຕຳຫຼກ.
ເມື່ອອາຍຸໄດ້ 8 ຫາ 10 ປີ, ເດັກຍິງຈະຮຽນນຳແມ່ເປັນແຕ່ລະ
ບາດກ້າວນັບແຕ່ການລ້ຽງມ້ອນລ້ຽງໂຫມຈົນເຖິງຂັ້ນຍື່ນແລະກ້າວ
ເຂົ້າໄປເຖິງການຮູ້ຈັກຕຳ. ເມື່ອມີຄອບຄົວແລ້ວ, ເວລາໄດ້ອຸທິດ
ຫລາຍແຕ່ວຽກບ້ານແຕ່ກໍ່ໄດ້ຍາດເອົາເວລາເພື່ອຕຳ. ເມື່ອຖືພາ
ແລ້ວກໍ່ຍິ່ງຫາເວລາຍາກເພື່ອຈະຕຳຫຼກ - ໂດຍສະເພາະຖ້າມີລູກ
ຮອດ 12 ຄົນ. ເມື່ອຕຳໄດ້ຈຸ້ມຮຽງພ້ອມຄອບຄົວແລ້ວ, ສ່ວນ
ເຫລືອກໍ່ຂາຍເພື່ອຊ່ວຍຕຳລາຍຈ່າຍຂອງຄອບຄົວ.

ພາກ II. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວໃນການ ປ່ຽນແປງໂລກ

ໃນສູນຫອນຝັດກ່າວຕໍ່ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ I ຂອງສະ
ຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງສະຫາຍເລຂາທິການໃຫຍ່ ໂກສອນ ຝົມ
ວິຫານເວົ້າວ່າ: ແມ່ຍິງເຮົາເຝົ້າຕ່າງໆ ໄດ້ຕົກຢູ່ໃນການ
ກົດຂີ່ອົມເຫງຢ່າງຫນັກຫນ່ວງຂອງລະບອບສັກກິນາແລະ
ລະ ບອບລ່າເມືອງຂຶ້ນ, ແຕ່ຜ່ານຂະບວນວິວັດແຫ່ງການ
ຕໍ່ສູ້ ເພື່ອການດຳລົງຄົງຕົວແລະການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຂອງ
ຊາດ, ແລະແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ມີການອຸທິດອັນໃຫຍ່ ຫລວງ
ເຂົ້າໃນການສ້າງຫນ້າປະຫວັດສາດອັນ ສະ ຫວ່າງສະ
ໄຫວຂອງຊາດແລະແມ່ຍິງເຮົາເອງກໍໄດ້ສ້າງຄຸນລັກສະ
ນະອັນເປັນບຸນເຊື້ອຂອງຕົນຂຶ້ນດັ່ງລຸ່ມນີ້:

-ແມ່ຍິງເຮົາມີຄວາມດຸຫມັ່ນຂະຫຍັນພຽນໃນການອອກ
ແຮງງານມີນ້ຳໜັກປະຢັດຊັດທ່ຽງ (ເຮັດວຽກໂຮ່ການ
ນາ ຢ່າງ ຫລັງສູ້ຝ້າຫນ້າສູ້ຕົນ, ເຜີນຝ້າຍຕ່ຳຫຼາກ,
ການໃຊ້ ຈ່າຍມີການຄິດໄລ່ຈົ່ງຢອນ ຮັກສາມູນນັ່ງໄວ້
ໃຫ້ລູກເຕົ້າ).

-ມີ ຄວາມ ບໍລິສຸດຜຸດຜ່ອງ, ແພງລູກຮັກຜົວຫົນຍາກ,
-ຍອມເສຍສະຫລະເພື່ອຄວາມສຸກຂອງຄອບຄົວລູກຜົວ,

-ມີນ້ຳໜັກຮັກຊາດແພງເຊື້ອ, ຮັກບ້ານເກີດເມືອງນອນ,
-ກິລິຍາມາລະຍາດ ສຸພາບອ່ອນຫວານ, ຮັກສາມູນນໍ້
ລະຕົກວັດທະນະທະອັນດີງາມຂອງຊາດເຮົາໄວ້
(ອ່ອນຈັນ 1991 ຫນ້າ 149-150).

1/ ທິດສອບນະໂຍບາຍ

ເຖິງ ແມ່ນວ່າໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບສາທາລະນະລັດປະເທດລາວ
ໄດ້ປ່ຽນ ແຫນຸດຊາດອານາຈັກໂດຍເອີ້ນວ່າສາທາລະນະລັດ ປະຊາ
ທິປະ ໄຕ ປະຊາຊົນລາວໃນປີ 1975 ກໍຕາມ, ແຕ່ວ່າປັນຫາເສດ
ຖະ ກິດແມ່ນຍັງຍາກ, ປັນຫາສິ່ງຄົນຍັງສັບສົນທັງນີ້ກໍຍ້ອນຫລາຍປະ
ເທດໄດ້ຕັດການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອແລະການປິດຊາຍແດນແຕ່ຝ່າຍດຽວຂອງ
ໂທເຊິ່ງເປັນບ່ອນຜ່ານສິນຄ້າຂອງສາກົນເຂົ້າສູ່ລາວ. ແຕ່ພາຍຫລັງ
ທີ່ລາວໄດ້ເປີດ ປະ ຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ, ລາວຕ້ອງອີງໃສ່ການຊ່ວຍ
ເຫລືອຈາກຕ່າງປະ ເທດເປັນຕົ້ນຕໍໂດຍສະເພາະການປົນເງິນຈາກ
ທະນາຄານໂລກແລະທະນາຄານເອເຊຍຝັດທະນາ.

ພາກນີ້ຈະວິຈາເຖິງເຈດຕະນາປະປ່ອຍສິ່ງທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ມາຫລາຍ
ສະຕະວັດເຊິ່ງໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ກະທົບຕໍ່ສະຕາກິ້າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງລາວ.

ມັນ ແມ່ນຄວາມຈິງທີ່ວ່າ ແນວ ຫາງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ຜູ້ຍິງດ້ວຍການທົບ
ສອບເປັນ ຄັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງຝັກທີ່ກຳອຳນາດເມື່ອປິດປ່ອຍຫມົດປະເທດ
ໃນປີ 1975 ຢ່າງສົມບູນແລ້ວ ຝັກໄດ້ນຳແນວຫາງຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງແລະມີອົງ
ການສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນຝັກກໍມີຄຳຂວັນຕ່າງໆໃຫ້ຝ້ອມ.

ແຕ່ຄວາມຫວັງຢາກປ່ຽນແປງອັນເກົ່າໆທີ່ເປັນອັນໜ້າໄດ້ຜິວຢັນ ເຖິງການຕໍ່ສູ້ລະຫວ່າງຊົນນະບົດແລະຕົວເມືອງຊຶ່ງມີລັກສະນະທີ່ຂັດ ແຍ່ງກັນ. ຜ່ານການຜ່ານຜ່າຊຶ່ງມີທັງຜົນໄດ້ແລະອໍຄົງຄ້າງທີ່ ສາ ມາດເກັບກ່ຽວໄດ້.

ກ- ການສ້າງສັງຄົມໃໝ່

ປັນຫາ ເຖິງແມ່ນຢູ່ມີສິດທິທຽມກັບພຣະພຸດທະອາດໄດ້ຖືກປົກຂັ້ນ ເປັນການສຳຄັນຈາກຜັກກຳອຳນາດເປັນຕົ້ນມາ.

ອີງຕາມປະຫວັດສາດຂອງປະເທດລາວເມື່ອສະຫຍາມໄດ້ຍຶດ ຄອງລາວອະບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກເອົາໄປສ່ວນອກຈາກນີ້ແຕ່ການປຸ້ນຊີ້. ເມື່ອຢູ່ ໄດ້ການປົກຄອງຂອງຝຣັ່ງສະພາບທີ່ຂຶ້ນໜ້ອຍຄຽວໂດຍສະເພາະ ານດ້ານການ ສຶກສາແຕ່ກໍພຽງແຕ່ໄດ້ຄົ້ນລາວຮູ້ຈັກພໍເຂົ້າໄປພາສາ ຝຣັ່ງເພື່ອຈຸດ ປະສົງທີ່ພໍຊ່ວຍແປຈາກກົງຈັກປົກຄອງຝຣັ່ງ. ແຕ່ບໍ່ມີ ຄວາມ ສຳ ຄັນເທົ່າໃດເມື່ອຮັບໄດ້ລະບົບການປົກຄອງເພາະຝຣັ່ງ ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ມັກອີງໄປສູ່ຄົນຫວຽດນາມທີ່ໄດ້ເອົາເຂົ້າມາເຮັດວຽກ ຮັບໄດ້ກົງຈັກປົກຄອງຂອງຝຣັ່ງຢູ່ລາວ.

ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບສັງຄົມທີ່ຢູ່ພາຍໃຕ້ກົງຈັກຂອງລາວເມືອງອື່ນທີ່ວຽງຈັນ, ສັງຄົມໃນເຂດປົກປ້ອຍໄດ້ຖືກສ້າງຂຶ້ນແລະຖືກຍືນອາເມຣິກາຖິ້ມລະ ເບີດໄປສ່ວນປະຈຳ, ເຖິງຢ່າງນັ້ນຍັງໄດ້ມີການອະທິບາຍການ ສຶກສາແລະຍາດເວລາອຳນາດ ານເວລາທີ່ເຮືອບິນບໍ່ຖິ້ມລະ ເບີດ ເປັນການຊົ່ວຄາວ. ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີການຖິ້ມລະເບີດເມື່ອງມີຄວາມ ຕິດ ແຕ່ໂຄງຮ່າງສັງຄົມໄດ້ເປັນຮູບຮ່າງອື່ນເທື່ອລະກ້າວ. ຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ ຕ້ອງ ໄດ້ເຮັດຫລາຍໜ້າທີ່ມີຊີວິດແບບ "ເປັນນົກເຄົ້າຍາມມື້ເວັນ ແລະເປັນໝາປ່າຍາມກາງຄືນ". ຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຕ້ອງເຮັດວຽກເປັນກຳ ມະກອນທັງເປັນກອງຫລອນຫລືຊາວສ່ວນເມື່ອປູກຝັກ ແລະເປັນນົກ

ຮຽນຫລືອາຈານສອນໜຶ່ງສິດສອນ. ານນັ້ນ ກໍ່ມີເອື້ອຍນ້ອງເປັນຈຳ ນວນຫລາຍໄດ້ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມຢ່າງຕັ້ງໜ້າຕາມ ຄຳຂໍ້ວນທີ່ວ່າ "ຮຽນຕີ ແລະສອນຕີ". ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມີຮຽກຮ້ອງເຖິງຜູ້ ຍິງຕ້ອງຮູ້ສອນເຖິງຜູ້ ອື່ນເຖິງຮູ້ຈັກອ່ານແລະຮູ້ຈັກຂຽນທັງເຮັດວຽກອື່ນໆພ້ອມໆກັບຄືນການ ເມືອງໄປຜ່ອມ (Braunstein 1978 ໜ້າ 279). ານລະ ບົບການ ສຶກສາ ຂອງ ແນວລາວຮັກຊາດຕາຕະລາງຂອງນັກຮຽນ ແມ່ນແບ່ງປັນລະຫວ່າງການຝຶງປົກຄຽມໃນຕອນເຊົ້າແລະເຮັດການ ຜະລິດໃນຕອນບ່າຍແລະຕອນແລງ ແມ່ນ ປະຈຸບັນການ ເມືອງ (ຈຸ 1979 ໜ້າ 450). ຜົນຜົນແມ່ນຈະແຈ້ງເພື່ອຈະເອົາ ຊະນະ ດ້ານວັດທະນະທຳແນວຄິດຫລືດ້ານວິຊາການ. ຍິງ-ຊາຍອາດ ໄປ ແລະ ເດັກນ້ອຍ ກໍ່ໄປໂຮງຮຽນ. ປັນແມ່ນຍາຍໄດ້ໂດຍບໍ່ຕ້ອງຮູ້. ທຸກນີ້ມີຜູ້ທີ່ຮູ້ອ່ານແລະຮູ້ຂຽນໃນຍາມສົງຄາມນັ້ນຍັງຈຳໄດ້ຢູ່ສະເໝີ ພາບພົດຕັ້ງກ່າວ.

ສິດ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແລະຊົນເຜົ່າແມ່ນຖືກຮັບຮູ້ແລະເສີມອະທິບາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງຮຽນຮູ້ ບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງອີກ. ຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນຈະທົນຫວຍເມື່ອໄດ້ ຍິນວ່າເຂົາບໍ່ ມີສິດຜິດສະໜອງເຖິງຜູ້ຍິງອີກແລ້ວ. ບາງຜູ້ຊາຍກໍ່ ເຫັນ ວ່າເປັນແນວຄິດທີ່ດີ (ຊວນສະກີ Chomsky 1970 ໜ້າ 456) ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຮູ້ເຖິງສະພາບສິດເປັນນະມຸດສິນບຸນຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ມັນເປັນ ຄັ້ງທຳອິດໃນປະຫວັດສາດຂອງລາວທີ່ຄຳວ່າສະເໝີພາບ ແມ່ນບໍ່ແມ່ນຄຳເວົ້າຊຶ່ງ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຊົມໄດ້ສິດເຫມືອນຜູ້ຊາຍແລະໄດ້ ຖືກຮັບຮູ້ວ່າ ມີຄວາມຮັບຜິດຊອບຕໍ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ. ການບ່ອນປັດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ມີຄວາມ ສຳຄັນເທົ່າຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜົນລະເມືອງ, ກອງ ຫລອນ, ທະຫານ, ພະນັກງານ, ນັກຮິບ, ອາຈານ, ແພດຫລື ຫລືນນັກສິນລະປິນ ນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ.

ແຕ່ ກົງກັນຂ້າມຢູ່ໃນເຂດຄຸ້ມຄອງຂອງຝ່າຍວຽງຈັນ ການດຳ

ລົງຊີວິດໄດ້ເຮັດກຳລັງຜົນເປັນໄດ້ແກ່ພຽງສອງເຄື່ອງຄື: ເຄື່ອງຈັກ
ຜະລິດລູກແລະເຄື່ອງຫລິ້ນ.

ຂ- ພື້ນຖານແຫ່ງຄວາມເຊື່ອຫມັ້ນ.

"ຜູ້ຍິງມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍກ່ວາຈຳນວນສັງຄົມ ຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຖືກປົດປ່ອຍ
ເຄິ່ງຫນຶ່ງຂອງສັງຄົມແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກປົດປ່ອຍ". ຄວາມເວົ້າຂອງເລ
ນິນນີ້ໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເອົາຈຳນວນຫລາຍດ້ານໃນແນວທາງຂອງພັກກຳອຳນາດ
ຈຸນລາວ. ອັນນີ້ ແມ່ນມີລະດັບຂອງສັງຄົມນິຍົມທີ່ກຳກົດເຄົ້າປັນຫາ
ກ່ຽວກັບມະນຸດ. ແຕ່ຈຳນວນເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນຈຶ່ງກໍ່ເຊັ່ນກັນຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງມີຈຳນວນ
ກ່ວາ ເຄິ່ງ ຂອງຈຳນວນຜົນລະເນືອງທັງຫມົດ, ການຈະປົດປ່ອຍ
ເຂົາເຈົ້າຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ປົດປ່ອຍຫມົດຈຳນວນໃຫຍ່ຂອງກຳລັງການຜະ
ລິດລວມທັງເພດຊາຍ. ແຕ່ປີ 1975 ຄົນຫລັງ ການເລືອກຕັ້ງແມ່ນ
ອົງເຂດ ຊີວິດ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ໂດຍອີງຕາມສຸພາສິດເກົ່າໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ
"ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ ຈຳ ຫລິ້ນການເລືອກ ຜ້າເຫລືອງບໍ່ຈຳຫລິ້ນການບ້ານ".
ເປັນຄັ້ງ ທຳອິດຈຳນວນປະຫວັດສາດລາວທີ່ເອກະສານຂອງກອງປະຊຸມ
ຈຳຫວ່າຍປະຊາຊົນຈຸນລາວ 22 ມີນາ 1955 ຕິດຕາມໂດຍຂໍ້ທີ 8
ຂອງໂຄງການ 10 ຂໍ້ທີ່ປະກາດໃຫ້ຈຸນລາວ 10 ເມສາ 1964 ໂດຍ
ກອງປະຊຸມຈຳຫວ່າຍປະຊາຊົນ II ຂອງແນວລາວຮັກຊາດເຊິ່ງໄດ້ເພີ່ມແຜ່
ອີກຄືນຈຳນວນ 5 ທີ່ກອງປະຊຸມຈຳຫວ່າຍປະຊາຊົນ 3 ຂອງແນວລາວຮັກຊາດ
ຈຸນລາວເດືອນພະຈິກ 1968, ຈຳນວນລາຍງານການເລືອກຕັ້ງຂອງກອງປະ
ຊຸມຈຳຫວ່າຍປະຊາຊົນທີສອງ (3 ກຸມພາ 1972) (ໂກສອນ 1985 ຫນ້າ
138-139) ແລະຂໍ້ທີ 6 ຂອງໂຄງການການເລືອກຕັ້ງເພື່ອສັນຕິພາບ,
ເອກະລາດ, ເປັນກາງ, ປະຊາທິປະໄຕ, ເອກະພາບແລະວັດທະ
ນາຖາວອນໂດຍແມ່ນກອງປະຊຸມຂອງຄະນະນິຕິບັນຍັດການເລືອກ
ແຫ່ງຊາດຈຸນລາວ 10 ແລະ 24 ພຶດສະພາ 1974 ໄດ້ຮັບຮອງ

ແລະໄດ້ຍ້າຍເຖິງການຮັບປະກັນສິດແລະອິດສະຫລະພາບຂອງຍິງ-
ຊາຍໃນທຸກດ້ານແລະກົດຫມາຍລັດຖະທຳມະນູນໃຫມ່, ໄດ້ຍ້າຍຄືນ
ອີກເທື່ອຫນຶ່ງການສ້າງເສີມສິດສະເໝີພາບລະຫວ່າງຍິງ-ຊາຍແລະ
ເຮັດກຳລັງສຸດການບໍ່ສະເໝີພາບທາງດ້ານສັງຄົມແລະການເລືອກ
ລະຫວ່າງເປົ້າຊີ້.

ຫລັງຈາກ 1975 ແລ້ວທີ່ ລາວ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຍິງ ແບກຫາບພາລະ
ວຽກຫລາຍຢ່າງໃນຊີວິດປະຈຳ ວັນ. ບາງມາຕະ ການ ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບ
ເອົາເພື່ອຜ່ອນການແບກຫາບ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແລະເພື່ອເຮັດເຂົາ ເຈົ້າໄດ້
ຮັບການສຶກສາສູງ. ການ ປະກາດວັນແມ່ຍິງສາກົນໄດ້ເນັ້ນໃຫ້ເຫັນ
ຄວາມສຳຄັນຈຳນວນສັງຄົມລາວ ແລະເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍເຄົາລົບປົດປາດສຳ
ຄັນຂອງຜູ້ເປັນເມຍ. ແຕ່ການຍົກປົດປາດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນສັງຄົມລາວ
ແມ່ນຍັງຊ້າຫລາຍທັງນີ້ກໍ່ເນື່ອງມາຈາກຄວາມເຊື່ອຖືອັນເກົ່າແກ່ແລະ
ຍ້ອນການສຶກສາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຖ້າຫຼືບໍ່ ເສຍຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍແມ່ນຍັງຕໍ່າຫລາຍ.
ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຮູ້ຫນຶ່ງສິນເຖິງ 10-15% ສິນ ກວ່າ ຈຳນວນ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ.
ເພື່ອອົບລົມຜູ້ຊາຍເພື່ອໃຫ້ປ່ຽນແປງທັດສະນະແນວຄິດຂອງເຂົາເຈົ້າ
ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ຕໍ່າແລະຍິງບໍ່ສັນຕິຕິສົມຈະ ຢ່າງເດັດດ່ຽວລົບລ້າງແນວຄິດ
ດູກູກຜູ້ຍິງ (ໂກສອນ 1977 ຫນ້າ 84-85). ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍ່
ພາກ ຕົວຈິງຍິງມີການຈຳແນກຢູ່ຫລາຍ ເຊັ່ນ ເຫດຜົນຈຳນວນບໍ່ຈຳ
ຕິດ "ໂພສັງຄົມ". ຈຳນວນ 1986, ພະ ນັກງານຍິງຜູ້ເຮັດສິນເຊີງຈະ
ຖືກທຳມາບໍ່ໃຫ້ໄປເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານຢູ່ ພາຍໃນກໍ່ ຄືຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ
ຄົນດຽວຫລືສອງຄົນຮ່ວມກັນກັບເພດຊາຍ. ແຕ່ ຫລັງຈາກໄຂປະຕູ
ອອກສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງຖືກອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ໄປ ຕ່າງປະເທດ
ກັບຜູ້ຊາຍແບບລັກສະນະການເດີນທາງເພື່ອ ຫຼຸດລະດັບ. ຕົວຢ່າງທີ່
ຜ່ານມາ ມີກຸ່ມລະດັບຍິງໄດ້ໄປປະເທດອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍ ກັບ ຜູ້ຊາຍ
ສອງຄົນເພື່ອສູນການຄ້າສາກົນທີ່ ຊິດນີ Sydney ຈຳນວນ ເດືອນຕຸລາ
1991 (ຂ່າວລາວKhaod Lao 1991 ຫນ້າ 22).

ຄ- ການປັບປຸງຄຸນຄ່າໂທມ໌

ສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວແມ່ນພາຫະນະອັນໜຶ່ງເພື່ອເຮັດ
ໃຫ້ ລະບົບຄຸນຄ່າຖືກຝັງເລິກໃນແນວຄິດ "ສັງຄົມນິຍົມ". 3 ຄື
2 ໜ້າທີ່ ໄດ້ ຖືກ ຮັບເອົາໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ ໓ ທີ່
ຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໃນທົ່ວປະເທດປີ 1984.

ສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ ຍິງລາວມີຄວາມສົນໃຈຢ່າງຍິ່ງທີ່ ຢາກ
ຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວເປັນຜູ້ຍິງລາວໂທມ໌ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຕົກລົງຮັບເອົາໃນ
ກົດລະບຽບລົງວັນທີ 21 ມີນາ 1984. ກົດລະບຽບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້
ເນັ້ນເຖິງຄຸນສົມບັດສິນທຳ ປະຕິບັດແລະການບຳລຸງຊີວິດສະເພາະ
ເພື່ອຮັບໃຊ້ການປະຕິບັດແລະສັງຄົມນິຍົມທີ່ເພື່ອໃຫ້ຖືກຕາມເປົ້າ
ຫມາຍຂອງ 3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່. ໜຶ່ງໃນສາມຄື ແມ່ນການ
ເປັນພົນລະເມືອງດີຊຶ່ງພົວພັນເຖິງ ການ ຮັກຊາດ, ການເສຍສະ
ຫລະເພື່ອລະບອບໂທມ໌ແລະຊື່ສັດຕໍ່ແນວທາງແລະການນຳຂອງ ຝັກ
ທັງສາມກົດກັບຜູ້ຍິງເພື່ອ ຊົມເພື່ອປະກອບສ່ວນປົກປັກຮັກສາແລະກໍ່
ສ້າງປະເທດຊາດ. ຫລັງຈາກນັ້ນພົນທີ່ເກັບກ່ຽວໄດ້ໃນການປຸກລະ
ດົມ ຄຳຂວັນ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ແມ່ນເປັນການ ພໍອີກ ພໍໃຈເພາະ ຜູ້ຍິງມີ
85.597 ຄົນ ທີ່ໄດ້ຖືກຄັດເລືອກ (ປີດຳ 1987). ນອກຈາກ
ເປັນ ພົນລະເມືອງດີແລ້ວ, ຄຳຂວັນທີ່ສອງຂອງ 3 ຄື ແມ່ນເປັນ
"ເມຍທີ່ດີ" ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ສ້ອງແສງ ເຖິງການປະຕິບັດຕົນໄປຕາມວັດທະ
ນະທຳອັນດີງາມຂອງລາວ. ສ່ວນເມຍທີ່ດີແມ່ນມີຄວາມຫມາຍວ່າ
ຊື່ສັດຕໍ່ພົວ. ນອກນັ້ນເມຍ ຕ້ອງ ຊ່ວຍໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນພົວເພື່ອຜ່ານຜ່າ
ອັນຍຸ້ງຍາກ. ເອກະສານ 3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່ ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ເມຍ
ແລະ ພົວ ຕ້ອງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີຄວາມສະເໝີພາບແລະປາສະຈາກການ
ຜິດຖຽງ. ເມຍຕ້ອງສ້າງທຸກໆຢ່າງໃຫ້ພົວ ໄດ້ເຮັດວຽກແລະ ຮ້າ
ຮຽນພ້ອມທັງຕ້ອງຍ້ອງຍໍພົວຖ້າພົວເຮັດອັນບໍ່ດີສຳເລັດ. ເວລາພົວ
ເຮັດຜິດພາດ, ເມຍກໍ່ຕ້ອງມີຄວາມກ້າຫານສຳຫລວດພົວແລະເມຍ

ບໍ່ຄວນຈະປົກປິດຄວາມອ່ອນແອຂອງພົວ. ເມຍ ຕ້ອງຮ້າຮຽນເຮັດ
ແນວໃດຈະຕ້ອງດູແລເຮືອນຊາມ ຫຍິບປັກຫລືຕຳຫຼກແລະຮັກສາໃຫ້
ເຮືອນສະອາດປົນຫລັກການ "ສາມສະອາດ". ໃນການຢູ່ກິນເມຍ
ທີ່ຕ້ອງຮັກສາແລະຊ່ວຍເຫລືອພໍ່ແມ່ຕົນແລະພໍ່ແມ່ພົວເມຍທັງ ຈະ
ຕ້ອງສະແດງເຖິງຄວາມສາມັກຄີກັບມິດສະຫາຍເພື່ອນຮ່ວມ ຊາດ
ແລະມີນ້ຳໃນສາກົນກຳມະຊີບ. ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ໄດ້ປຸກລະດົມ 4 ປີ
ແລ້ວຫມົດ ທົ່ວປະເທດມີ 100.334 ຄົນທີ່ຖືກເລືອກເປັນເມຍທີ່ດີ
(Report of the LWU 1988).

ຄຳຂວັນສຸດທ້າຍ ຂອງ 3 ຄື ແລະ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ ແມ່ນ
ເປັນ "ແມ່ທີ່ດີ". ຄຳຂວັນນີ້ຢາກຫມາຍເຖິງຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ສ່ວນ
ຈາກ ແລະ ມັນຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຮູ້ກຳກັບແລະຮູ້ຈັກຈິດຕະສາດ
ຂອງ ລູກວ່າຕ້ອງຮັບປະກັນເຮັດໃຫ້ລູກກາຍເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີ.

ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນຈິດໃຈຕົ້ນຕໍຂອງເອກະສານ. ຈາກການປະຕິບັດຄຳ
ຂວັນດັ່ງກ່າວພົນທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບກໍ່ຄືໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນ 79.504 ຄົນໄດ້
ກາຍເປັນແມ່ທີ່ດີ.

ແຕ່ດ້ານຜູ້ຊາຍເອກະສານກໍ່ໄດ້ເນັ້ນວ່າຕ້ອງເປັນພົວທີ່ດີ. ສ່ວນ
ການເປັນພົວທີ່ດີເອກະສານໄດ້ເວົ້າຫຍໍ້ທີ່ສຸດ. ການເປັນ "ພົວທີ່ດີ"
ຄືພົວຕ້ອງເປັນແບບຢ່າງ ແລະຕ້ອງສອນເມຍທັງຊ່ວຍເຫລືອເມຍ
ເພື່ອພົນສຳເລັດຫມົດທຸກວຽກແລະເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໃດກໍ່ກາຍເປັນ
ພົວແບບຢ່າງແລະພ້ອມກັນສ້າງທັງປົກປັກຮັກສາປະເທດ. ແຕ່ເອ
ກະສານພາກນີ້ຜູ້ຂຽນເຊື່ອວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຈຳນວນຫລາຍຄົງບໍ່ເຄີຍ
ອ່ານ.

ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີສອງຂອງ ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໄຊອັນໃນ ປີ

1988 ໄດ້ຮັບເຂົ້າແນວທາງໂຫມກ່ຽວ ກັບ "3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່". ໂດຍສະເພາະໄດ້ເນັ້ນກ່ຽວກັບການເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີແມ່ນຕ້ອງເປັນຜູ້ກໍ່ສ້າງຄອບຄົວທີ່ດີບົນພື້ນຖານວັດທະນະທຳໂຫມກ່ຽວແລະອະທຍາຍຄວາມສາມັກຄີທີ່ດີ. ແຕ່ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ໂຫມກ່ຽວແມ່ນຄືເກົ່າ. ແຕ່ພົນກໍເປັນໜ້າທີ່ສຳຄັນທີ່ສຸດທີ່ເອກະສານ "3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍປະ ກິດໃຈສູ່ຊາຍ". ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນບົດຄຳແພງບຸບຜາ, ອະດີດ ປະທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວ, ໄດ້ຍ້ອງຍົນໂຫມກ່ຽວຮຸນຮຸນກ່ຽວກັບປີ 1988, ເພື່ອເວລາຜູ້ຮຸນໄດ້ສ້າງພາດເພີນ.

ຈຸນ ກໍລະນີ ຈຸດກໍ່ໃຊ້, ເລີ້ນທາງປົດປ່ອຍຕໍ່ຍິງຄົງບໍ່ຊື່ນກັບ ຕື່ຍິງຢ່າຍດຽວແຕ່ຄົງຈະຊື່ນກັບຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນສຳຄັນຈະແມ່ນຢູ່ໂຮງງານ, ບ່ອນປຸກຝັງ, ຟ້າມຫລືຫ້ອງການ. ແຕ່ການສຶກສາໂຄສະນາຄວນແນະນຳ, ເພື່ອອະທຍາຍການພົວພັນ ທີ່ດີແລະຫວ່າງຍິງຊາຍ, ເລີ້ນນຳພາກລ່ວນທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດຊອບຄືຜູ້ຊາຍ. ກອງປະຊຸມໂຫມກ່ຽວທີ່ສອງຂອງ ສະຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຕົກລົງ ວ່າ 3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່ຄວນ ຈະປະຕິບັດໂຫມກ່ຽວ (Report of the LWU 1988 ໜ້າ 54, 56). ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຜ່ານມາ, ຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ເຄີຍມີການຊັດເຈນຂອງຕົນສະເພາະເພື່ອມີໄວ້ອົບຮົມກ່ຽວກັບປັນຫາຍິງຊາຍ. ເພື່ອຕົກສຳພາດໂດຍຜູ້ຮຸນຈຸນວັນທີ 29 ກັນຍາ 1988 ບົດຄຳແພງ ບຸບຜາໄດ້ເວລາວ່າ "ຈຸນຫລາຍພາກລ່ວນປະຊາຊົນແລະ ພະນັກງານເຂົ້າໂຈຄວນຫມາຍຂອງຄຳຂວັນນີ້ຕ່າງກັນແລະຄິດວ່າ ຄຳຂວັນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນອົບຮົມແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງ".

ລວມ ຄວາມແລ້ວຄຳຂວັນ 3 ຄື 2 ໜ້າທີ່ ບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບການຝັງ ສອນທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ມາຫລາຍສະຕະວັດນັ້ນຄື ໝັ້ງສິນຊົນຊຸມຊົນ ເຊິ່ງ ເນັ້ນໜັກໃສ່ແຕ່ໜ້າທີ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແລະປົກປ້ອງຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຈຸນເປັນແມ່ລ້ວງດູອຸກແລະເບິ່ງກຳກັບພົວ.

ງ- ເຄື່ອງມືອັນແຫລມຄົນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ.

ຊາວໜຸ່ມ, ກຳມະກອນ, ຊາວນາ ແລະຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເຂົ້າຢູ່ຈຸນຮອງການຊັດເຈນຫາຊົນຂອງພັກແລະ ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງກໍເປັນຮົງການອັນເຫມາະເພື່ອເຮັດໂຫມກ່ຽວຮຸນຮຸນການຕໍ່ສູ້ແລະຄວາມສາມັກຄີຂອງຕົນ.

ສະໄຫມຕໍ່ຕ້ານຝຣັ່ງ, ຈຸນ ປີ 1955, ຊູ່ແມ່ນປົດຮຽວກັນທີ່ມີການສ້າງຕັ້ງພັກ, ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ຕົກສ່ຽງຕັ້ງອັນຈຸນວັນທີ 20 ເດືອນກໍລະກົດ 1955 ທີ່ ແຂວງ ຫົວພັນມີຊື່ວ່າ ຄະນະຊົນຂວາຍສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງລາວຮັກຊາດ. ລະບຽບຂອງສະມາຄົມໄດ້ມີຈຸດປະສົງລະຕົມຜູ້ຍິງບັນດາເຜົ່າແລະຫຸກຊົນຄົນເຂົ້າຮ່ວມຈຸນການຕໍ່ສູ້ປົດປ່ອຍຊາດ (Report of the LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 5).

ພາຍຫລັງ ປົດ ປ່ອຍຊາດທີ່ວປະເທດແລ້ວສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ປ່ຽນຊື່ໂຫມກ່ຽວປະຊຸມໂຫມກ່ຽວທີ່ງທຳອິດຈຸນປີ 1984 ເປັນສະຫະພັນ ແມ່ ຍິງ ລາວ (Report of the LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 5).

1. ໂຄງຮ່າງການຊັດເຈນ.

ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຊັດເຈນອັນແລະອະທຍາຍການ່າງເຊິ່ງເລີ້ນແຕ່ສອງແຂວງທາງເຫນືອຂອງລາວ. ຈຸນທ້າຍທີ່ຄສະວັດ 50 ສະມາຄົມມີສາຂາຂອງຕົນຢູ່ທົ່ວເຊດປົດປ່ອຍເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າ ລະ ປົບການຊັດເຈນຍິງບໍ່ທັນແຫນ້ນຫມາເທົ່າຈຸນ (Report of the

LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 4). ແຕ່ຫຼັງຈາກປະເທດຊາດໄດ້ປົດ
ປ່ອຍຢ່າງສົມບູນ ແລ້ວ ການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ອະທຍາຍາຍຕົວຢ່າງໄວ
ວາ. ພາຍຫຼັງ 1975 ສູນກາງຂອງສະມາຄົມແມ່ນໄດ້ຕັ້ງຢູ່ເອກ
ປົດປ່ອຍເກົ່າ ແຕ່ກໍ່ມີສາຂາທີ່ວຽງຈັນແລະມີຊື່ວ່າຄະນະ ຂົນຂວາຍ
ສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງລາວຮັກຊາດ ກຳແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນ.

ການ ເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານແມ່ຍິງໃນຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານເຊິ່ງເອີ້ນວ່າ
ໜ່ວຍສາ ມັກຄີ ໂດຍໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນໜ່ວຍຢູ່ທຸກຂັ້ນ ແລະທຸກ
ບ່ອນທີ່ເຮັດວຽກເຊັ່ນກະຊວງທະບວງກົມຫລືວິສາຫະກິດ. ສະ ມາ
ຊິກຂອງສະມາຄົມ ຈະຈັດເອົາເປັນໜ່ວຍຂັ້ນກັບຄະນະ ຂົນຂວາຍ
ສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມ. ໃນເວລານັ້ນປະທານຂອງໜ່ວຍຈະຖືກເລືອກ
ຕັ້ງຫາກແຕ່ຖືກປົ່ງຕົວຈາກຂັ້ນເທິງແລະເຫັນດີໂດຍກອງ ປະ ຊຸມ
ຫລວງ ຂອງສະມາຊິກ. ອາຍຸປະທານແມ່ນພຽງ 1 ປີແຕ່ສາມາດ
ຕໍ່ເຖິງ 3 ປີຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນໂດຍອີງຕາມເງື່ອນໄຂແຕ່ລະໜ່ວຍ.
ປະທານຈະແຕ່ງຕັ້ງສະມາຊິກສອງຄົນເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແລະຕ້ອງໄດ້ເຫັນດີ
ຈາກຄະນະຂົນຂວາຍສ້າງຕັ້ງຂອງສະມາຄົມກຳແພງນະຄອນ. ຄະ
ນະຂົນຂວາຍຈະມີໜ່ວຍຢູ່ທຸກຂັ້ນແລະຈະມີຄະນະອຳນວຍເຊິ່ງມີຄະ
ນະປະກອບ 11 ຫລື 13 ຄົນແລະຈຳນວນຈະຈຸດໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະຂັ້ນ
ເຊັ່ນນັ້ນ ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ, ຕາແສງ, ບ້ານຫລືຄຸ້ມ. ໂຄງຮ່າງ
ການຈັດຕັ້ງດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຍຸດຕິຖານ ປີ 1984. ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງ
ທີ 1 ຂອງແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ປັບປຸງກົດລະບຽບຂອງການຈັດຕັ້ງໃຫ້ເໝາະ
ສົມໄປຕາມສະພາບສັງຄົມ, ເສດ ຖະກິດແລະການເມືອງຂອງປະ
ເທດໃນໄລຍະໃຫຍ່. ມາ ຕາ 5 ຂອງ ກົດລະບຽບໃຫມ່ໄດ້ເອົາ
ເຖິງການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງ 4 ຂັ້ນຄື: ຂັ້ນສູນກາງ, ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ
ແລະບ້ານ. ແຕ່ລະຂັ້ນມີຫ້ອງການບໍລິຫານຂອງຕົນ. ພາຍໃຕ້ຄວາມ
ຮັບຜິດຊອບຂອງປະທານສະຫະພັນແລະມີຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງເປັນຮອງປະ

ທານ. ທັງຫມົດ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກຂອງພັກປະຊາຊົນປະຕິວັດລາວ.
ເພື່ອຊີ້ນຳນຳພາການເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານ, ສະຫະພັນປະກອບດ້ວຍ
ຫລາຍກົມເຊັ່ນ: ກົມຈັດຕັ້ງ, ກົມພົວພັນຕ່າງປະເທດ, ກົມອ່າວ...
ປັນດາກົມກອງຕ່າງໆ ຈະປະຫລາຍພະແນກ. ໃນຂັ້ນປະເທດ ແລະ
ແຂວງຄະນະບໍລິຫານຈະຖືກເລືອກເຜື້ອ 5 ປີແລະ 3 ປີສຳ ຫລັບ
ຂັ້ນລຸ່ມ. ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ສະຫະພັນມີຫນ້າທີ່ເລືອກຕັ້ງປະທານ ຂັ້ນ
ສູນກາງ, ແຂວງແລະກຳແພງໃນທຸກໆ 5 ປີເດືອນຫນຶ່ງ.

2. ເງື່ອນໄຂແລະການຮັບເອົາເປັນສະມາຊິກ.

ກ່ອນ ປີ 1984 ຜູ້ຍິງທຸກຄົນທີ່ມີອາຍຸເກີນ 15 ປີສາມາດສະ
ເໜີເອົາເປັນສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ພາຍຫຼັງມາຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງມີອາຍຸ 17 ປີ
ຕາມກົດ ລະ ບຽບໃຫມ່, ໂດຍບໍ່ຈຳແນກຊົນຊາດຊົນເຜົ່າຫລືສາສະ
ໜາ ແຕ່ຮັກ ຊາດ, ຮັກສັນຕິພາບ, ຊັງສັດຕູແລະຮ່ວມສາມັກຄີກັບ
ປະຊາຊົນ ທົ່ວ ປະເທດແລະສາກົນເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ກ້າວໜ້າແລະເຫັນດີນຳ
ກົດລະບຽບ ແຕ່ ບໍ່ເຄື່ອນໄຫວຫລືເອົາໃນອົງການປະຕິການແມ່ນຈະ
ຖືກເລືອກໃຫ້ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວການເປັນສະມາ
ຊິກແມ່ນຖືກເລືອກເຝັ້ນທີ່ສຸດເພາະຜູ້ສະມັກຕ້ອງມີປະຫວັດການເມືອງ
ປອດໄພແລະທັງມີຜົນງານການເມືອງອີກ. ການຮູ້ຈັກວິຊາສະເພາະ
ຍັງບໍ່ພຽງພໍຫາກຕ້ອງມີຄຸນສົມບັດປະຕິວັດທີ່ຈຳເປັນອີກຄື "ເປັນແດງ
ກ່ອນແລ້ວຈິ່ງເປັນຊ່ຽວຊານ".

3. ບາງຫມາກພົນ

ໂດຍເປັນການຈັດຕັ້ງທີ່ມີມາແຕ່ພື້ນຖານເປັນຢ່າງດີ, ອົງການ
ຈັດ ຕັ້ງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນເຄື່ອງມືທີ່ດີຂອງພັກປະຊາຊົນ
ປະຕິ ວັດລາວເພື່ອເຕົ້າໂຮມກຳລັງແມ່ຍິງ. ດ້ວຍຫົນທີ່ຈຳກັດທີ່ສຸດ

ແລະ ພະນັກງານບໍ່ຫລາຍ, ສິ່ງການຊົ່ວຄ່ອງໄດ້ເຮັດຕື່ມໂຫວວຽກ
ງານທີ່ຈຳກັດເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ານຊັ້ນແຂວງແລະບາງຊັ້ນເມືອງກໍ່ອາດພະ
ນັກງານນຳພາ (Report of the LWP 1988) ນັ້ນ

12) ຈົນວ່າບ່າງບ່ອນໄດ້ເອົາຜູ້ອາໄສພາວຽກຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ເພື່ອ
ແນ່ນອນສູ່ບ່າງບ່ອນພາຍລະຕິດບົດບ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງຂອງພັກແລະລັດ, ພັກ
ແລະ ລັດກໍໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ຝຶກຫາຜູ້ຍາກຈິງໄດ້ອຸກຢູ່ບ່າງເປັນປົກກະຕິ
ວຽກງານຂອງສະຫະພັນ. ຫລັງຈາກທີ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງພຽງພໍກ່າວ
ຂອງການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງແລ້ວອະທິບາຍກັບລັດຖະມົນຕີ ທະນາຄານ
ວິຫານ ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ຂະ ບວນແມ່ຍິງຕໍ່ກອງບະຣຸນໂຫຍ້ທຳອິດ
ຂອງແມ່ຍິງທັງໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງຂໍ້ປົກພ້ອງໂດຍສະເພາະທາງດ້ານການ
ອະຫຍາຍສະມາຊິກວ່າມີຄວາມຊັກຊ້າເພາະແມ່ຍິງເປັນ ຈຳນວນ
ໆໜ້າຍິງຖືກບະລະຢູ່ນອກການຈັດຕັ້ງທັງເວຽ້ອມໄວຮັບເອົາ ເຂົ້າອົງ
ການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງເຂັ້ມຄົງແລະບໍ່ສອດຄ່ອງກັບລັກສະນະທີ່ເປັນອົງ
ການ ຈັດ ຕັ້ງ ຂອງພວມຊືນ (Report of the LWP

1986 ຫນ້າ 17). ສະພາບຈຸນລັກສະນະຄຽວກັນກໍ່ມີທີ່ ຫວຽດ
ນາມຊຶ່ງຫຼວງນີ້ດີນປະທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງຫວຽດນາມໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ
"ການເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກ ງານຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນ ປ່ຽນ
ແປງໄວ ພຽງພໍເພື່ອທຳເຫມາະກັບຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂອງສະ ພາບ
ການປ່ຽນແປງໆໜ້າ" (ກີນ-ຊອດເຊີ Quinck-Jones 1983
ໜ້າ 3; ຮອນ ມາກ 1987). ສະພາບທີ່ທ່ານໂກສອນ ກ່າວ
ມານັ້ນໄດ້ມີຕົວຢ່າງເຊັ່ນກ້າແພງນະຄອນ ວຽງຊັນ ຈຸນປີ 1986
ມີພຽງ 199 ໜ່ວຍ, ຊັ້ນບ້ານ 22 ໜ່ວຍ, ຊັ້ນ ຕາແສງ 9
ໜ່ວຍແລະຊັ້ນເມືອງ. ທັງໝົດລວມມີຜູ້ຍິງ 26.846 ຄົນ ເປັນ
ສະມາຊິກ (ພັນທະລິງສີ 1986 ໜ້າ 2). ແຕ່ຈຳນວນ ນີ້ລະ
ເມືອງຍິງມີເຖິງ 390.250 ຄົນ ສ່ວນຈຳນວນທີ່ອະ ຕທາ ມີ
10.200 ໜ່ວຍ (ພຽງຊັ້ນໄຟຟ້າ 6 ທີ່ນ ວາ 1986; ຍິງ
ເກົ່າ 1987). ຈຸນປີ 1988 ຈຳນວນໜ່ວຍໄດ້ເພີ່ມ ຊັ້ນ ເປັນ

15.914 (Report of the LPU 1988a ຫນ້າ 41). ແຕ່ເດືອນກົບຄືນຫາປີ 1964, ສະມາຊິກພົບຂອງ 1.000 ຄົນ (ສໍາພາດ ກອງເດືອນ ສິດພະຍາ, 29 ສິງຫາ 1988). ຫລັງຈາກ 2 ທົດສະວັດຜ່ານໄປແລ້ວແຕ່ປີ 1964 ຫາ 1984 ຈໍານວນໄດ້ເລີ່ມເປັນ 425.021 ຄົນ (Report of the LPU 1986 ຫນ້າ 108). ຈຸນປີ 1988 ມີສະມາຊິກຈໍານວນ 496.032 ຫລື 27.09 ເປີເຊັນ (Report of the LPU 1988a), ຖ້າ ທຽບໃສ່ ພົນລະເມືອງ ຍິງຫົວປະເທດມີ 2.009.400 ຄົນ. ອັນນີ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນ ວ່າ ຕໍ່ ນັ້ນ ລັດ ສະມາຊິກ ບໍ່ ສາມາດ ຮັບ ຂອງ ສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ກ່ອນມາການ ເປັນສະມາຊິກແມ່ນກຽດແລະຄວາມພູມໃຈອັນຫນຶ່ງແຕ່ຄຽດນີ້ຖື ວ່າ ແມ່ນຫນ້າທີ່ອັນຫນຶ່ງເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ປ່າຄໍາແພງ ຢຸດຜາໄດ້ເວົ້າຈຸນ ວັນ ທີ 27 ສິງຫາ 1988 ວ່າ: "ຢູ່ນັ້ນພົ້ນຖານຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຍາກ ເຂົ້າ ຮ່ວມຂະບວນເຄື່ອນໄຫວຂອງພວກເຮົາແລະພວກເຮົາຕ້ອງໄດ້ ຊຸກ ຢູ່ເລື້ອຍໆ, ແຕ່ກໍ່ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບຄວາມຮ່ວມມືຢ່າງເຕັມສ່ວນ. ເຂົາ ເວົ້າວ່າ ເຂົາມີອຸກແລະບໍ່ມີເວລາພຽງພໍທີ່ຈະເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານ ແມ່ຍິງ, ແຕ່ຄວາມຈິງກໍ່ມີບ່ອນຝາກເຕັກເພື່ອຖະແລຊາກທີ". ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ຍາກຜູກພັນໂດຍກົງກັບວຽກຂະບວນແມ່ຍິງ ແລະເປັນຫາດຮວກັນກໍ່ ມີບໍ່ຢູ່ນັ້ນຫວຽດນາມຊຶ່ງມີການຈັດຕັ້ງ ຈຸນດ້ານນີ້ອີກ. ຫວນທິຄົມ ປະທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງຫວຽດນາມ ໄດ້ ເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ຢູ່ນັ້ນຫລາຍ ບ່ອນ ແມ່ ຍິງ ບໍ່ ຫັນ ໄດ້ເຂົ້າໄກ ການ ຈັດຕັ້ງ" (Quien- van 1983 ຫນ້າ 3). ສະພາບດຽວກັນກໍ່ປະກົດທີ່ກໍາພູເຈຍ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງ ເພລັມມິງ Fleetham 1984 ຫນ້າ 442) ໄດ້ ພົບ "ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງເປັນພຽງສາຂາຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງ ກົງຈັກຜັກຖະ ບານແລະປະກົດວ່າຖືກສ້າງຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນເພື່ອຊຸກຍູ້ແນວທາງພັກ ຫລາຍ ກ່ວາເປັນຈິງສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າການປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີການຂະຫຍາຍ

ຕົວ ຢູ່ ກຳມູເຈຍແລະສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ ແມ່ນ ອີ້ນກັບການເມືອງຂອງລັດຖະບານໂດຍກົງ".

2/ ຄຸນຄ່າເກົ່າແລະແນວຄິດໃໝ່.

ເມື່ອເຢັ່ງສະພາບຄວາມທຸກຍາກໂດຍທົ່ວໄປແລ້ວ, ການແບກ ຫາຍ ທາງດ້ານວຽກງານການຊາມແລະຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຍັງສືບ ຕໍ່ປະທະກັບບັນຫາເກົ່າ. ເງື່ອນໄຂແລະບັນຫາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ ຊົນນະບົດແມ່ນຖືກແບ່ງປັນກັບພາກສ່ວນທີ່ຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງເຊິ່ງກໍ່ມີບັນ ຫາສະເພາະຂອງມັນ.

ທັງ ຫມົດຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງການຜັກຜ່ອນຫລາຍແລະຕ້ອງການມີລູກຫນ້ອຍ ຄົນ. ສິ່ງສຳຄັນໃນການແບກຫາຍຫມົກຫມ່ວງຂອງແມ່ຍິງແມ່ນການຖື ພາທີ່ບໍ່ ສົມສຸດແລະຄວາມຈຳເປັນທີ່ຕ້ອງລ້ຽງດູລູກ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມັນ ໄດ້ເປັນມາແຕ່ເດີມ ທີ່ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງການຈະລຸດຈຳນວນການທີ່ມີລູກ ຫລາຍແຕ່ກໍ່ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສາມາດ.

ກ- ບັນຫາເລື່ອງເພດສຳພັນ

ແນວ ຄິດເລື່ອງເພດສຳພັນສຳຫລັບຄົນລາວສ່ວນຫລາຍເຫມືອນ ດັ່ງສັງຄົມໃນປະເທດທີ່ດ້ອຍພັດທະນາແມ່ນຂະລຳເພາະຄຸນຄ່າສັງຄົມ ບູຮານຍັງຮັກສາຄອງເດີມ.

ໃນ ຄອບຄົວ ກໍ່ຄືໃນໂຮງຮຽນບັນຫານີ້ຈະບໍ່ຖືກເອົາມາໄວ້ລົມ ແລະຈະບໍ່ຖືກ ເອົາເວົ້າໃນຊີວິດສ່ວນຕົວເພາະມັນບໍ່ເໝາະສົມທີ່ ຈະເອົາມາວິຈານຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍຫລືຕາມສະບາຍເຖິງເຕັກນິກແລະ

ຄວາມສຳຄັນຂອງມັນ ເຖິງຈະແມ່ນຄວາມຮູ້ທີ່ເປັນພື້ນຖານທີ່ສຸດກໍ່ ຕາມດັ່ງທີ່ທາງຕະເວັນຕົກຖືວ່າບັນຫາເລື່ອງເພດສຳພັນເປັນບັນຫາ ທີ່ຄວນຮູ້ເລື້ອຍຢັ້ງກັນ.

ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ ມີບ ແຕ່ 1975 ວັນນະຄະດີຍຸກທັນສະໄໝຈະບໍ່ ເວົ້າຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍເຖິງເລື່ອງຄວາມຮັກ. ເພິ່ງລາວສະໄໝຫລາຍ ເພິ່ງບໍ່ເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມຮັກແຕ່ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຈະເວົ້າເຖິງແຕ່ການຜະ ລິດແລະການປະຕິວັດແລະຄວາມຮັກຖືກອະນຸຍາດແລະແຕ່ງງານໄດ້ ກໍ່ຕໍ່ ເມື່ອ ພາຍຫລັງເກັບກ່ຽວພົມຜະລິດຫລືຫລັງຈາກການສຳເລັດ ການກໍ່ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍ, ຫີນທາງ, ໂຮງຮຽນ ຫລືໂຮງຫມໍ.

ເດັກ ຊາຍຍິງຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ວ່າຮ່າງກາຍແລະອະໄວຍະວະທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ ຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ ແນວໃດ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຊົນນະບົດ ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍຈະຮູ້ພຽງວ່າມີການສຳພັນທາງເພດຈິ່ງຖືພາ ແຕ່ເຂົາບໍ່ປະກົດ ວ່າມີຄວາມຮູ້ທາງດ້ານວິທະຍາສາດເຕັກນິກວ່າມັນ ຂະຫຍາຍແນວໃດເຊັ່ນມິດລູກ, ນ້ຳເຊື້ອຜູ້ຊາຍ (Pfister 1989).

ຄົງ ຈະບໍ່ມີ 1 ໃນຈຳນວນຜູ້ຊາຍ 100 ຄົນທີ່ເຄີຍສແວງ ຫາຄວາມຮູ້ຄວາມຊຳນານເຖິງວິທີຈະພາໃຫ້ເກີດຄວາມສຳ ລານ ໄດ້ເຫັນທີ່ ບໍ່ວ່າໂດຍທາງສຶກສາ, ພາກປະຕິບັດຫລື ຈາກ ປະສົບການ. ພໍລະຍາສ່ວນມາກຍັງບໍ່ເຄີຍຊົມຮິດໂລກີ ສຸກຂຶ້ນ ສູງສຸດຈາກຄູ່ສົມຮິດໃນການປະກອບການະກິດດ້ວຍ ຄວາມ ຮູ້ຄວາມຊຳນານຢ່າງຫມ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດກໍ່ມີຄູ່ສົມຮິດ 100 ລະ 80 ຄູ່ທີ່ອາດຈາຮຶກ ລົງໄດ້ວ່າເປັນຄວາມຫລິ້ນເຫລວ ຢ່າງແທ້ຈິງ" (ຫລ້າກຸສິນສວັດ 1975 ຫນ້າ 52).

ນັກຂຽນ ເພື່ອນໄຈ (1975 ຫນ້າ 46) ໄດ້ຍັງຢືນອີກວ່າ "ຄູ່ສົມ

ຮີດ ທັງສອງຝ່າຍທີ່ໄດ້ລົບຄວາມສຸກເກີມສ່ວນຈາກການປະກອບກາ
ມາກິດນັ້ນມີນອ້ຍກວ່າ 30 ເປີເຊັນ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງເປັນເຫດຖານທີ່ເກີດ
ຄວາມບໍ່ພໍໃຈຊຶ່ງກັນແລະກັນ". ອາດຈະສາມາດຄາດຄະເນໄດ້ວ່າ
99 ເປີເຊັນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຮູ້ວ່າເວລາໃດໂຕເອງຈະມີລະດູແລະຄວນ
ຈະເຮັດແນວໃດຢ່າງກັນຫລືເລື່ອມີປະຈຳເດືອນແລ້ວບາງຄົນຄິດວ່າ
ຕົນເອງອາດຖືກຍິງກິດ, ເວລາຖາມແມ່ວ່າເປັນຫຍັງຕົນເອງຈຶ່ງມີ
ເລືອດອອກແລະແມ່ເຖິງຈະຮູ້ກໍມັກຈະຕອບວ່າບ້ອນທ່ານຂາດເທົ່າ
ນັ້ນ. ຍິງສາວສ່ວນໆຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ລະອຽດວ່າການຖືພານັ້ນມີບ້ອນຫຍັງ
ແທ້ແລະຈະຢ່າງກັນແນວໃດແລະມີອາການແນວໃດ. ປະຈຸບັນຊາວ
ຫນຸ່ມສ່ວນໆຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບເພດ ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະຮູ້ເຖິງການປະ
ສົມພັນຫລືການຢ່າງກັນການກຳເນີດກໍແມ່ນຮູ້ຫນ້ອຍ. ເຂົາອາດຈະ
ຮູ້ຈາກເພື່ອນຫລືຈາກວາລະສານຕ່າງປະເທດຫລືໂທລະທັດໂທຫລືວິ
ດີໂອ, ແຕ່ແມ່ນອນບໍ່ແມ່ນຮູ້ນຳໂຮງ ຮຽນ. ມັນອາດຈະແມ່ນດັ່ງທີ່
ມີກ່ອນ ພູໂຂງ ໂຈມມາລາ (1993 ຫນ້າ 8) ໄດ້ເນັ້ນວ່າ:

ພຶດຕິກຳທາງເພດຂອງມະນຸດນັ້ນບໍ່ມີໃຜສອນ, ກັບບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນອາ
ຈານຫລືລູກສົດດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງສາມາດເວົ້າໄດ້ວ່າ: ບັນຫາເພດກັບບັນ
ຫາຊີວິດແມ່ນຂອງຄູ່ກັນ. ແມ່ແຕ່ໃນສິ່ງຄົນເອງບັນຫາເພດສຳຜັນ
ຢັ້ງເປັນບັນຫາບົດຢັ້ງກັນໃນວົງແຄບ, ໃນຄອບຄົວກໍຍັງເປັນບັນຫາ
ທີ່ "ຕ້ອງທຳມ" ບໍ່ເອົາມາເວົ້າເພາະການຜິວຟັນຄອບຄົວຍັງແບບ
ທຳມະຊາດ. ການຮູ້ເພດສຳຜັນກໍຮູ້ໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະຄົນ, ຕາມນິຕາມ
ເກີດ, ບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນອາຈານໃຜ, ບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນລູກສົດໃຜເພາະຖືວ່າ
ເປັນຂອງບໍ່ຈົບບໍ່ງາມບໍ່ຄວນທີ່ຈະເອົາມາເວົ້າ. ແຕ່ຫຼັກຄືນ ຫາກ
ປະຕິບັດ. ເລື່ອງນີ້ຄຶງ ຈະບໍ່ມີໃຜປະຕິເສດໄດ້ເພາະເປັນຄວາມ
ຈິງ, ບໍ່ວ່າຈະເປັນ ຊາວ ໄຮ່, ຊາວສວນ ກັນມະກອນ ຫລືຊົນ
ຊັ້ນປັນຍາຊົນກໍປະຕິບັດກັນຢ່າງມີຄະຕິດັ່ງນັ້ນ.

ໃນໄລຍະຫລັງນີ້ມີຫນຶ່ງສິດິນບາງຊະນິດເຊັ່ນ ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ
(18/07/93 ຫນ້າ 8) ໄດ້ລົງ ບົດກ່ຽວກັບເພດສຳຜັນ (ພູໂຂງ
1993)

ແຕ່ ວ່າ ເພື່ອຈະຈຸດພື້ນອອກຈາກການຂະລຳ ຄົນລາວມັກຈະ
ເອົາ ອະໄວຍະວະຂອງເດັກນ້ອຍຜູ້ຊາຍມາເວົ້າຢອກແລະທີ່ຊົນນະ
ບົດກໍມັກເອົາມາເປັນຊີ້ນ້ອຍເອີ້ນກັນເຊັ່ນ "ປັກທຳ" ຫລື "ອີ່ເຕົາ".
ປະຊາຊົນ ໂຕທີ່ລົບສອງຝັນມາເຊິ່ງຢູ່ບ້ອນໄກກັບເຂດພະມ້າໄດ້ເຖົ້າ
ຊື່ເນື່ອງວ່າ: ເນື່ອງທີ່ເນື່ອງທຳ (Rispaud 1961 ຫນ້າ 1855).

ໃນ ບາງບຸນ, ພຶດຕິກຳເພດ ແມ່ນໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເອົາມີບົດບາດ
ກ່ອນຈະເຖິງ ລະດູຝົນ, ບຸນທີ່ຄົນລາວມັກເຮັດບໍ່ຂາດແມ່ນ ປັ້ງໄຟ
ເຊິ່ງ ຕາມຮີດ ຄອງແມ່ນຈະຈັດຂຶ້ນໃນເດືອນ 6. ໃນໂອກາດດັ່ງ
ກ່າວເຊິ່ງແມ່ນ ຫນຶ່ງໃນການມ່ວນຊື່ນຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຈັດເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງຂອງຜູ້
ຍິງ (ແລະຜູ້ຍິງກໍນຸ່ງເຄື່ອງຜູ້ຊາຍ) ແລ້ວກໍຈັດກັນເປັນກຸ່ມທັງຮ້ອງໂຮ
ໄປຕາມທາງເປັນເຝັງຮ້ອງລຳທີ່ມີສຳນວນກ່ຽວເຖິງເພດ, ທັງແທ້
ອະໄວຍະວະຍິງຊາຍທຽມເຮັດທຳກຳລັງສົມສູ່ກັນ. ເນື່ອຫຼັກຄືນເນົາ
ບໍ່ມີໃຜຈະຕຳນິຈຳວ່າເປັນຜູ້ນິກາມປະພຶດບໍ່ດີຫລື ເປັນການປະ ພຶດ
ແບບເປື້ອຍເປື້ອຍແຕ່ໃນຕົວຈິງຍິງ-ຊາຍໂດຍສະເພາະ ຍິງຫນຸ່ມກໍ
ຫົວໃນການມ່ວນຊື່ນດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຂ- ການຂະລຳທາງເພດ

ໂດຍບໍ່ຄືອີກຄອງຈົນເຊິ່ງທຳມາດຜິວບໍ່ຈຳເປັນສ່ວນເພດກັບເນຍໃນ
ໄລຍະສາມພັນຍາຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ຮີດຄອງລາວບໍ່ໄດ້ທຳມາດຜິວເນຍໃນ

ການຮ່ວມເພດຈົນໄລຍະຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ເຖົ້າຜູ້ແກ່ເຊື່ອວ່າຜົວ
ມັກຈະພະຍາຍາມ "ອັມຂຶ້ນ" ເມຍໃນໄລຍະ ທຳອິດ ຂອງການຢູ່
ໄພພາຍຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນຄວາມພະຍາຍາມຂອງຜົວແລະ
ຫລີກ ເວັ້ນບໍ່ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຖືກຖືພາອີກຢ່າງໄວວາ, ຜູ້ເຖົ້າໂດຍສະເພາະ
ຜູ້ເປັນແມ່ຂອງຍິງສາວມັກຈະໄປຢູ່ຄ້າກຳກັດລູກສາວຈົນໄລຍະ ຢູ່
ໄພຫລືຢູ່ ກຳ ເຊິ່ງເພື່ອຫລີກລ້ຽງຄຳບູຮານທີ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ກອ້ມຂຶ້ນ
ເສົ້າໄພບໍ່ອັນເປັນ ຜູ້ຍິງຖືພາອີກແລ້ວ"

ຕາມຮີດຄອງ ການຮ່ວມທາງເພດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງກ່ອນແຕ່ງ ງານ
ແລະສຳຫລັບແມ່ຫມ້າຍ, ກ່ອນຈະແຕ່ງງານຈະໄດ້ສັງຄົມບໍ່ຮັບໄດ້
ເພາະແມ່ຫມ້າຍຈະຖືກອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ແຕ່ງງານຈະໄດ້ເມື່ອຜົວໄດ້ຕາຍ
ໄປ 3 ປີກ່ອນ.

ຂໍ້ 14 ຂອງອົດສະຕຣາລີຍາສືບສ້າງໄດ້ທຳມາດບໍ່ໃຫ້ມີການ
ຮ່ວມເພດຈົນວັນສິນ, ຈົນວັນເຂົ້າຝັນສາ ແລະຈົນມີປີຈະໄດ້ (ນະ
ຄອນຄຳ 1970 ຫນ້າ 50).

ຄ- ການວາງແຜນຄອບຄົວແລະການຄຸມກຳເນີດ

ຄົນລາວ ມັກຖາມຜູ້ທີ່ຕື່ນຫາກໍ່ຮູ້ຈັກວ່າ "ໄດ້ລູກຈັກຄົນແລ້ວ ?"
ອັນນີ້ຫມາຍເຖິງການຖາມຂ່າວຫາຄວາມອຸດົມສົມບູນທາງດ້ານການ
ຜະລິດຫມໍ້ແຫນຽ ເຊິ່ງ ກົງກັນຂ້າມກັບແນວທາງການເມືອງຈຳກັດ
ຈຳນວນສະນາຊິກ ຄອບຄົວ ເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ປະເທດຈີນແມ່ນການເມືອງ
ຄອບຄົວລູກຄົນດຽວຫລືທີ່ຫວຽດນາມ 1 ຫາ 2 ຄົນ. ແຕ່ຄົນລາວ
ທີ່ມັກເປັນຄົນມີສະຖານທີ່ກ່ວາງມັກມີລູກຫລາຍຄົນ, ຈົນເກືອບທຸກຄົນ
ທີ່ ແຕ່ງດອງເມື່ອນຶ່ງຕໍ່ຫມ້າຍຂວັນເຮົາສາວແລະເຮົາບ່າວຈະໄດ້
ຮັບພອນຜົນກັບຝ້າຍຂາວທີ່ພູກມັດເຂົ້າເຮົາ, ເພື່ອນຍາດມິດແລະ

ຫມໍ້ພອນ ຈະອວຍພອນວ່າ: "ຂໍໃຫ້ລູກເຕັມປ້າມຫລາຍເຕັມເມືອງ"

ສາສະໜາຈະຖືວ່າຊີວິດຄົນແລະສັດເປັນສິ່ງ ທີ່ ສັກກາລະບູຊາ.
ຈົນດ້ານຫນຶ່ງປະຊາຊົນລາວກຽມຜົນຈະມີລູກຫລາຍຄົນແລະມັກຈະ
ປ່ອຍໃຫ້ຝ້າແຖນເປັນຜູ້ຕັດສິນ ຈິ່ງມີການເຊື່ອວ່າ "ແລ້ວແຕ່ບຸນແຕ່
ກຳ". ການຖືພາຖືວ່າເປັນສະພາບທຳມະຊາດສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຜົວ
ແລ້ວ. ແຕ່ ອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງການມີລູກຫມາຍເຖິງມີຫມ້າຍມີຕາສຳຫລັບ
ຜູ້ເປັນພໍ່ (ເຫມືອນດັ່ງນີ້ເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ!) ແລະຖືວ່າເປັນການສະ
ສົມ ກຳລັງເພື່ອການຜະລິດແລະເພື່ອຄວາມປອດໄພຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍດັ່ງ
ນັ້ນຈິ່ງເປັນ ຂອງ ທຳມະດາທີ່ຈະເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງລ້ຽງລູກ 12 ຫາ 15
ຄົນຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນ.

ຄົນລາວເຊື່ອ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຖືພາໄດ້ 3 ເດືອນແມ່ນເດັກນີ້ວິນຍາມ
ແລ້ວຖ້າເດັກຕາຍ ຍ້ອນການຈຸ, ເຂົ້າເຊື່ອວ່າເດັກນີ້ຍາກມາເກີດ
ນຳແມ່ຫລືອາດຈະ ເກີດຫລັງແມ່. ແຕ່ຖ້າແມ່ຕ້ອງການຈະທຳລາຍ
ເດັກຈົນທ້ອງດ້ວຍການຈຸ, ຈະມີການເຊື່ອວ່າແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ຄາດຕະກຳ
ລູກຂອງຕົນແລະຈະເປັນບາບ. ຍ້ອນການເຊື່ອທີ່ດັ່ງກ່າວເຖິງແມ່ນ
ວ່າຈະທຸກຍາກພຽງໃດຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ຈະຖືພາຈົນກ່ວາຮ່າງກາຍຈະບໍ່ສາມາດ
ແບກຫາບໄດ້. ຍ້ອນການເຊື່ອທີ່ດັ່ງກ່າວຈິ່ງເປັນການຍາກທີ່ຈະສົ່ງ
ເສີມ ການ ວາງ ແຜນຄອບຄົວຢູ່ຈົນປະເທດລາວ. ແນມຊີ ໂຈນ
Nancy Volk (1989) ຈື່ງຄຳເຫັນວ່າມີຜູ້ຍິງບາງ ຄົນຊື່ຢາ
ຄຸມກຳເນີດແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ຍອມຮັບຊື່ຫຍັງ. ແຕ່ ປະຈຸບັນ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ເຫັນ
ຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເຫລືອວິໄສຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນການແບກຫາບການ ເຮັດ
ຫມໍ້ຫລືກິນຢາຫລືຊີວິດອື່ນໆຈິ່ງໄດ້ພາກັນສະມັກເຮັດຫມໍ້ນັບມື້ນັບ
ຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ -ຂໍອອບຈາກຫມໍ້ນັບຊາຍຕ່າງ ຜູ້ຍິງ- ເມື່ອອຸມປີ 80 ລັດ
ຖະບານລາວສັງເກດເຫັນວ່າຈຳນວນຜົນລະເມືອງຍິງຕ່ຳຈິ່ງໄດ້ຈຸກ
ບູການເພີ່ມຜົນລະເມືອງເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະບໍ່ມີນາຕະການອັນເຫມາະ

ສິນກໍຕາມ, ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ບໍ່ຕ້ອງການນິຈຸກຫລາຍບໍ່ຮູ້ຈັກເຮັດແນວໃດ ເພາະຢູ່ລາວບໍ່ມີສູນກາງແຜນຄອບຄົວເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະບໍ່ ສິນ ນິກົດ ຫມາຍຢ່າງຈະເຊິ່ງຫລືແນວທາງທີ່ສຳມານການຈຸຊຸຢາຄຸມກຳເນີດແຕ່ກໍ ບໍ່ມີນະໂຍບາຍອະນຸຍາດຫລືສິ່ງເສີມການວາງແຜນຄອບຄົວ. ໃນບໍ່ ຄົນມານັ້ນ ແນວທາງກ່ຽວກັບການອະຫຍາຍການເກີດຂອງ ລັດຖະ ບານບວກກັບການມັກປະປ່ອຍການນິຈຸກຫລາຍໄປຕາມເວັ້ນຕາມກຳ ໄດ້ ເຮັດໃຫ້ອັດຕາຜົນລະເນືອງເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນສູງແລະອັດຕາການຕາຍກໍ ສູງຈຶ່ງມີການໂຄສະນາການເກີດລູກຫລາຍແລະກໍເປັນທີ່ພິພາດຜູ້ຍິງ ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່. ຄຽວນີ້ໂຄງການການເກີດລູກຫລາຍກໍມີການລົງຕິດແທດ ແກ້ບກຳເຂົ້າອ້າງແລະທິດສອບຫລາຍບ່ອນຊຶ່ງຄາດວ່າຈະໄດ້ຮັບຜົນ ດີ.

໘- ການທ້າຫາຍຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕົວເມືອງ

ສະພາບທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ພົບພໍ້ແມ່ນການແບກຫາບວຽກຫນັກຫນ່ວງຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ, ແຕ່ມັນ ອາດຈະມີຜົນຕີບາງອັນສຳຫລັບການດຳລົງຊີວິດທີ່ ສິນສະໄຫມໃນຕົວ ເມືອງ. ແຕ່ມັນຖານຂອງບັນຫາແມ່ນບໍ່ປ່ຽນຄື "ສະເຫນີພາບ ໃນເງິນເດືອນແລະແຮງງານ" ນີ້ຄືຄຳຂວັນຂອງ ກອງປະຊຸມສາກົນຄັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໂລກໃນປີ 1921 ເຊິ່ງສະຫະພັນກໍໄດ້ນຳເອົາມາຈຸຊຸແຕ່ຄົນນານກ່ອນການປ່ຽນແປງ ທາງການເມືອງໃນປີ 1975 ຢູ່ລາວ. ໃນໂຄງການດຳເນີນງານ ອັນເກົ່າຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ "ເຮັດວຽກຄຽວກັນຍິງ-ຊາຍໄດ້ຮັບ ເງິນເດືອນແບບຄຽວກັນ", ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍມີຜົນດີຖ້າສົມທຽບກັບສະ ພາບແຕ່ເກົ່າກ່ອນເຊິ່ງຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດວຽກຄືຜູ້ຊາຍແຕ່ບໍ່ໄດ້ເງິນເທົ່າກັນ (Lebar ແລະ Suddard 1967; ຕວກເຕີນTurton 1977).

1. ເມື່ອຝັກແລະລັດໄດ້ສົນຄວາມສົນຈາໄປທາງອື່ນ. ການຈຳ ແນກແບບເກົ່າທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ກັບຄືນ

ຜ່ານຂະບວນການທິດສອບໃນທຸກຂົງຂອງວຽກງານຂອງສັງຄົມ ກໍ່ຄືຊາດຜ່ານມາຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ມີຫນ້າປະກອບສ່ວນຢ່າງຕັ້ງຫນ້າຢູ່ທຸກບ່ອນ ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ເກືອບທິດສະວັດ ແຕ່ການເຮັດຫລາຍດັ່ງກ່າວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນ ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນບໍ່ສົມກັບຕົວຈິງ.

ຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກຝັກແມ່ນນ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ. ເຫດຜົນກໍ່ມີ ຫລາຍທັງໃນຕົວແລະນອກຕົວ.

ເຖິງຈະມີການສ້າງບ່ອນຝາກ ເດັກຫລາຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງພົບບັນຫາ ກ່ຽວກັບລູກເຂົາເຈົ້າເພາະຕ້ອງເບິ່ງກຳກັບນຳລູກເພື່ອໃຫ້ພີ່ໄດ້ໄປ ການສົນເວລາ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນເຂົາເຈົ້າຈະໄປເຮັດ ວຽກຊ້າ ຫລືຖ້າ ລູກ ເຈັບໄຂ້ບໍ່ໄດ້ໄປເຮັດວຽກເລີຍແລະຫລາຍຄັ້ງກໍ່ກາຍ ເປັນເຫດໃຫ້ມີ ອັບພິກຜ່ອງແລ້ວເປັນຫນຶ່ງສາເຫດທີ່ບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂ ຄັດເລືອກເຂົ້າຝັກ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີຜູ້ຍິງຫລາຍທີ່ຈະ ຖືກເລືອກເຂົ້າເປັນ ສະມາຊິກຂອງ ຝັກຫລືເລືອກເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່ໃນຂັ້ນໂຄງການສາຍຝັກ. ທີ່ປະເທດ ຂະເຫມນມີຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເຂົ້າໃນກົມການເມືອງ (ເກີກຕິດສ Curtis 1989 ຫນ້າ 160) ແລະທີ່ອະດີດສະຫະພາບສາທາລະນະລັດ ສັງ ຄົມນິຍົມໃຊ້ວຽກໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງສອງຄົນເຂົ້າກົມການເມືອງ (ເກັນເລີ Keller 1989). ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຂອງຝັກຄັ້ງທີ 2, ໄດ້ ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຄຽວທີ່ຖືກເລືອກເປັນສະມາຊິກສຳຮອງ-ຊຶ່ງໃນສະໄຫມນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຖືກເລືອກນັ້ນເປັນປະທານຂະບວນການແມ່ຍິງນັບຕັ້ງ ແຕ່ ປີ 1955. ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຂອງຝັກຄັ້ງທີສາມ ປີ 1982, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຜູ້ຄຽວຖືກເລືອກເປັນສະມາຊິກສົມບູນຂອງສູນກາງຝັກ. 4 ປີຕໍ່ມາ ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຂອງຝັກໃນ ປີ 1986 ຜູ້ຍິງ 4 ຄົນ ຖືກ ເລືອກ

ເປັນສະມາຊິກສົມບູນຂອງສູນກາງ ຝັກພ້ອມກັບອີກຫນຶ່ງຄົນເປັນສະມາຊິກສໍາຮອງ (Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 303-304). ໃນເດືອນມີນາທີ່ກອງປະຊຸມໂຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ 5 ຂອງຝັກ, ຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນຖືກເລືອກ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກສົມບູນແລະອີກສອງ ຄົນ ເປັນສະມາຊິກສໍາຮອງ. ທ່ານ ສີສິມພອນ ລໍວັນໄຊ, ກໍາມະການ ກົມການເມືອງສູນກາງຝັກແລະຫົວໜ້າ ຈັດຕັ້ງສູນກາງ, ຮັບ ຜິດ ຊອບກ່ຽວກັບພະນັກງານໃນສາຍຝັກທີ່ສາຍການປົກຄອງ, ເມື່ອຜູ້ ອຽນ ສໍາພາດໃນປີ 1988 ກ່ຽວກັບຈໍານວນນ້ອຍຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ເຂົ້າ ຝັກ, ເພິ່ນໄດ້ຕອບ ວ່າ "ເຂົາເຈົ້າບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂຄົບ". ໃນປີ 1988, ໃນຈໍານວນ 27.09 ເປີເຊັນທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງ ນັ້ນ, 40 ເປີເຊັນ ເຂົ້າໃນການຈັດຕັ້ງຊາວໜຸ່ມ ໄດ້ມີ 19.44 ເປີເຊັນ ເຂົ້າໃນອົງການການກໍາມະບານ ແລະ 9.19 ເປີເຊັນເປັນສະມາຊິກຝັກ (Report of the LWU 1988a ຫນ້າ 42).

ຈໍານວນຕໍ່າຕໍ່າກ່າວນັ້ນບໍ່ເປັນສໍາເລັດທີ່ໜ້າສົນໃຈເພາະ ຫມົດທົ່ວ ປະເທດ ສະມາຊິກລວມຂອງຝັກ ກ່ອນປີ 1986 ມີແຕ່ 43.000 ຄົນ (Stuart-Fox 1986), ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍມີແຕ່ພຽງ 1.05 ເປີ ເຊັນໃນຈໍານວນ 3.584.804 ພົນລະເມືອງ(ຕາມສະຖິຕິ 1985) ໄດ້ເຂົ້າ ຝັກ. ຖ້າຈະຫຼຸດບາດສົມລະເມືອງກໍາແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນ ຕາມ ສະ ຖິຕິ 1985 ມີ 377.409 (ຊາຍມີ 193.136 ຄົນ ແລະ ຍິງ ຈໍານວນ 184.237 ຄົນ) ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນສະມາຊິກຝັກ ມີ 198 ຄົນ ຫລື 0.10 ເປີເຊັນ (ປະຊາຊົນ 26, ກຸມພາ 1988).

ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວຍິງ-ຊາຍແມ່ນຮ່ວມກັນຕໍ່ສູ້ເພື່ອເອກະລາດຂອງ ປະເທດແລະປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຍິງກໍແບກຫາບຫລາຍຫນ້າທີ່ຄຽງບ່າກັບຊາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງກໍໄດ້ມີການສຶກສາສູງ ແລະມີວິຊາການສູງໃນທຸກດ້ານແລະທຸກ ວຽກງານເພື່ອສ້າງສາປະເທດທີ່ຈະເລີນ. ຖ້າຈະສົມທຽບກັບສະຖານະ ກ່ອນ, ໃນລະຍະປະຫວັດສາດ ແຕ່ 1893 ເຖິງການລົບລ້າງຮາ ຊະອານາຈັກລາວ, ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ເຄີຍເປັນສະມາຊິກລັດຖະບານ. ພາຍ ໄຕ້ລະບອບໜຶ່ງ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກສົ່ງເສີມໃນຫລາຍບ່ອນ ແຕ່ຈະຈໍາ ນວນໜ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດທີ່ຈະມີຕໍ່າແທ້ໆສູງ. ມັກຄົ້ນຄ້ວາຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ໃນສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ, ພາຍຫລັງການປະຕິວັດຕົວແທນຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງໃນເວທີການເມືອງແມ່ນລຸດລົງ" (ອິນຸນາ Inuna 1992 ຫນ້າ 3). ໃນລັດຖະບານ ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເປັນ ຂັ້ນ ຮອງ ລັດຖະມົນຕີແລະຖືກເປັນປະທານທະນາຄານໃນ ປີ 1982. ເກົ້າປີຕໍ່ມາພາຍຫລັງກອງປະຊຸມໂຫຍ່ທົ່ວປະເທດຂອງຝັກ ຄັ້ງທີ 5 ໃນເດືອນມີນາ 1991, ຜູ້ຍິງຈໍານວນ 4 ຄົນຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງ ເປັນ ຮອງລັດຖະມົນຕີ. ແຕ່ບໍ່ມີຈັກຄົນເປັນ ຂັ້ນເອກອັກຂະລັດ ຖະ ທຸກ ວິສາມັນຜູ້ມີອໍານາດເຕັມເພາະຊັ້ນນີ້ ຄົງຈະຍັງຖືວ່າບໍ່ທັນຕໍ່າແທ້ໆ ນີ້ບໍ່ທັນເຫມາະສົມສໍາຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງ.

ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກແຈກຢາຍ ຢູ່ໃນຂະແໜງ ການຈໍ ລະ ຈອນຊຶ່ງມີເຖິງ 95 ເປີເຊັນຂອງກໍາມະກອນຍິງ (Report of the LWU 1988a), ເປັນ ຕົ້ນ ແມ່ນ ຂະແໜງການຜະ ລິດສັດຖະກໍາ ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງມີເຖິງ 80 ເປີເຊັນ ທີ່ ເປັນ ກໍາມະກອນ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນຈໍານວນຫລາຍຮັບໜ້າທີ່ຂອງລັດເຊັ່ນເປັນຜູ້ຮັບ ເອກະສານເອົາອອກ, ຜົມຕິດ (ດາວອນ 1988; Inuna 1992). ແຕ່ມີຈໍານວນນ້ອຍທີ່ເປັນຫົວໜ້າເຊັ່ນໂຮງງານຕໍ່າແຜນ ໂພນຕ້ອງ.

ໃນ ຫລາຍປະເທດ, ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຜູ້ຍິງມັກເອົາອາຊີບເປັນ ຄູ່ສອນ. ເພື່ອ ເຮັດໜ້າທີ່ "ແມ່ທີ່ສອງ" ແຕ່ເປັນທີ່ໜ້າສົນ າຈທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ ອາຊີບນີ້ ແມ່ນຕົກ ຕໍ່າ ແລະ ເປັນອາຊີບທີ່ບໍ່ມີ າຜສິນໃຈເທົ່າ າດ (ຄູ ພບ 1983 ໜ້າ 6). ຈຳນວນພະ ນັກງານຜູ້ຍິງໃນ ກະຊວງສຶກສາພິພົດ 50 ເປີເຊັນ (Report of the LWU 1988a; ອ່ອນຈັນ 1992). ຈຳນວນ ຕໍ່າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ແມ່ນ ຍິ່ງ ຕໍ່າລົງເລື້ອຍໆເພື່ອເບິ່ງຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ ຄູ່ສອນອື່ນປະ ຖິມພິພົດ 25.50 ເປີເຊັນ (Report of the LWU 1988a). ໃນ ຂະແໜງ ສາທາລະນະ ສຸກ ທີ່ວ່າ "ແພດຕິແມ່" ຄວນຈະມີຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ ຈຳນວນ ຫລາຍເປີເຊັນ ແຕ່ສະຖິຕິ 1985 ໄດ້ບັນຍັດວ່າ ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນ ແພດຕິ 5.728 ຄົນ ຕໍ່ ກຳມະກອນ ໃນຂະແໜງ ສາ ທາລະນະສຸກ 10.056 ຄົນ. ທິດສະວັດໜຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາ, ໄດ້ ມີ ກຳ ມະກອນສາມາດສະນະສຸກຈຳນວນ 48.08 ເປີເຊັນ. ຖ້າ ສະຫລຸບ ແລ້ວ ໃນຂະແໜງ ທີ່ເວົ້າ ນາ ອ້າງເທິງນັ້ນຖືວ່າແມ່ນຂະແໜງທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ຜູກອາດແຕ່ຜູ້ດຽວ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນຕໍ່າແຫ່ງການເມືອງ ໃນອັນ ພື້ນຖານ ເຊັ່ນ ເປັນ ນາຍບ້ານ, ປະທານຕາແສງ, ປະທານເມືອງ ຫລື ປະ ຫານ ແຂວງມີອັດຕາຕໍ່າ (Inuma 1992). ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ແມ່ນ ຜູ້ ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ຜູກອາດ. ໄອຣິເຊັນ (Ireson C.) ແລະ ອື່ນໆ (1989 ໜ້າ 12) ໄດ້ ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຮ້າຍໆເຊື້ອບໍ່ທັນເຄີຍ ມີບ ຫົວໜ້າຕາແສງ, ເມືອງ, ຫລື ຫົວ ໜ້າບ້ານ ຈັກເທື່ອ, ເຖິງ ແມ່ນວ່າອາດຈະມີຈຳນວນນ້ອຍ. ເພື່ອ ເປັນແນວນັ້ນກໍອາດຈະປະ ຕິບັດຍາກສົດສະເໝີພາບລະຫວ່າງຍິງຊາຍ".

2. ລາອອກຈາກວຽກບໍລິຫານ ເພື່ອເຮັດ ການຜະລິດ ແລະ ການຄ້າຂາຍ

ສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງ, ເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ລາວ ແມ່ນເພື່ອເຮັດແນວຈາດ າດ ຄອບຄົວມີຊີວິດຢູ່ໄດ້ໄປແຕ່ລະວັນ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ມີຫົວຄິດປະຕິດສ້າງ ໃນ ການຫາລາຍໄດ້ ຂອງຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອບັນເທົາຄວາມທຸກຍາກ ຂອງ ຄອບຄົວ. ການເຮັດວຽກຫາງານອອກ ແມ່ນເຮັດໆທີ່ສິ່ງເສີມ ຄວາມ ສາມາດໃນການຕັດສິນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນກໍເປັນ ການ ເພີ່ມທະວີຄວາມເຊື່ອໝັ້ນຂອງຕົນເອງ. ພ້ອມກັບການທີ່ ລາວ ເປັນປະເທດກຳລັງມີປັດຮຽນ ໃນການຜັດທະນາ ແລະ ປ່ຽນ ແປງ ຫາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດກໍຄືສິ່ງຄົມແລະມັນອາດຈະຫລີກບໍ່ໄດ້ ທີ່ຜູ້ ຍິງ ອາດຈະຖືກພິມຮ້າຍຂອງມັນ. ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວ, ໂດຍອີງຕາມ ແນວ ຫາງໆຫມ່ຂອງລັດຖະບານ ທີ່ໂຮປະຕູສູ່ການ ຄ້າສາກິນ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຫລາຍຄົນກໍກ້າຫານລາອອກຈາກໜ້າທີ່ວຽກງານ ຂອງລັດ ເພື່ອ ຊ່ວຍອັນທີ່ຫາງການ ເອີ້ນວ່າເຮັດເສດຖະກິດຄອບຄົວ. ທິດຫາງ ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມາແຕ່ ຊຸມປີ 1980. ເພື່ອສະເລ່ຍແລ້ວຈະ ເຫັນ ໄດ້ວ່າຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງໃນຂະແໜງຂອງລັດ ທີ່ເຮັດວຽກ ຕໍ່າໆ ແມ່ນ ຫລາຍກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ (ດຽວນີ້ກໍຍິ່ງແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍ ກ່ວາ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ເຮັດວຽກທີ່ຕໍ່າໆ, Inuma 1992). ເພາະໃນ ປີ 1976 ລູກເມຍ ພະນັກງານ ທີ່ຍ້າຍມາແຕ່ເອດບິດປ່ອຍ ເກົ່າ ລວມທັງພາກສ່ວນ ທີ່ຢູ່ ວຽງຈັນຊຶ່ງບາງຄົນບໍ່ເຄີຍເຮັດວຽກໃນລະ ບອບເກົ່າໄດ້ຖືກຈັດເອົາ ການຈັດຕັ້ງຫມາຍ ເຖິງວ່າເປັນພະ ນັກ ງານລັດ. ຜູ້ຈັດທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍຮູ້ ຕິພິນດິດກໍໄດ້ອໍາຮຽນພິມດິດ. ບາງຄົນ ຖືກສັບຊ້ອນເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ບ່ອນ ລ້ຽງເດັກຫລືບ່ອນອະ ແຫນງທີ່ບໍ່ຮຽກ ຮ້ອງຄວາມສາມາດສະເພາະ. ເພື່ອ ອອກ ຈາກວຽກເປັນ ພະ ນັກງານແລ້ວຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂໄດ້ທັນເຮັດທຸລະກິດ. ໜຶ່ງ ສິພິມ ບາງກອກໂພດສ (25 ມີນາ 1989) ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ

"ເພື່ອຍາກໄດ້ເງິນເພີ່ມ, ພະນັກງານລັດ ບາງຄົນໄດ້ເຮັດເມຍເອົາ ເຈົ້າເຮັດຫຸລະກິດສ່ວນຕົວທີ່ຕະຫລາດ, ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະບໍ່ມີການສົມ ທະນາກັນເທົ່າໃດກໍຕາມກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫາ ດັ່ງກ່າວ". ຜູ້ອຸຮມໄດ້ສຳ ພາດ ແມ່ຄ້າຢູ່ຕະຫລາດເຊົ້າວຽງຈັນ ຈຳ ນວນ 60 ຄົນໃນວັນທີ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ເງິນ ເດືອນບໍ່ພຽງພໍເພື່ອ ລ້ຽງ ຄອບຄົວຈຶ່ງໄດ້ອອກຈາກກວຽກບໍລິຫານ ມາເຮັດຫຸລະກິດ. ອະບວນ ສະ ມັກ ລາອອກບ້ານນາກ່ອນອາຍຸໄດ້ ເລີ່ມຈາກປີ 1985-1986. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາຜູ້ຍິງກໍມີບັນຍັດເຮັດຫຸລະກິດ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຊາຍກາຍເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ ເຮັດວຽກມີໜ້າທີ່ຕາມລັດແລະຈຸນດີ ການເມືອງຫລາຍ ຂຶ້ນ ເພາະແມ່ນວຽກທີ່ມີກຽດແລະມີອິດທິພົນຕາມສັກຊຶ່ງດ້ານນີ້ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະ ຖືເປັນອັນສຳຄັນກວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ, ເປັນຕົ້ນ, ຈຸນລະຍະ ຕົ້ນຂອງການໄປຢູ່ ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ ບາງຄົນທີ່ເຄີຍມີອິດທິພົນຕາມສັກຊຶ່ງ ຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ຈາກວ່າຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຈະເຮັດວຽກແບບບໍ່ມີໜ້າທີ່ຕາ (ມາດຕິດີ 1987; ມະຍຸຕິ 1993a; ເດຍຈາແລະຊາຍິງ 1993). ດັ່ງນັ້ນຢູ່ຈາກຕະ ຫລາດວຽງຈັນຈະເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຈຳນວນຫລວງຫລາຍ "ຕະຫລາດ ເດີມໄປດ້ວຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງທັງເປັນຜູ້ຊາຍແລະຜູ້ຊື້" (ມະນີວອນ 1987 ຫນ້າ 8).

ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວເຫລົ່ານັ້ນໄດ້ມີບຸນເຊື້ອແລະຄວາມສາມາດເຮັດການ ຄ້າຂາຍ ມາແຕ່ຍຸດທະສາດການແລ່ນເອົາເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີບັນຫາຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ຈາກ ການປັບຕົວ. ເອົາເຈົ້າເປັນທັງ ເຈົ້າ ຂອງຮ້ານ, ທັງເປັນຜູ້ ຂາຍຜັກສິດຕາມແຄມທາງ, ທັງຂາຍ ອາຫານ... ຈຸນດີນັ້ນມາມີ, ທີ່ວຽງຈັນ, ບາງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນເຈົ້າ ຂອງໜີ້ຊື່ຜູ້ຈັດການບໍລິສັດ ເຊັ່ນຢູ່ບໍລິສັດລາວອິນເຕີແຕດ, ໂຮງງານ ຫຍິບ ຜ້າໜີ້ໂຮງງານ ໂມ້ໄຟ (Kho Lee, ຕຸລາ 1991 ຫນ້າ 22) ຫລື ເຈົ້າຂອງບໍລິສັດຫວ່າງທ່ຽວເຊັ່ນລ້ານຊ້າງຫ່ວງທ່ຽວ.

ການໄຂປະຕູໄດ້ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນອັນຕິດພາຍໄດ້ມີກິດໜາຍລົງຫຼື ຕ່ຳປະເທດຈາກປີ 1988 ທີ່ໄດ້ສ້າງໂອກາດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເຮັດຫຸລະ ກິດຢ່າງມີການຮັບປະກັນນຳສາກົນ. ຜູ້ຍິງກຳລັງບໍ່ຮຸນແຮງທາງສັງ ຄົມແລະເສດຖະ ກິດແລະຄວບຄຸມລາຍໄດ້ຂອງຕົນເອງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະ ຖືວ່າ ເປັນສິ່ງເສຍຫາຍຖ້າຮັບເອົາເງິນຈາກເມຍເພື່ອໄປຮູ້ ຈ່າຍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ເພດຍິງຈຶ່ງມີບົດບາດແລະເອົາຜົນຜົນຈາກການເຮັດ ວຽກແບບຈຸນດີ ຖານະເປັນຜູ້ມີລາຍໄດ້ຫລືບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍຈຸນດີຖານະເປັນຜູ້ ລ້ຽງຄູຄອບຄົວ (ກ່ຽວກັບຄົນລາວທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ອຳທິເບິ່ງເດຍ ຈາແລະຊາຍິງ 1993; ມະຍຸຕິ 1993a).

ຮ້ານຕ່າງໆໃນຕະຫລາດຊຶ່ງມີຈາກ 1988 318 ຮ້ານທີ່ເປັນ ຂອງຄົນ ລາວແມ່ນຄວບຄຸມໂດຍຜົວແລະເມຍ, ຜົວເປັນຜູ້ຊື້ຫລືຜູ້ ແລ່ນ ຊອກຊື້ຄ້າຫລືສົນຄ້າອື່ນໆເພື່ອມາບໍລິຫານເພາະບໍ່ມີເວລາ ປະຈຳ ຢູ່ກັບຮ້ານ (ຍ້ອນຈຸນດີນັ້ນບາງຄົນເປັນພະນັກງານບໍ ສັນສາມາດເຮັດຫຸລະກິດທາງ "ແຈ້ງ"). ເມຍເປັນຜູ້ຂາຍກັບທີ່, ແຕ່ປາດຖິ້ງອັນຫະບຽນຊື່ເມຍທາງນີ້ແມ່ນອີງຕາມ ການຕົກລົງຂອງ ທັງສອງ. ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນຄະນະກຳມະການຈັດສັນຕະຫລາດເຊົ້າວຽງ ຈັນໄດ້ອະທິບາຍໃຫ້ຜູ້ອຸຮມຮູ້ໃນວັນທີ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988. ຢູ່ລາວ ຈາກປະຈຸບັນ, ຫລາຍຄອບຄົວ ຜ່ານຜ່າບັນຫາເສດຖະກິດຂອງຕົນ ໂດຍທີ່ສະມາຊິກແຕ່ລະຄົນຕ້ອງປະກອບສ່ວນນຳກັນເຮັດເຊັ່ນລ້ຽງ ໄກ່, ອີ່ວນ້ຳອ້ອຍຂາຍ, ດັ່ງທີ່ຊາມວິດແລະອື່ນໆ (1987 ຫນ້າ 142) ໄດ້ອຸຮມໄວ້ວ່າ "ແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ຍິນຈັກອີ່ວຍອ້ອຍ, ຜົວເປັນຜູ້ເອົາ ອ້ອຍຍັດເອົາຈາກຈັກ, ແມ່ເຖົ້າເປັນຜູ້ປອກ". ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈະເປັນທົ່ວໄປ.

3/ ບົດຮຽນອັນຫນຶ່ງແຫ່ງນັ້ນ. ອຸປະສັກແລະພົນງານ

ກ- ຄວາມສະເໝີພາບທາງດ້ານການສຶກສາ

ຢູ່ປະເທດລາວ, ຕາມປະຫວັດສາດເຫມືອນດັ່ງທີ່ເຮົາມາຮ້າງເທິງ ນັ້ນແມ່ນມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ໄດ້ຮຳຮຽນຢູ່ບັດ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ເປັນຄົນກິກຫນຶ່ງສີ.

ໃນ ຈຳນວນພົນລະເມືອງລາວ ມີ 60 ເປີເຊັນ ບໍ່ຮູ້ຫນັງສືໃນປີ 1975 ແລະໃນປີ 95 ເປີເຊັນເປັນຜູ້ຍິງ (ຄຳແພງ ບຸບຜາ 1977; ດາວອນ 1988). ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍກວ່າເຄົາຊິນເຝົ້າສ່ວນນ້ອຍເປັນຕົ້ນເຝົ້າມັງກິກຫນັງສືນີ້ເຖິງ 99 ເປີເຊັນ (ຢັງ ດາວ Yang Dao 1974 ຫນ້າ 39). ໃນລະບອບປາກົດ ປະຊາຊົນລາວທັງຍິງແລະຊາຍທຸກເຝົ້າໄດ້ມີໂອກາດຮຽນຫນັງສື. ໃນໄລຍະທຳອິດຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ, ຫນັງສືນຫລາຍມາ ຕະການທີ່ລະບອບປາກົດໄດ້ເອົາໃຈໃສ່ແມ່ນການລົບລ້າງການກິກຫນັງສືເພື່ອ ເຮັດ ແນວໃດໃຫ້ປະຊາຊົນລາວໄດ້ຂະຫຍາຍແລະປົກຄຸມດ້ວຍຄວາມຮັບຮູ້ທາງການເມືອງ. ຄຳຂວັນນີ້ວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງທຸກຄົນຜູ້ຮູ້ຕ້ອງສອນອ່ານແລະຂຽນໃຫ້ຜູ້ບໍ່ຮູ້". ຂະບວນການລົບລ້າງການກິກຫນັງສືໄດ້ເລີ່ມແຕ່ເດືອນມັງກອນ 1977 ເປັນຕົ້ນໄປ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຄຳ ສິ່ງເລກທີ 08 ເດືອນມັງກອນ 1977 ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງຄະນະກຳ ມະການພິເສດເພື່ອລົບລ້າງການກິກຫນັງສືແລະບຳລຸງວັດທະນະທຳໃຫ້ປະຊາຊົນທຸກຊັ້ນແລະທຸກການຈັດຕັ້ງ ຫລື ກອງທັບ. ເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ແນວທາງປະກົດເປັນຈິງອີງການລັດໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງ 2 ວັນຕໍ່ອາທິດ (ວັນອັງຄານແລະວັນພະຫັດ) ເປັນວັນບຳລຸງວັດທະນະທຳ. ດ້ວຍຄວາມຕ້ອງການຢາກຮຳຮຽນຈຶ່ງເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຜ່ານຜ່າຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເຂົ້າ ຮ່ວມຮຽນການບຳລຸງສຶກສາທີ່ຈັດຕອນແລງແລະແອນຂ້າງອາວ

ຍຸມລູກນ້ອຍ, ສ່ວນແອນຂ້າງຊ້າຍ ຖື ປຶ້ມ. ບ່ອນບຳລຸງແມ່ນຈັດຂຶ້ນທີ່ວັດຫລືໂຮງຮຽນຫລືສະໂມສອນຂອງອຳນາດການປົກຄອງ, ພາຍໄຕ້ແສງກະບອງຢູ່ຊົນນະບົດຫລືເວລາໄພຝົນມາບໍ່ປົກກະຕິ ຢູ່ ໃນຕົວເມືອງ. ອຸປະສັກ ຕ່າງໆ ເຫລົ່ານັ້ນ ບໍ່ໄດ້ ຈຸດຜ່ອນຄວາມຫ້າວຫັນແລະນາມະຈິດຂອງຍິງຊາຍ. ເຂົາເຈົ້າມີຄວາມພູນໃຈເມື່ອໄດ້ ຮັບຈົບປະກາດການລົບລ້າງການກິກຫນັງສືທີ່ອອກໄດ້ໂດຍເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ ທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ. ທິດສະວັດຫນຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາຄືໃນປີ 1984, ການກິກຫນັງສືຖືກລົບ ລ້າງທົ່ວປະເທດ (ວັນນະສິນ ທັນວາ 1985). ແຂວງຫົວພັນ, ເມືອງຊຽງຕໍ້ແລະຕາແສງຍອດປີ້ນ, ເມືອງແປກ, ແຂວງຊຽງຂວາງ ໄດ້ຮັບລາງວັນອຸບຸດສະໂກໃນຄວາມພະຍາຍາມ ດັ່ງກ່າວ (ສຶກສາໃຫມ່ Sengkha Mai, 1986; ປະຊາຊົນ 2 ມີນາ 1989).

ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສຳເລັດບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ໃນ ດ້ານການລົບລ້າງການກິກຫນັງສືຫາກໂຮງຮຽນຍິງໄດ້ເພີ່ມຈຳນວນ ເຊັ່ນໃນລະຍະຕົ້ນຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ແມ່ນມີເຮືອນ ຝາກເດັກພຽງ 54 ບ່ອນ, ໂຮງຮຽນປະຖົມມີ 4.444 ຫລັງ. ທິດສະວັດຫນຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາ, ໃນປີ 1989-90, ບ່ອນຝາກເດັກໄດ້ ເພີ່ມຈາກ 72 ມາເປັນ 640 ບ່ອນແລະໂຮງຮຽນອຸດົມຈາກ 11 ມາເປັນ 110 ບ່ອນ (ສະຖິຕິ 1990 ຫນ້າ 117, 119, 121).

ເຖິງ ມີ ຜົນສຳເລັດດັ່ງກ່າວແຕ່ຍັງພົບຂໍ້ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ຫລາຍ. ອີງຕາມບົດລາຍງານຂອງອຸບຸດສະໂກໃນປີ 1985 ຈຳນວນ ປະຊາຊົນກັບກິກຫນັງສືຄົນໄດ້ເພີ່ມ 3-6 ເປີເຊັນ (ອຸບຸດສະໂກ Unesco 1985 ຫນ້າ 89) ແລະ ນັບມື້ນັບ ສູງຂຶ້ນເພາະ ບາງບ່ອນປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ລືມໄປແລ້ວສິ່ງທີ່ຕົນໄດ້ຮຽນມາຍ້ອນຂາດການ ນຳເອົາມາໃຊ້. ຕົວຢ່າງກ່ອນປີ 1981, 98 ເປີເຊັນ ຂອງ ປະຊາ

ຊົນຢູ່ແຂວງຝັ່ງສາລີແມ່ນຮູ້ຫນຶ່ງສີ, ແຕ່ໃນ ປີ 1988, 15.000 ຄົນໃນ 135.640 ມົນລະເມືອງຂອງແຂວງ ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ກັບຄືນກີກ ຫນຶ່ງສີ. ໃນປີ 1988-1989 ຜູ້ ຈຳພັນ ຮູ້ຫນຶ່ງສີມີ ພຽງ 45 ເປີ ເຊັນ(ລາວປີດີອາກ ລາຍງານ Lao PDR Report 1988). ລາຍງານ ຂອງ ກະຊວງສຶກສາທິການໃນປີ 1990 ໄດ້ ຍັງຍືນວ່າ ຫມິດທົ່ວປະເທດມົນລະເມືອງອາຍຸ 15 ຫາ 45 ປີ ແມ່ນຍັງກີກ ຫນຶ່ງສີ (ລາຍ ງານ ກະຊວງສຶກສາ Report of the Ministry of Education 1990:1 ຫນ້າ 1). ນອກ ນີ້ຍັງມີສະພາບການປະລະໂຮງຮຽນເຊັ່ນຫມິດທົ່ວປະ ເທດ ໃນ ປີ 1988-1989 ໄດ້ມີ 22 ເປີເຊັນຂອງນັກຮຽນຂຶ້ນປະ ຖິມ 1 ປະ ລະໂຮງຮຽນພາຍຫລັງ 1 ຫລື 2 ປີແລະ 10 ປະລະ ໂຮງ ຮຽນ ພາຍຫລັງ ປະຖິມ 5. ພ້ອມກັນນີ້ຈຳນວນນັກຮຽນອ້າງ ຫ້ອງກໍ່ສູງ, ປັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວຈະເປັນຜົນສະທ້ອນໃນອະນາຄົດເພາະ ມັນ ເສຍ ເວ ລາແລະເຄື່ອນໄຫວເພື່ອສ້າງນັກຮຽນຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງເພື່ອຈະຈົບ ແຕ່ ລະ ອັນ (Report of the Ministry of Education 1990:2), ສຳຫລັບປະຊາຊົນບັນດາເຜົ່າທີ່ຢູ່ ອ່າງໂກ ຍິງ ມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເພາະຖືກບັນທຶກທາງໃນບໍລິເວນຊົນນະບົດ ກໍ່ຄື ເຂດ ທີ່ມີເຜົ່າຊົນອາໄສ ຍິງອາດເຮັດແລະຫຼະກັນດ້ານແລະບວກສຳ ເງິນ ເດືອນ ຂອງຄູອາຈານ ຕ່ຳຍິງເຮັດຈຳກັດລະດັບການສຶກສາຖືກກະ ຫົບ. ດັ່ງ ທີ່ຫນຶ່ງສີມີບາງກອກໂພດສ (25 ມີນາ 1989) ໄດ້ ມີມອກວ່າ"ຄູສອນຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເງິນເດືອນປະມານ 500 ກີບ ແລະ ຮອງຫົວຫນ້າກິນຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ, ໂດຍ ຫົວໄປ, ຈະໄດ້ເງິນເດືອນປະ ມານ 1.000 ຫາ 2.000 ກີບ. ໂດຍສົມທົບກັບການຈ່າຍເປັນເງິນສົດ ແລ້ວ, ພະນັກງານທຸກຄົນຂອງລັດຈະໄດ້ເປັນເງິນບັນທຶກເກື້ມທີ່ ອາດ ຈະໄປຊື້ເຮົາອາຫານແລະເຄື່ອງຈຳເປັນອື່ນໆທີ່ມີໃນຮ້ານ ສະ ຫະ ກອນ". ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຍັງຍືນວ່າຄູສອນມີ "ເງິນ ເດືອນ ຕ່ຳແລະບໍ່ສາມາດອີງໄສແຕ່ເງິນເດືອນເພື່ອຢູ່ລອດ" (Pfister

1989 ຫນ້າ 37). ເຫດຜົນອື່ນໆກໍ່ໄດ້ສົມທົບອີກເກື້ມໂດຍສະເພາະ ໂຮງຮຽນແມ່ນອາດອຸປະກອນ, ຄູສອນບໍ່ມີຄຸນນະພາບ ເພາະ ອາດ ການບຳລຸງຫາງດ້ານວິຊາສອນແລະຫລັກສູດ.

ປະຈຸບັນກໍ່ຄືກ່ອນປີ 1975, ເດັກນ້ອຍແລະຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕົວເມືອງ ກໍ່ ຄື ຊົນນະບົດຍັງແມ່ນກຳລັງການຜະລິດທີ່ສຳຄັນເພື່ອການຄົງຕົວ ໂດຍສະເພາະໃນເວລາທີ່ປະເທດຍັງຫຸກຍາກ.

ເດັກນ້ອຍໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຕ້ອງການຢູ່ເຮືອນເປັນກຳລັງຮັບ າຊ້າຄອບຄົວຈຶ່ງເກີດມີປັນຫາຈຳພັນການປະລະໂຮງຮຽນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະໃນລະຍະບິສຸດທ້າຍຂອງຂັ້ນປະຖິມ. ຍິງສາວທີ່ມາ ຈາກ ຄອບຄົວຫຸກຍາກ, ຊາວນາ, ແລະຊົນເຜົ່າມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກທີ່ຈະ ໄປໂຮງຮຽນແລະມີທ່າປະລະໂຮງຮຽນຍ້ອນບໍ່ມີທຶນຈະຮຽນ, ເພາະ ຕ້ອງຊ່ວຍຄອບຄົວເຮັດວຽກເຮືອນຫລືຊອກວຽກຫາເງິນ. ສິ່ງທີ່ຍິງ ຄອບວ່າພໍແມ່ບາງຄົນອີກກໍ່ຄືຖ້າມີລູກຊາຍ-ຍິງ ພໍແມ່ມັກຈະສົ່ງເສີມ າທີ່ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ຮຽນ ເພາະ ຄົງຈະຍ້ອນວ່າການລົງທຶນໃຫ້ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ຮຽນຄົງຈະບໍ່ເສຍທຶນຮອນຫລືປີ ການ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງມີທ່າອຽງເຮົາ ລູກຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ບ້ານຫລືອອກໂຮງຮຽນເພື່ອຊ່ວຍວຽກຄອບຄົວແລະ ເບິ່ງ ນ້ອງ (ບາດເຊິນ Batson 1988). ກອງປະຊຸມໂຕະມົນທີ່ ວຽງຈັນໃນເດືອນກໍລະກົດ 1988 ໄດ້ຍັງຍືນວ່ານັກຮຽນຍິງ ເປັນ ຈຳນວນຫລາຍອອກຈາກໂຮງຮຽນແລະໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນນັກຮຽນ ຍິງບັນດາເຜົ່າທີ່ຍິງຕ້ອງຝົບກັບປັນຫາສະເພາະອີກເຊັ່ນ ໃນການທີ່ ຢູ່ຫ່າງໂກແລະບັນຫາພາສາລາວລຸ່ມອີກ. ການສຶກສາສຳຫລັບພໍ່ແມ່ ທີ່ໄດ້ແກ່ລູກຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນເປັນພຽງບັນຫາສຳ ລອງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນມັກ ຫລືບໍ່ ມັກການແຕກຕ່າງລະຫວ່າງຍິງ-ຊາຍດັ່ງກ່າວ ແມ່ນປະກອບ ສ່ວນ າທີ່ມີການຈຳແນກດ້ານຜູ້ຍິງ. ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຈະໄດ້ຮັບ ຄວາມ ສະເໝີພາບໃນດ້ານການສຶກສາໃນທຸກຂັ້ນແຕ່ກໍ່ມີຈຳນວນນ້ອຍທີ່ໄດ້

ເຂົ້າຮຽນ. ຍົກຕົວຢ່າງຂັ້ນປະຖົມຜູ້ຍິງມີແຕ່ 44 ເປີເຊັນ ສ່ວນ
ຂັ້ນມັດທະຍົມມີ 41 ເປີເຊັນ ແລະຂັ້ນອຸດົມມີ 40 ເປີເຊັນ.

ລະບອບໂຮງຮຽນໄດ້ມີຄວາມຈຳເປັນຊຸກຍູ້ການສຶກສາທັງ 2 ເພດ
ໂດຍຢາກໃຫ້ເຜົ່າຊົນພາຍໃນປະເທດເປັນອັນຫນຶ່ງອັນດຽວກັນແລະ
ໂດຍສະເພາະການຍົກລະດັບການກໍ່ສ້າງພະນັກງານເພດຍິງ ທີ່ມາ
ຈາກທຸກຊົນເຜົ່າ. ຊາຍິງແລະຮອມ Chagnon ແລະ Rumpf
(1982 ຫນ້າ 77) ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່າມັກຮຽນບັນດາເຜົ່າກໍ່ໄດ້ເຂົ້າ
ຮຽນອຸດົມ, ໂຮງຮຽນແພດສາດໄດ້ເພີ່ມຈຳນວນ. ມັກຄີນຄວ້າຜູ້
ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ການຈຳແນກເຜົ່າຊົນໄດ້ຖືກກວດລ້າງແລະທຸກຄົນ
ຖືກສົ່ງເສີມໃຫ້ ຮ່ວມກັນຢ່າງສະເໝີພາບໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ມີຫລາຍເຜົ່າ
(Turton 1977; ມະຍຸສີ 1993b).

ຍອ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງຊົນເຜົ່າສ່ວນນ້ອຍມີອັດຕາຢູ່ຍາກຫລາຍຊຶ່ງ ພາໃຫ້ປະ
ລະໂຮງຮຽນຫລືບໍ່ເຂົ້າຮຽນຫນຶ່ງສິ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີຈຳນວນ ຫລາຍເຊັ່ນ
ຂັ້ນປະຖົມລາວເທິງມີພຽງ 35.739 ຄົນ, ລາວສູງ ມີ 5.743
ຄົນແລະລາວລຸ່ມມີຈຳນວນ 211.903 ຄົນ. ຂັ້ນ ມັດ ຫະຍົມ,
ລາວເທິງມີຈຳນວນ 1.409 ຄົນ, ລາວສູງມີ 199 ຄົນ ແລະ
ລາວ ລຸ່ມ ມີ 12.238 ຄົນ (Report of the
Ministry of Education 1990:2). ຕົວ ເລກ ດັ່ງ
ກ່າວໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ ຈຳນວນ 3 ເຜົ່າຊົນໃຫຍ່ແມ່ນ ບໍ່
ເງື່ອນໄຂເຂົ້າຮຽນຫລາຍ. ນອກນັ້ນຍັງ ມີການແຕກຕ່າງກັນ ລະ
ຫວ່າງ 3 ຊົນເຜົ່າໃຫຍ່ແມ່ນຄືລາວລຸ່ມໄດ້ຮັບການສຶກສາທີ່ສູງກວ່າ
2 ເຜົ່າຊົນ ໃຫຍ່ຫລັງ. ເມື່ອສະພາບເປັນດັ່ງນີ້ ມັກຄີນຄວ້າຜູ້ຍິງ
ລາວຜູ້ ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່າ "ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະບໍ່ມີການຈຳແນກກ່ຽວກັບ
ການສຶກສາແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງແຍກຫາບທຳລົບເພາະຍ້ອນການແຕກ ຕ່າງ

ທາງເພດແລະບົດບາດທີ່ ເຂົາເຈົ້າຖືກມອບໝາຍໃຫ້ ຈາກສັງຄົມ
ແລະກ້າງອອກໄປແມ່ນຈາກຄອບຄົວ.

ຂ- ການຄ່ອຍໜ້ອຍຍາຍຕົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງບົນພື້ນຖານແນວທາງໂຮງຮຽນ

ມັນເປັນສິ່ງສຳຄັນທີ່ຈະໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງນະ ໂຍບາຍທີ່ຊຸກ ຍູ້ ໃຫ້
ຜູ້ຍິງເຂົ້າຮຽນກັບຜູ້ຊາຍຊຶ່ງມັນເປັນເຫດການ, ເຫດຜົນດັ່ງ ເວົ້າ
ມາຂ້າງເທິງ, ທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍມີຈຳນວນປະເທດລາວ. ມາຕະການຈຳ ນວນ
ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຖືກວາງອອກຢ່າງບໍ່ເປັນປົກກະຕິ. ຈຳນວນ ສະວັດ ຜ່ານ
ມານັ້ນໂຮງຫມໍ, ຢາຍືນປົວແລະນະໂຍບາຍຕ່າງໆແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ ແສຍ
ຄ່າເປັນຕົ້ນການຈັດຕັ້ງບ່ອນຝາກເດັກແລະໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານ.

ລັດຖະບານລາວພະຍາຍາມເທົ່າທີ່ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງ ຕົນ ມີ
ວາງນະໂຍບາຍເພື່ອປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍການຈັດມີການປິ່ນປົວ ພ້ອມ
ທັງສ້າງຕັ້ງບ່ອນຝາກເດັກແລະໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານ. ນະໂຍ ບາຍ
ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນແນ່ໃສ່ຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງມີເວລາແລະມີເງື່ອນໄຂເພື່ອເຮັດ
ວຽກ. ການເຮົາຈະ ໃສ່ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ສະແດງອອກຈາກການສ້າງຂະ
ຫຍາຍໂຮງຮຽນແພດສາດ. ນອກນັ້ນລັດຖະບານຍັງໄດ້ເຮົາຈະໃສ່
ສຸຂະພາບຂອງແມ່ແລະເດັກໂດຍການຈັດຈັກມີບ່ອນກວດສຸຂະພາບຜູ້
ຍິງທີ່ຖືກພາຫລືອອກລູກແລ້ວ. ແຕ່ຈຳນວນພາກປະຕິບັດຕົວຈິງ, ໂຄງ
ຮ່າງສາທາລະນະສຸກຍັງບໍ່ທັນເຂັ້ມແຂງ. ການຂາດປະສົບ ປະການ
ຂອງພະນັກງານແພດ, ສິນແລະອື່ນໆຍັງສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າຍັງເປັນ
ບັນຫາໃຫຍ່ ສຳຫລັບ ປະເທດທີ່ດ້ອຍພັດທະນາແລະທຸກຍາກ. ການ
ຂາດການເຮົາຈະເຖິງຄວາມສຳຄັນຂອງຕາຫນ່າງແພດຫລືແຜນການ
ທາງດ້ານການສັກຢາຢ່າງກັນ ໄດ້ເພີ່ມໃຫ້ມີການເຊື່ອຖືກຽມວາຍຊຶ່ງ
ເປັນບໍ່ເກີດຂອງການເຮັດເປັນ, ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍໃຫ້ເຫັນ
ການນຳໃຊ້ຕາຫນ່າງສາທາລະນະສຸກແມ່ນບໍ່ທົ່ວເຖິງແລະບ່ອນຈັດທີ່

ນີ້ແລ້ວກໍຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ປະລະບວກທັງລາຍໄດ້ຕ່ຳຂອງປະຊາຊົນ ສ່ວນ າຫຍ່ແລະການຂາດຢຸກຢາເພື່ອປົນປົວໄດ້ສຳຽງປັນຫາຕ່ຳຕື່ງແມ່ນ ວ່າການປົນປົວນີ້ນັ້ນຈະຮັບປະກັນບໍ່ມີການເສຍຄ່າ. ເພື່ອລົບລ້າງລະ ບອບເກື້ອກຸນຈົນຄູ່ມື 90 ປະຊາຊົນຕ້ອງໄດ້ຊື້ຢຸກຢາແລະເສຍຄ່າ ປົນປົວເອງ. ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າການໄປມາລະຫວ່າງຊົນນະບົດແລະຕົວ ເມືອງຈະສະດວກຂຶ້ນແຕ່ແຕ່ລະຫວ່າງເມືອງ ແລະແຂວງຫລືຊົນນະ ບົດຈະໄປຫາໂຮງຫມໍສູນກາງຫລືແຂວງຍັງມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກຫລາຍ.

ນອກຈາກນະໂຍບາຍການປົນປົວແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນພະນັກ ງານ ຍັງໄດ້ຮັບເງິນຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງເພື່ອອອກລູກທັງເງິນອຸດທຸນລູກ ເທົ່າກັບເງິນເດືອນພື້ນຖານຂອງພະນັກງານລັດ. ເມື່ອເວລາ ຈະ ອອກລູກຫລືຫລັງຈາກອອກລູກຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮັບນະໂຍບາຍທີ່ຝັກຜ່ອນວຽກ 3 ເດືອນພ້ອມທັງເງິນເດືອນ. ຜູ້ກ່ຽວສາມາດເລືອກໄດ້ລະຫວ່າງ ການເຮັດນະໂຍບາຍຝັກຜ່ອນ 1 ເດືອນກ່ອນອອກລູກແລ້ວ ຝັກ ອີກ 2 ເດືອນພາຍຫລັງອອກລູກແລ້ວ. ພາຍຫລັງຝັກຜ່ອນ ຫມົດ ກຳນົດ 3 ເດືອນແລ້ວແຕ່ຫາກສຸຂະພາບຂອງຜູ້ເປັນແມ່ຍັງບໍ່ສົມແຂງ ແຮງ, ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ສາມາດຂໍຕໍ່ອີກຕື່ມໄດ້. ແຕ່ວ່າໃນບາງສະຫະກອນກະເສດ (ໃນເວລາທີ່ຍັງບໍ່ສົມລົບລ້າງ), ພາຍຫລັງອອກລູກໄດ້ 15 ມື້ແລ້ວ ແລະ ບໍ່ ມີການຝັກຜ່ອນຕາມລະບົບທີ່ນະໂຍບາຍລັດໄດ້ວາງອອກ, ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງໄດ້ກັບຄືນເຮັດວຽກ.

ນະໂຍບາຍ ຫາງສັງຄົມຂອງລັດໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນແມ່ໄດ້ ປະ ກອບ ສ່ວນຢ່າງຕັ້ງໜ້າເຂົ້າໃນວຽກງານຂອງລັດກໍຄືຂອງສັງ ຄົມ. ທິດສະດັດໜຶ່ງຜ່ານໄປແລ້ວຫາງກຳແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນໄດ້ ສ້າງບ່ອນຝາກເດັກໄດ້ 14 ບ່ອນ, ໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານ 38 ບ່ອນ (ວຽກງານໃຫມ່ 4 ພຶດສະພາ 1986), ແຕ່ ລະບອບເກົ່າ ມີໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານບ່ອນດຽວເພື່ອ ຫົວ ປະເທດ (ໂຕ 1959

ໝ້າ 445). ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດ, ຈຳນວນບ່ອນຝາກເດັກແລະໂຮງ ຮຽນ ອະນຸບານຍັງບໍ່ທັນຕອບສະໜອງຄວາມຕ້ອງການອັນຈຳເປັນ າທັງຢູ່ໄດ້ທົ່ວເຖິງ. ບາງບ່ອນ ອຳນາດການປົກຄອງໄດ້ເອົາໆ າສ່ວນຜູ້ທີ່ມີບ່ອນຝາກເດັກພຽງພໍແຕ່ບາງບ່ອນ ກໍ ຍັງ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນປັນຫາໃນການອະຫຍາຍບ່ອນຝາກເດັກໃນອະໄຫມງລັດ, ໃນ ຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານບໍລິຫານຍັງມີຢູ່.

ຄ- ການກ້າວຂຶ້ນຫາງສັງຄົມ

ສະພາບ ການ ໄດ້ປ່ຽນແປງໄປ, ເພາະຍິງແລະຊາຍໄດ້ປະ ກອບສ່ວນເພື່ອ ໃຊກ ຊະຕາກຳຂອງປະເທດແລະຮ່ວມກັນປະຕິບັດ ວຽກງານເພື່ອການພັດທະນາ. ແຕ່ປີ 1975 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ໄດ້ສະແດງຄວາມກ້າຫານຂອງຕົນທີ່ເຫັນໃນດ້ານນີ້. ກອງ ປະ ຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຕັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງສະພາປະຊາຊົນສູງສຸດໃນປີ 1975 ໄດ້ເອົາ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນກຳລັງສຳຄັນຂອງປະເທດຊາດຄຽງບ່າ ຄຽງ ໄທ່ລກັບ ລູກພິວເພື່ອຊຸກຍູ້ການຜະລິດຢ່າງແຂງແຮງ, ເພື່ອ ກໍ່ ສ້າງແລະອະ ຫຍາຍເສດຖະກິດແລະວັດທະນະທຳປົນ ພື້ນຖານ ເຮັດ າທັບະເທດ ກາຍ ເປັນປະເທດວັດທະນາຖາວອນແລະກ້າວໜ້າ (ສຽງປະຊາ ຊົນ 5 ທັນວາ 1975). ເພື່ອ ຈະຜ່ານຝ່າອຸປະສັກໃນການ ປັດລ້ອມເສດຖະກິດຈາກ ຜູ້ກຳອຳນາດ ໃນໂຫໂດຍສະເພາະໃນລະ ມະ 1975 ຫາ 1976, ອຳນາດໃຫມ່ ປະຊາຊົນລາວໄດ້ລະດົມ ປະຊາຊົນແລະກົງຈັກ ຕ່າງປະເຊີນໜ້າກັບຄວາມທ້າຫາຍ ດັ່ງ ກ່າວ. ຄຽງຄູ່ ກັນນັ້ນ ຍິງແລະຊາຍໄດ້ປ່ຽນສ່ວນຕອກໄມ້ເປັນລົກ ໄກ່, ສ່ວນຫລັງເຮືອນເປັນຫມອງປາ. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັນນັ້ນ ອົງການຈັດ ຕັ້ງເກືອບທຸກບ່ອນຈະມີສ່ວນຝັກ, ບ່ອນລ້ຽງໄກ່, ລ້ຽງຫມູ່ ຫລືນີ ຄົມ. ພະນັກງານບາງຄົນຢູ່ບາງ ບ່ອນ ຈະ ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງໃຫ້ຮັບຜິດ ຊອບການຜະລິດຂອງກະຊວງຫະບວງກົມຂອງຕົນ ເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂ

ຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່ຂອງພະນັກງານໃນເວລາທີ່ຖືກ ຫຼັງ ຍາກຫາງ ດ້ານເສດຖະກິດຍ້ອນໂຫຍດຊາຍແດນ. ນອກນັ້ນພະ ນັກ ງານຍັງ ປະເທດຍັງໄດ້ຈັດກັນອອກແຮງງານຈຸນລະສານເຊິ່ງເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນໂດຍ ທົ່ວໄປວ່າ ຈຸນລະສານແດງ. ໄລຍະຕົ້ນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄລຍະທີ່ລະອາດ ຫານ ຂອງປວງຊິນລາວທັງຊາດທີ່ມີຈິດຈະສາມັກຄີຮ່ວມກັນຕໍ່ສູ້ຜ່ານ ຜ່າ ຝົນ ສະໄໝຂອງການຍຶດຊາຍແດນແຕ່ຝ່າຍດຽວຂອງຜູ້ກຳອໍາ ນາດໄທ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ໄດ້ກາຍ ເປັນກຳລັງແຮງຫາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດແລະໄດ້ມີ ບົດບາດສັນສາຄັນທີ່ ສຸດໃນການຂະຫຍາຍການຜະລິດກໍ່ຄືການກໍ່ສ້າງ ພື້ນຖານຂອງເສດ ຖະກິດໂຫຍດຊາຍແດນເວົ້າຂອງທ່ານໂກສອນ ພົມວິຫານ, ອະດີດນາ ຍົກລິດຖະມົນຕີທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ຈັກກອງປະຊຸມໂຫຍດ ຕັ້ງທີ່ຫນຶ່ງຂອງ ແມ່ຍິງລາວໃນປີ 1984 (Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 9). ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວເຖິງ ຈະມາຈາກເຂດ ບົດປ່ອຍເກົາຫລີເຂດບົດ ປ່ອຍ ໂຫຍດ ກໍ່ຕາມ ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮ່ວມກັນຢ່າງ ຕັ້ງຫນ້າປະກອບສ່ວນໃນ ການຝຶນພູເສດຖະກິດຂອງຊາດ. ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ ຖືກ ຖືວ່າ "ຮູ້ແຕ່ພຽງແຕ່ງ ຫນ້າແຕ້ນຕາ" ໃນລະບອບເກົ່າບໍ່ ຮູ້ວ່າ ການ ປູກເຂົ້າຫລືບໍ່ເຄີຍທີ່ຈະ ຢ່າງໃນອິດິນ, ໄດ້ພາກັນສະມັກ ໄປ ເຮັດວຽກແລະກິນນອນຢູ່ບ່ອນ ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍຫລືສະຫະກອນການ ຜະລິດ (ຊາດຕິກ ແລະ ຮອດເຊີນ Chaddok and Russell 1989). ຫລາຍເຫມືອງຝາຍກໍ່ສ້າງເລີດທັງນີ້ຍ້ອນການປະກອບສ່ວນ ຢ່າງທ້າວຫັນຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງ ລາວ. ຍ້ອນຄວາມນານະທີ່ຢາກຈະເປັນ ປະໂຫຍດແກ່ປະເທດຊາດ, ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຫລືອາຈຸໂສ, ມີຄອບຄົວ ຫລື ຍິງເປັນໂສດໄດ້ພາກັນປະລະ ຄອບຄົວແມ່ໄປຊ່ວຍ ສ້າງເຫມືອງ ຝາຍຢູ່ອ້ອມແອ້ມວຽງຈັນເປັນເວລາ 10 ຫາ 15 ວັນ ກໍ່ ມີ. ເຫມືອງຝາຍທີ່ປະຊາຊົນແລະພະນັກງານ ຍິງ-ຊາຍ ໄດ້ ທຸ້ມເຫ ຫມາກ ຫົວຈິງແລະເຫຼືອແຮງໃນເວລານັ້ນກໍ່ຄືນ້ຳຫຸນ, ນ້ຳຊວງຫລື

ເກົ້າ ລ້ຽວ. ນອກຈາກການສົນ ທິບ ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍທີ່ສຳ ຄັນ ຕ່າງໆແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄດ້ສົນທິບສ້າງໂຮງຮຽນ, ໂຮງຫນີແລະ ສະ ຖານທີ່ກໍ່ສ້າງ ຕ່າງໆແລະຍັງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ລູກຝົວແລະຜີມ້ອງໆທີ່ປະກອບ ສ່ວນກໍ່ສ້າງ ທຶນຫາງ, ໂດຍ ສະເພາະທຶນ ຫາງເລກ 9 ຫລື ເລກ 13 ທີ່ນຳໄປສູ່ຄວາມສະເລ່ຍຂອງຫວຽດນາມ. ວຽກດັ່ງ ກ່າວ ໄດ້ເຊື່ອວ່າຢ່າງຫລວງຫລາຍບໍ່ທັນນັບເຖິງ ທຶນຮອນທີ່ໄດ້ເອົາມາ ທຸ້ມເຫສ. ແຕ່ຝົນໄດ້ຮັບອາດຈະບໍ່ເທົ່າກັບການຄາດຄະເນໄວ້ໃນ ເບື້ອງຕົ້ນ.

ໃນ ເວລາທີ່ສະຫະກອນກະເສດໄດ້ຖືກນຳໆຊື້ທີ່ລາວໃນປີ 1977 ຊຶ່ງແມ່ນ ການຫ້າຫາຍທີ່ໂຫຍດຫລວງດ້ານດຳລົງຊີວິດແບບ ເກົ່າ ແກ່ ຂອງປະຊາຊົນລາວ. ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ໄກ່ແກ່ຍສຳຄັນໃນລະຍະດັ່ງກ່າວ. ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ພະຍາຍາມໃຊ້ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງຕົນເພື່ອເຮັດແນວຈິດໆທີ່ ຊາວນາໄດ້ ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມສະຫະກອນກະເສດດັ່ງເອກກະສານຫາງການ ໄດ້ຍັງຢືນວ່າຜູ້ ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຕອບສະຫນອງຕໍ່ຄວາມຮຽກຮ້ອງຂອງພັກ- ລັດໃນການສ້າງ ສະຫະກອນກະເສດແລະໃນຫລາຍບ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຊຸກ ຍູ້ຝົວແລະຄອບຄົວ ໆ ທີ່ ເຂົ້າ ສະຫະກອນ (Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 9-10).

ແຕ່ ຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດ, ຫລາຍຢ່າງກໍ່ຍັງຂະຫຍາຍຊ້າ. ຜູ້ ຍິງ ເຝົ້າຊົນຕ່າງໆ ຢູ່ຊົນນະບົດໄດ້ແຍກຫາຍວຽກຫລາຍຢ່າງຈາກສ່ວນໂຫລ່ ຕົນເອງຊຶ່ງບໍ່ມີ ຫຍັງປ່ຽນແປງນັບແຕ່ອີ່ມຢູ່. ວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວ ມີ ທັງ ຫາຍນ້ຳຊຶ່ງຫນຶ່ງຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດກໍ່ຄືເຂດເຝົ້າຊົນ ທີ່ ຢູ່ ຫ່າງໄກ. ຄູ່ ນ້ຳຈະຖືກຕັ້ງຈາກສ່ວນຫນ້າ ບາງດັ່ງກ່າວມີຈຸນນິດເຖິງ 40 ລິດ. ມັກ ຄົນຄວ້າຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ວິຈາກຮ່ວມກັບບັນຫານີ້ໃນປີ 1985 ຝົນ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ວຽງຈັນມີເຖິງ 98% ເປັນຜູ້ຕັກນ້ຳລ້ຽວຄອບຄົວ (Ma- roczy 1985a). ນອກຈາກຕັກນ້ຳຫລືຫາຍນ້ຳແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ

ຈຳ ນວນຫລາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ລ້ຽງເກືອຫມູ່, ຫມາ, ເປັດໄກ່. ອີງຕາມ ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ຂອງ ມາຣິກຊີ Maroczy ຍັງພົບວ່າທີ່ວຽງຈັນຜູ້ ຍິງມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ແບກຫາບວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວ. ມາຣິກຊີ Maroczy ຍັງໄດ້ຊີ້ໃຫ້ເຫັນອີກວ່າໂດຍທົ່ວໄປຜູ້ຍິງຈະເຮັດວຽກຫລາຍກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍ 2 ຊົ່ວໂມງ (Maroczy 1985a). ດັ່ງນັ້ນການ ແບກຫາບວຽກຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນສະໄຫມກ່ອນຫລັດຮວມີບໍ່ມີຫຍັງແຕກຕ່າງ ຫລືບ່ຽນແປງເທົ່າໃດ. ທ່ານປັນນາທິການວາ ລະສານຫນຶ່ງສີພິມວັນນະສິນ ດາຣາກັນລະຍາ ໄດ້ເວົ້າໃນເວລາທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນສຳພາດໃນວັນທີ 3 ມີນາ 1987 ວ່າ "ປະຈຸບັນ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງເຮັດວຽກຫລາຍກ ວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍ 3 ເທື່ອ". ໃນຄວາມເປັນຈິງແລ້ວ, ໃນແຕ່ລະນີ້ ລະວັນ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈະເສຍເວລາໃນການເຮັດວຽກຕ່າງໆຫລາຍກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍແລະບໍ່ມີເວລາຝັກພ່ອນຫລື ນອນເທົ່າໃດ. ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍຜູ້ຊາຍຈະໄດ້ນອນຕື່ມສ່ວຍ, ແຕ່ນ້ອຍຫນຶ່ງນ້ອຍຫນ້າທີ່ຈະ ເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງນອນເປັນ. ລວມຄວາມແລ້ວ, ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປຜູ້ຍິງຈະເສຍ ເວລາປະມານ 13 ຫາ 18 ຊົ່ວໂມງເພື່ອເຮັດວຽກໃນແຕ່ລະນີ້. ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນຫລວງຫລາຍເປັນຜູ້ມັກ ເຮັດບຸນສົມກິນທານເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງຕ້ອງຕື່ນຈາກນອນກ່ອນຝົວ 1 ຫລື 2 ຊົ່ວໂມງ (ດິກແມນ Dickman 1989)ເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ ຫນຶ່ງ ເຂົ້າ, ກຽມແຕ່ງຈິງຫັນໄປວັດ, ແລ້ວກໍ່ກຳກັບນຳລູກທີ່ຈະ ໄປໂຮງຮຽນກ່ອນທີ່ຕື່ນເອງຈະໄປເຮັດວຽກຫລືໄປໂຮ່ສ່ວນ. ເມື່ອກັບຈາກວຽກແລ້ວກໍ່ໄດ້ພັກຜ່ອນເຮັດວຽກຄືເດືອນເປັນຕົ້ນແຕ່ງກິນ. ເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈະຢຸດ ເຮັດວຽກເຮືອນຊານກໍ່ອາດຈະແມ່ນ 9 ໂມງແລງຫລື ບາງຄັ້ງ ກໍ່ເດີກກວ່ານັ້ນຖ້າຫາກເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຕອ້ງເຂົ້າຮ່ວມປະຊຸມໃນ ຖານະທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກຂອງຄະນະບ້ານ, ຂອງຝັກ, ຊາວຫມູ່, ກຳມະບານ, ແນວໂຮມ, ກອງຫລອນຫລືສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ. ບາງຄົນກໍ່ອາດຈະຢູ່ເດີກກວ່າທຸກຄົນໃນຄອບຄົວເພື່ອຕ່ຳຫຸກສາວ ໂຫມ ອີກ. ເວລາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນອຸທິດເພື່ອວຽກຄົວເຮືອນ, ເບິ່ງລູກ, ເຝົ້າ

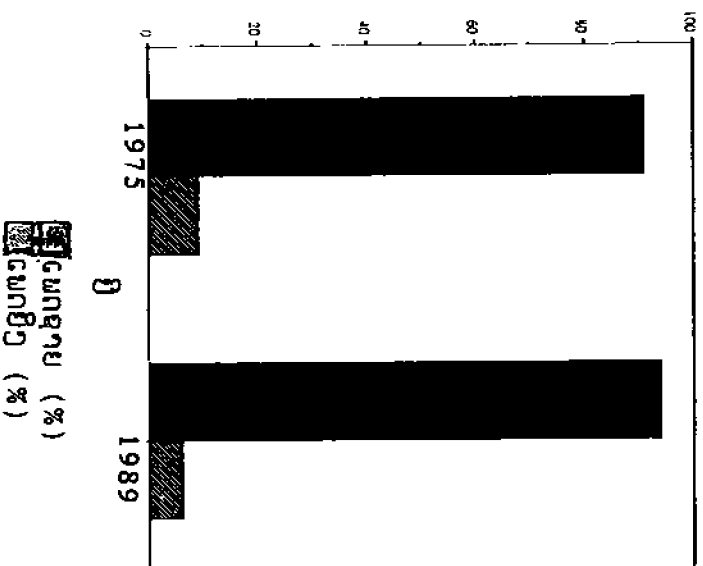
ເຮືອນແລະວຽກສັງຄົມກໍ່ອາດຈະເສຍໄປ 8 ຫາ 10 ຊົ່ວໂມງ ຕໍ່ນີ້. ແຕ່ເຖິງ ຢ່າງໃດປະເທດລາວກໍ່ຍັງເປັນຫນຶ່ງ ໃນ 10 ປະເທດທີ່ ທຸກຍາກທີ່ ສຸດາຣາໂລກດັ່ງນັ້ນມັນຈຶ່ງບໍ່ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ຫນ້າສົນໃຈທີ່ສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງປັນດາ ເຝົ້າໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍ່ຄືໃນຊົນນະບົດຍັງຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເຫມືອນດັ່ງເອື້ອຍນ້ອງເພດຍິງທີ່ປະເທດອື່ນທີ່ຍັງທຸກຍາກເຊັ່ນ ກັມເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ປະເທດຍັງກາລາເທດ Bangladesh ຫລື ປະເທດເນປານ Nepal ຊຶ່ງຕ້ອງເຮັດວຽກ 7 ມື້ແລະລະຫວ່າງ 8 ຫາ 13 ຊົ່ວໂມງຕໍ່ວັນ.

ເຖິງ ແມ່ນວ່າ 60 ເປີເຊັນ ຈະແມ່ນຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ ຈັດເຂົ້າເຮັດວຽກກະສິກຳ (ດາວອນ 1988), ແຕ່ການຈັດຕັ້ງກຳລັງການຜະລິດໃນສະຫະກອນ (Evans 1990) ບໍ່ໄດ້ເອົາວຽກງານເຝິກ ໃນຄອບຄົວເຊັ່ນຄົວກິນ, ເຮັດຄວາມສະອາດ, ຕ່ຳຫຸກຫລືເບິ່ງແຍງລູກ ແລະສັດ ລ້ຽງມາດິດໄລ່ນ້ຳ ຫລື ຜູ້ຊາຍແລະຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບເງິນເດືອນ ຄືກັນ, ຜູ້ຊາຍໄດ້ 200 ຄະແນນ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ແຕ່ 210 ຄະແນນ ໃນວຽກ ຄຽວກັນ (Maroczy 1985a; ອຳທິເບິ່ງລະບົບຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກ ທີ່ບໍ່ເໝາະແລະວິໄຈໂດຍ Evans 1990). ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຖືກ ຮັບຮູ້ໂດຍຄຳແພງບຸບຜາ, ໃນວັນ ມີ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988 ກ່ຽວກັບຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍ ເວົ້າວ່າ "ສະຫະກອນທີ່ຄະແນນ ເຮັດວຽກທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ່ຳກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ, ສູນກາງແມ່ຍິງຮູ້ແລະພວກເຮົາ ກໍ່ໄດ້ສະເໜີໃຫ້ສະຫະກອນ ເບິ່ງປັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວຄືນໃໝ່. ການ ຄິດໄລ່ແມ່ນມາຈາກທີ່ວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍຖືເພດຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ" ການ ບໍ່ສະເໜີພາບໃນການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ພົບເຫັນເຊັ່ນກັນ ທີ່ສະຫະກອນກະເສດອື່ນໆ. ໃນສະຫະກອນກະເສດທີ່ແຂວງຈຳປາສັກ, ຄະນະຈັດຕັ້ງໄດ້ອະທິບາຍຢ່າງບໍ່ຮ້ອງຄວາວຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງໄດ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກຕ່ຳກວ່າຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ໃນເມື່ອເປັນຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຄຽວໃນຄະນະຊຶ່ງມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ນາມສະຫະ

ກອນດັ່ງກ່າວຈົນປີ 1987 ຜູ້ຂຽນຮູ້ສຶກແປກປະຫລາດທີ່ເຫັນວ່າຢັ້ງຢືນຄວາມເປັນທຳມະຊາດຈາກ 13 ບົດທ່າງການບໍ່ຮຸນແຮງ ຂອງ ລະບອບຈຸໜ່ວຍ. ຜູ້ຕາງໜ້າຊາວໜຸ່ມຂອງສະຫະກອນ ດັ່ງກ່າວທີ່ຖືກຖາວ່າເປັນຫຍັງຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກ ຕໍ່າ ກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ຮັບຄຳກອບວ່າ "ເພາະວ່າຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ອຸທິດໝົດໝູ່ກະທຳຂອງຕົນເພື່ອສະຫະກອນ, ເພາະວ່າບາງຄົນກໍມີຊ່ອຍພາຍອ່ອນແອລະບາງຄົນກໍພາດເລື້ອຍ". ຈົນເວລາເຮັດສິນກັນຢູ່ນັ້ນ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຜູ້ຊາງພາກັນມີຄວາມແຕ່ຄວາມບໍ່ສະເໝີພາບ ຈົນກາຍເທົ່າຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກນັ້ນບໍ່ມີແຕ່ຢູ່ລາວຫາກແຕ່ຢັ້ງຢືນ ເຫັນ ຢູ່ປະເທດຈີນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍໄດ້ 7 ຫລື 9 ຄະແນນ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ແຕ່ 6 ຫລື 7 ເທົ່ານັ້ນ (ໄວເດີ Phyre, 1982), ຫລືທີ່ປະເທດໝວຣຸນານຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ 10 ຄະແນນແທນທີ່ຈະໄດ້ 14 (ໄວ ເດີ White 1986). ຢູ່ປະເທດໝວຣຸນານຜູ້ ຍິງບາງຄົນ ຢູ່ສະຫະກອນ ກະເສດໄດ້ເວົ້າອອກນຳຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍຕໍ່ການຈຸທິ ຄະ ແນນເຮັດວຽກທີ່ບໍ່ເປັນທຳມະຊາດ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຮູ້ສຶກຕໍ່ຄວາມບໍ່ ເປັນທຳມະຊາດແຕ່ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍມັກຈະ ບໍ່ຢາກອອກສຽງຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍເພາະຖືກຄອບງຳຈາກ ຂີດຄອງປະເພນີທີ່ຕ້ອງມີມາລະຍາດ ຕໍ່ ຜູ້ຊາຍຊຶ່ງໝາຍເຖິງວ່າຕ້ອງຮັບຮູ້ເອົາໝົດໝູ່ກະທຳຂອງຕົນວ່າ ຈະຢູ່ຢູ່ສະພາບຈຸທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍວາງອອກແລະສ່ວນຜູ້ຊາຍຂອງກໍຢັ້ງ ຮັກສາແນວຄິດນັ້ນດ້ອຍເປັນຈຸໜ່ວຍ ເຫມືອຜູ້ຍິງ. ບາງທີ່ການບໍ່ກຳເວົ້າກ່າວ່າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່ຄວາມບໍ່ ເປັນ ທຳອາດຈະເລື້ອງມາ ຈາກ ບໍ່ຢາກເຫັນຄຶງໝູ່ໝົດ. ມັກຄີນຄວ້າຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ (Maroney 1985) ໄດ້ສັງເກດກ່ຽວກັບການຈຸທິຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກແບບບໍ່ ເປັນ ທຳໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ເຫັນເປັນສິ່ງແປກປະຫລາດການຈຸທິຄະແນນແບບນັ້ນ". ເລື້ອສະຫະກອນກະເສດຖືກສົບຜົນຊຽງແລ້ວ, ບັນຫາຄວາມບໍ່ເປັນທຳມະຊາດກໍຄືວ່າຖືກຖືກໄປເອງ.

ເປັນ ດັ່ງທຳອິດທີ່ຈຳນວນທີ່ 23 ສົງຫາ 1975 ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ປະກອບເປັນຄະນະຈຳ ຄະນະກຳນະການປົກຄອງຂອງປະ ຊາຊົນກຳແພງມະຄອນ ວຽງຈັນ. ຄະນະດັ່ງກ່າວປະກອບດ້ວຍຜູ້ຍິງ 1 ຄົນ ແລະຊາຍ 7 ຄົນ. ນອກນັ້ນຄຳສັ່ງມາຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີເລກທີ 419 ລົງວັນທີ 5 ມີ ກຸມ 1975 ໄດ້ຍັງມີນາຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີສິດເລືອກຕັ້ງແລະສະມັກຮັບເລືອກ ຕັ້ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຳນວນເລືອກຜູ້ແທນດັ່ງທຳອິດຈົນປີ 1975 ຜູ້ຍິງກໍໄດ້ ຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງເຂົ້າຮ່ວມສະພາອັນດ່າງອະດີດທີ່ກຳແພງມະຄອນວຽງ ຈັນໄດ້ມີ 101 ຄົນນັ້ນທີ່ຖືກເລືອກ ຈົນນັ້ນ ມີ 21 ຄົນເປັນ ເພດ ຍິງ (ສະໄໝປະຊາຊົນ 11 ພະ ຊົກ 1975). ມີນັ້ນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນ ບາດກ້າວ ອັນໜຶ່ງ ເພາະຈົນ ໝົດ 14 ຕາແສງໄດ້ເລືອກເອົາຜູ້ ຍິງຕາແສງລະ 1 ຄົນ. ຈົນລະດັບສູງ, ສະພາປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ເລືອກ ຜູ້ຍິງ 4 ຄົນຫລື 9% (ສະໄໝປະຊາຊົນ 5 ທັນວາ 1975). ຖ້າທຽບ ຈຸດລະບອບເກົ່າ, ປົກບາດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮັບການອຸຊັບບາດກ້າວໜຶ່ງ. ກ່ອນປີ 1956, ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ໄດ້ມີສິດສະມັກຮັບເລືອກ ຕັ້ງ. ຈົນປີ 1958, ໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຊຶ່ງເປັນຄົວໝາຍຂອງແນວລາວອັກຄະໄດ້ເລືອກເປັນຜູ້ ແທນລາສະຄອນ. ພາຍຫລັງ 15 ປີ ຕໍ່ມາຈົນປີ 1974 ຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນ ຈົນ 60 ຄົນ ໄດ້ ເປັນ ສະ ນາຊົກສະພາຜູ້ແທນ ລາສະ ຄອນ (ຜູ້ຍິງ 1974). 14 ປີ ຕໍ່ມາ, ແຕ່ 1975 ເຖິງ 1989, ມີນອກການເລືອກຕັ້ງສະພາປະຊາຊົນສູງສຸດຄັ້ງທີ່ 2 ໄດ້ມີ ຜູ້ຍິງ 5 ຄົນ ຈົນ 74 ຄົນທີ່ໄດ້ຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນລະຫວ່າງ ການເລືອກຕັ້ງ 2 ຄັ້ງທີ່ປະເທດ, ຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງຈົນສະພາໄດ້ເຊື່ອມຮັບ 3 ເປີເຊັນ (ຂໍ້ກຳນົດຂອງພະແນກ 01.). ເລື້ອ ທ້າຍ ປີ 1992 ຜູ້ຍິງຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງໄດ້ 5 ຄົນຈົນຈຳນວນ 85.

**ແຜນສະແດງ 01. ການປະກອບສ່ວນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ສະພາ
ປະຊາຊົນຮຸ່ງຊຸດ**



ໂດຍຜ່ານຄວາມພະຍາຍາມຂອງເຂດຕ່າງກ່າວການປົດ ປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງໄປສູ່ຄວາມສະເໝີພາບລະຫວ່າງຍິງແລະຊາຍແມ່ນຖືກ ເສີມຂະຫຍາຍ. ແຕ່ບາງຂໍ້ຄົງຄ້າງແຜ່ນຈະໝົດເວັ້ນບໍ່ໄດ້ເມື່ອປະເຊີນໜ້າກັບເຫດການຕົວຈິງໂດຍສະເພາະການຕຸກກັນປະໝາດຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຄົງຄ້າງ.

ສະຫຼຸບ

ຈຸນລັງຄົນແຕ່ກ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດສະເໝີພາບ. ສາສະໜາ ຄືຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ "ເພດທີສອງ", ນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ໝັ້ນກົດໝາຍເກົ່າຄືຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ. ຈຸລັງຄົນ ທີ່ວັດທະນະທຳຕ່າງປະເທດໄດ້ຖືກແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ແລະຊຶ່ງເປັນວັດທະນະທຳທີ່ອຸດສົດຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເຂົ້າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ 2 ເຄື່ອງຄືເຄື່ອງຈັກຜະລິດອຸກ ແລະ ເຄື່ອງສົມຄຳ. ເຄື່ອງຢາງນັ້ນກໍ່ຄື ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ລົ້ມອຸກຄຸກຄານກ້າສູ່ຊົນເຊື້ອຄູ່ກັບສາສະໜາທີ່ຍືນຍົງຄົງຄົວ, ເປັນຜູ້ຕໍ່ສູ້ທຶນທານ ຂອງລະບົບເນຍນ້ອຍ, ເນຍໆໝູ່. ແຕ່ ເວົ້າ ລວມ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ເປັນເພດທີ່ເຕັມໄປດ້ວຍຄວາມເມດຕາອ່ອນໄພ, ອ່ອນຫວານ, ຈິງຮັກຝັກຄີ ສິ່ງເປັນຜູ້ຊ່ວຍແບກໜ້າສິ່ງຄົນແລະຄອບຄົວດ້ວຍຄວາມຍິ້ມແລະ ດ້ວຍຄວາມມານະອິດທິພົນ ຢ່າງໜຽວແໜ້ນ ທາມກາງ ໄສຮິດຄອງເກົ່າ ລ່າມໄຜ້. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ ໄດ້ຜຶກພົບໜ້ອຍໜ້ອຍ ຈົນຜູ້ຍິງລາວຜ່ານຜ່າຄວາມເຂົ້າຢູ່ຮ່ວມຂອງ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ສວຍໆຊ້ຄວາມ ເສຍສະລະ ແລະນ້ຳໆຊື່ຈຳນົນຕໍ່ພົວພັນ ຄອບຄົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຄື "ພຽງຮ້າທາດຜູ້ຊຸສັດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ" (ຮັກມາ 1975 ໜ້າ 2).

ນັບແຕ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໆໝູ່ ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈຳນວນກ່ວາເຄິ່ງຫນຶ່ງຂອງຜູ້ໄດ້ຄ່ອຍ ໆ ມີບົດບາດຕີຊັ້ນ ທາງຈຸນດ້ານຊີວິດການເມືອງ, ເສດຖະກິດກໍ່ຄື ສັງຄົມ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫວນຄົນ ໜຶ່ງແລ້ວ, ພວກເຂົາຈະເຫັນໄດ້ວ່າ ມັນເທົ່າໃດ ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງພວກເຂົາໄດ້ຜ່ານ ຜ່າ ແລະ ໄດ້ອຸທິດຕົນເອງ ຈົນແຕ່ສັງຄົມກໍ່ຄືຄອບຄົວ ແລ້ວພວກເຂົາຈະພູມໆຈ. ແຕ່ເມື່ອພວກເຂົາຍັງມີໝາຍສິ່ງໝາຍຢ່າງຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ເຮັດອີກ ແລ້ວເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າເກືອບສອງທຶດສະວັດແລ້ວກໍ່ຄື ພວກເຂົາກໍ່ພໍ້ແທ້ໆຈ. ແຕ່ຕໍ່ໜ້າສະພາບການດັ່ງກ່າວ ພວກເຂົາ

ກໍ່ບໍ່ຄວນເຫັນໄດ້ແຕ່ດ້ານຫຍໍ້ຂອງມັນ. ການອະທຍາຍາມຕົວ ຊ້າແມ່ນ ກ່ອນອື່ນຫມົດ ນາຈາກການຂາດທຶນຮອມເຊິ່ງບໍ່ພຽງພໍທີ່ສຳຫລັບຜູ້ ຍິງ ແລະ ນອກນັ້ນກໍ່ແມ່ນເສດເຫຼືອຂອງອິດທິພົນຂອງອັນຫລັກຫລັງຍິງ ເປັນອຸປະສັກກິດຫມ່ວງການເດີນກ້າວໄປຫນ້າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ເມື່ອປະ ເຫດລາວຍິງເປັນຫນຶ່ງໃນປັນດາ 10 ປະເທດ ທີ່ທຸກຍາກທີ່ສຸດໃນ ໂລກ, ການດື່ມລືມ ເພື່ອຢູ່ລອດຂອງແຕ່ລະຄອບຄົວ ແມ່ນຍິ່ງສືບຕໍ່ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກແລະຍິ່ງຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງແບກຫາບພາລະອັນຫນັກຫມ່ວງ ເຊິ່ງບາງທີ່ອາດຈະຫນັກຫມ່ວງທີ່ສຸດໃນຍາມນີ້ ຍິ່ງກ່ວາໃນຍາມ ເດ ຫມົດ. ອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງຄວາມຮັບຜິດຊອບ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນໄດ້ ກ້ວາງ ຂວາງກ່ວາແຕ່ກ່ອນ ແລະ ຜູ້ຍິງເອງເຊື່ອວ່າຍິງຈະຕ້ອງ ແມ່ນຕົນ ເອງອີກທີ່ຈະເປັນຜູ້ແບກຫາບພາລະຫນັກ ດັ່ງກ່າວ. ແຕ່ດ້ານສອງ, ພາລະຫນ້າ ທີ່ ດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ່ຍັດກັນເຊິ່ງທັງຈະເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່ເປັນທັງແມ່, ເມຍ, ແມ່ເຮືອນ, ຊາວໄຮ່ຊາວນາ, ພະນັກງານຫລືກ້າມຂກອນ, ຜູ້ຄ້າສາສະຫນາ, ສະມາຊິກອຳນາດການປົກຄອງທ້ອງຖິ່ນ, ຊາວ ຫມຸ່ມ, ແນວໂຮມ, ຝັກ, ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ, ກ້າມຂບານ, ກອງ ຫລອມ ຫລືສະມາຊິກສະຫະກອນ (ໃນເວລາ ທີ່ຍິງບໍ່ທັນຖືກ ລົບ ລ້າງ). ແຕ່ເພື່ອເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ຄ້າສາສະຫນາ, ຄວາມ ຮຽກ ຮ້ອງຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງປະກອບສ່ວນແມ່ນເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ.

ແຕ່ວ່າໃນຊົນນະບົດກໍ່ຄືໃນເຂດເຝົ້າຊົນການປ່ຽນແປງບໍ່ຄ່ອຍມີ ເທົ່າໃດເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີມູນເຊື້ອມາຈາກສົງຄາມຕໍ່ສູ້ປົດປ່ອຍຊາດກໍ່ຄື. ນອກນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຍິງຢູ່ສູນອົບພະຍົບຈະແມ່ນຍິງຢູ່ສູນທີ່ປະເທດໂຫຫລືຢູ່ ສູນ ປະເທດເອເຊຍອາຄະເນຫລືຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃຫມ່ຢູ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ ແລ້ວ ກໍ່ຄືຍິງຜົນຫລາຍປັນຫາ. ຜູ້ຈະມີເອື້ອອຳນາດຢູ່ຝັ່ງ, ຜູ້ຈະມີ ຜົນຢູ່ການາດາ, ອິດສະເຕຣເຊຍ, ຫລືຈະມີພໍ່ແມ່ຍິງຢູ່ສູນຫລືຢູ່ ລາວລ້ວນແຕ່ຜົນປັນຫາໃນການປັບຕົນເອງເຂົ້າໃນສະພາບໃຫມ່ແລະ ສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມໃຫມ່. ບາງຄົນກໍ່ສາມາດປັບໄດ້ໄດ້ດີບໍ່ມີປັນຫາເທົ່າ

ເດ, ບາງຄົນກໍ່ບໍ່ສາມາດກໍ່ອາດຈະເປັນຄົນເສຍຈິດແລະເສຍແນວ ຄິດໄປ ຈົນເຖິງກັບຂ້າໂຕຕາຍກໍ່ມີ. ບາງຄົນທີ່ຍິງຄ້າງຢູ່ສູນມາໄດ້ 10 ກວ່າປີ ແລ້ວແຕ່ຍິງບໍ່ທັນຮູ້ວ່າຕົນເອງຈະຖືກຕົກແຫ່ງຕົນເດ, ຈັກ ຈະໄດ້ກັບຕ່າງ ຄົນບ້ານເກີດເມືອງນອນຫລືຈະເປັນແນວເດ. ໃນລະ ຍະລໍຖ້າອັນເດ ອັນຫນຶ່ງເຂົ້າຕ້ອງອິດທິພົນຢູ່ສູນມີຊີວິດພາຍໄຕ້ລະບົບ ຄຸນຍັງແບບ ທະຫານ. ແຕ່ຊາວລາວພົ້ນທະເລຫລື "ລາວນອກ" ບາງຄົນເຖິງ ຈະຜົບຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເທົ່າໃດກໍ່ຕົກລົງປະເທດທີ່ 3 ກໍ່ໄດ້ຍິບປົນສົ່ງ ເປັນວັດຖຸເງິນຄ່າຊ່ວຍຜົນຢູ່ "ຫາງາມ" ໃຫ້ ພົ້ນຈາກຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກສ່ວນເດສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງໃນເມື່ອປະເທດລາວຍິງ ທຸກຍາກຂາດເອີນທີ່ສຸດຂອງໂລກ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຫົວປະເທດ ຈະ ໄດ້ມີການປ່ຽນແປງການເມືອງ ແຕ່ການກ້າວເດີນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຍິງຜົບອຸປະສັກຍ້ອນລັດຖະບານບໍ່ມີທຶນ ພຽງພໍແລະ ບໍ່ສາມາດຈະເພີ່ມ ລາຍໄດ້ໃຫ້ພະນັກງານຢ່າງພຽງພໍ. ນອກນັ້ນມັນກໍ່ເປັນຄວາມຈິງທີ່ວ່າການປະຕິວັດຢ່າງດຽວບໍ່ພຽງພໍຈະ ປັບປຸງສັງຄົມ, ມັນຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ຫມົດທຸກຄົນປ່ຽນທັດສະນະ ທ່າ ທີ ເບິ່ງຜູ້ຍິງເປັນພຽງກຳລັງແຮງງານຫລືເຫັນພຽງແຕ່ຮ່າງກາຍທີ່ ມີ ຄວາມ ສາມາດພຽງແຕ່ຈະຜະລິດລູກ. ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງກຽມຊ່ວຍຜູ້ຍິງ ໃຫ້ເຂົ້າຫຽມຕົນເພາະແນວ ຫາງລັດຖະບານຢ່າງດຽວອາດຈະບໍ່ ພຽງພໍທີ່ຈະສົ່ງເສີມໃນພາກຕົວ ຈິງສິດສະເຫມີພາບລະຫວ່າງເພດ ແລະ ລະຫວ່າງເຝົ້າ, ນອກ ຈາກ ວ່າທຸກເພດທຸກເຝົ້າ ຈະໃຊ້ ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມປັບປຸງຕົນ ເພື່ອກັນແລະກັນຈິ່ງອາດຈະຊ່ວຍສ້າງ ໃຫ້ຊົນຊາດຊົນເຝົ້າ ມີຄວາມກົມກຽວແລະທັງມີລັກສະນະຊາດແລະ ລົບລ້າງປົນດ້ອຍທີ່ຖື ວ່າຕົນເຫມືອກ່ວາຜູ້ ອື່ນ ທີ່ບາງລາວລຸ່ມມັກມີ ແລະ ປົນດ້ອຍທີ່ຖືວ່າຕົນຕ່ຳຂອງລາວເທິງ, ລາວສູງແລະຜູ້ຍິງມັກ ມີ. ທັງຫມົດນີ້, ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ ແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະພາກສ່ວນ ຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດແລະເຝົ້າ ຊົນແມ່ນຮຽກຮ້ອງ ນ້ອຍ ແລະ ຫນ້ອຍ

ທີ່ສຸດເພື່ອປົກລະດັບຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່ ຂອງ ເຂົາເຈົ້າ. ເຂົາເຈົ້າ
ຕ້ອງການມີເວລາຫລາຍ ເປັນຂອງຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອແຕ່ງຢູ່ແຕ່ງກິນ,
ບຸກຕື້ນໄມ້ກິນຫມາກ, ບົາລຸງຄວາມຮູ້ແລະຍາກ ມີລູກຫນ້ອຍຄົນ.
ດັ່ງນັ້ນມັນກໍ່ບໍ່ແມ່ນສິ່ງຄາມາຫມໍ່ລະຫວ່າງເພດທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງການຈະ
ເອົາຊະນະຜູ້ຊາຍຫລືຈະປ່ຽນປັນໂລກຫາກແຕ່ມັນແມ່ນຄວາມຕ້ອງ
ການແບບທຳມະດາທີ່ສຸດແລະຈັດເທັ້ນໄດ້ເຖິງຈຸດຫມາຍທີ່ຊາຍແລະ
ຍິງ ມີຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກ ທີ່ຕ່າງຄົນຕ່າງມີບຸກຄົນແລະກັນແລະ ຊ່ວຍ
ເຫລືອເຊິ່ງກັນແລະກັນ ໂດຍທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຕ້ອງຖືກເບິ່ງຂ້າມໂບນບ່ອນ
ສຳຄັນຂອງເວທີການເມືອງ, ເສດຖະກິດ, ການຄ້າແລະວັດທະ
ນະທຳ. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັນນັ້ນຍ້ອນເປັນຄົນອ່ອນໄຫວແລະ ບໍ່ຄ່ອຍໄດ້ ຮັບ
ຄວາມຍຸຕິທຳແລະເປັນຄົນທີ່ຖືກຫລໍ່ຫລອມຈັດອິດທິນ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງມັກມີ
ຕົນອອກຫ່າງຫລືມີກຢູ່ຫ່າງໜ້າຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເພາະ ເຄີຍຖືກອົບລົມປົນ
ສ່ອນມາແຕ່ເກົ່າຫລັງ. ເຖິງຈະຢູ່ແຫ່ງທີນາໂຕ ຫລືຈະຢູ່ໃນສະພາບ
ຈິດຜ່ານມາຜູ້ຍິງລາວຍັງມີຢູ່ແຖວຫລັງ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຢູ່ເລື້ອຍໆເຖິງ
ຈະພະຍາຍາມດື່ມລົມຕໍ່ສູ້ທີ່ສຽງຂອງຕົນຈັດໄດ້ຖືກຍືນກໍ່ດີ.

ແຕ່ ອ້ ຄວາມ ອັນ ສຳຄັນນະທີ່ນີ້, ຜູ້ຊຽນຢາກຝາກສື່ຢ່າງ.
ກ່ອນ ອື່ນຢາກໄຂ່ອໍສະແດງຄວາມຫມັ້ນໃຈວ່າດ້ວຍການເອົາໃຈໃສ່
ຂອງ ລັດຖະບານລະ ບອບາຫມໍ່ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງ, ເຖິງຖ້າຫວຍາສ່ວນບອບ
ການ ປົກຄອງຫລາຍ ບຸກຫລາຍສະໄຫມຜ່ານມາ ຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ
ລາວທີ່ ເຄີຍໄດ້ຜ່ານການກົດຫມ່ວງຈາກກົດຫມາຍພື້ນເມືອງ, ກົດ
ຫມາຍ ສາສະໜາຕະຫລອດກົດຫມາຍຂອງລະບອບສັກດີນານີ້ບໍ່ແຕ່
ອິດທິພົນຂອງ ນານດາທິລາດ ໄດ້ຖືກຕິດຮູບໂດຍອິດທິພົນຂອງ ຍິດາ
ທິລາດ ນັບ ເປັນຫລາຍຮ້ອຍປີມາແລ້ວນັ້ນ, ອໍາທິຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ເວົ້າ
ສະເພາະ ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີໂອກາດເຝີຍໂສມຫນ້າຂອງຕົນດ້ວຍຄວາມເອກ
ອ້າງຕໍ່ ໂລກປາສະຈາກຄວາມປົນດອຍ, ຄວາມກິນແຫນງແດງຈາ
ຍ້ອນ ຊິກເສັດເກົ່າ, ໄດ້ມີອິດສະຫລະພາບແລະຄວາມສະເຫມີພາບ

ແລະ ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າລະບອບບາຫມໍ່ຈະໄດ້ຈັດໂອກາດແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ ຜູ້ຍິງ
ລາວກໍ່ຍັງເປັນຜູ້ລືກລັບໃນສາຍຕາສັງຄົມລາວກໍ່ຄືໃນສາຍຕາ ຂອງ
ໂລກ.

ສິ່ງທີ່ສອງທີ່ຜູ້ຊຽນຢາກສົ່ງອ່າວຜ່ານປື້ມຫົວນີ້ວ່າປື້ມຫົວນີ້ໄດ້ພະ
ຍາຍາມໂອປ່ວງປຽມຈັດຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບສະພາບເບື້ອງຕົ້ນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ, ດັ່ງ
ນັ້ນປື້ມຫົວນີ້ຈຶ່ງເປັນການເຊື່ອເຊີນມັກຄືນຄືວ່າ ທັງຫລາຍທີ່ ສິນຈາ
ກ່ຽວກັບປື້ມຫາຍິງ-ຊາຍທີ່ລາວກໍ່ຄືທີ່ເອເຊຍຕະເວັນອອກອໍາທິສິບຕໍ່
ຄືນຄືວ່າຕົນເພາະຍິງມີຫລາຍໂຂງເຂດສຳຄັນທີ່ຍິງບໍ່ທັນ ໄດ້ ແຕະ
ຕ້ອງເທື່ອ.

ປື້ມຫາທີ່ສາມແມ່ນຜູ້ຊຽນເຫັນວ່າໃນສະພາບ ສິ່ງ ແວດ ລ້ອມ
ເສດຖະກິດການເມືອງວັດທະນະທຳຈັດຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງ ການທ້ອງການ
ຫລືສູນຄືນຄືວ່າກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍສະເພາະເພື່ອຈັດຮູ້ແບບວິທະ ຍາ
ສາດກ່ຽວກັບເພດຍິງບໍ່ແມ່ນຮູ້ພຽງແຕ່ກ່ຽວກັບລາວຫາກແຕ່ ຮູ້ ປົດ
ບາດການອະຫຍາຍຕົວກໍ່ຄືການປະກອບສ່ວນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນປັນດາປະ
ເທດອື່ນນຳ ເຊັ່ນຜູ້ຍິງຈີນປະ ເທດເອເຊຍອາຄະ ເນ.

ສຸດທ້າຍຜູ້ຊຽນຄິດວ່າຜູ້ຍິງລາວແລະຫມຸ່ນນ້ອຍຕ້ອງການຍາມນີ້
ຍິ່ງກວ່າຍາມຈິດຫມົດແມ່ນທ້ອງການທີ່ມີຄວາມສາມາດຈັດຄຳແນະນຳ
ປຶກສາຫາລືທັງຮັກສາຄວາມລັບໃນດ້ານກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວແລະສັງຄົມ
ເຊິ່ງອາດຈະປະກອບສ່ວນຈັດແກ່ສັງຄົມເວົ້າລວມແລະເວົ້າສະເພາະ
ຈັດແກ່ຄອບຄົວ.

ຊ່ວຍແດ່ !

໐ ພົນລະເມືອງດີ

* ຍ້ອນພວກເຮົາທຸກຍາກແລ້ວ
ເຮົາບໍ່ໄປພົງເປັນ
ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງສຶກກະບົກເປື້ອນ
ຄວາມສະອາດກໍຫາກຮູ້

ຊົນນະບົດທ່າງໃນເມືອງ
ຫນູ່ສັດເປັນເພື່ອນ...
ຫລາຍສອບເສັ້ນຍຸ້ນປ່ອງ
ແຕ່ກໍ່ໄດ້ບ່າງໝື

* ທ່ານເອີຍ ! ໃຜຢາກປົດປ່ອຍເປື້ອງ
ການສຶກສາບໍ່ທັນເຖິງ
ເຊົ້າຮຸ່ງ ມີແຕ່ທ່າງງານສ້າງ
ຫາກີນໄປແຕ່ລະນີ້...

ນັ່ງຮູ້ຊົນນະບົດ ຮຽນເປົ້າ
ຟ່າຍລະດັບບໍ່ມີຊັ້ນ
ຕາມພາສາຄົນປ່າ
ບໍ່ພົ້ນພໍ່ບ່ອນຈະເລີນ

* ຍິງລາວກ້າຟ່າຍເປື້ອງ
ບໍ່ຈັກຄວາມຫຍັງ ?
ນຸ່ງກິດຕາມບ້ານ
ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງປົກຫໍ່ເນື້ອ

ຊົນນະບົດບ່າຍຊຸມເຮົາ
ຟ່າຍຈະເລີນບໍ່ເຄີຍພໍ້
ປະເພນີເຄີຍຢູ່
ກໍ່ພໍ້ໄດ້ສືບວັນ

* ຊ່ວຍແດ່ ! ຊ່ວຍນຳຄວາມຮຸ່ງເຮື້ງ ໄປສູ່ຊົນນະບົດ
ຊ່ວຍນຳການສຶກສາມາ
ຊ່ວຍນຳອານາໄມເຂົ້າ
ຊ່ວຍນຳເສີນສົງຄູ່

ໄປສູ່ຊົນນະບົດ
ໃຫ້ຫນູ່ເຮົາໄດ້ຮຽນຮູ້
ພວກເຮົາສໍຄອບຢູ່
ວຽກງານສ້າງແຜ່ນຢືງ
ແດ່ຫ້ອນ !!

ເອກະສານອ້າງອີງ

- ກອງປະຊຸມໜ່ວຍງານທີ່ 11 ຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວທົ່ວປະເທດ 13-14 ຕຸລາ 1988 (ວຽງຈັນ: ວິສະຫະກິດການພິມຈຳຫນ່າຍສຶກສາ).

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LAO WOMEN

YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn

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**LAO WOMEN
YESTERDAY AND TODAY**

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This manuscript is dedicated to my parents, my husband, my sons, and to all Lao people, whether compatriots in Laos or in other parts of the world.

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"We were not born female: We become it".

Simone De Beauvoir, The Second Sex

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Above all, the research for this manuscript has been a part of my own consciousness-raising, and in this I am indebted to the experience and analysis of Lao women themselves, in Laos as well as overseas, who throughout the twentieth century have fought long and hard to redefine their position in Lao society, as well as in their adopted society.

FOREWORD

The study of women in Southeast Asia is still in its infancy, yet it is a rapidly growing field. Nowhere it is less developed, however, than in Laos. In part this reflects the underdeveloped state of Lao studies in general, when compared with its more populous neighbours, but in part too cultural and historical reasons are responsible for the paucity of work on Lao women.

Culturally Lao women, while enjoying certain traditional rights, such as in inheritance of property, have suffered, as Dr. Mayoury Ngaosyvathn shows, from the disadvantages of inferior status in the family, in society, and in relation to Buddhism. This inferior status translated into reduced educational opportunities. Girls were taught to read, if at all, in the home, not in the monastery school as boys were. Since women were expected to marry and raise a family, even secondary education, let alone tertiary, was not considered important. Very few women, therefore, were given the opportunity to study abroad, let alone pursue a higher degree. Dr Mayoury was one of the lucky few.

Historically, the relatively slight gains that were made by Lao women in the years following the brief Japanese occupation of Laos were eroded by the demands of a country undergoing both war and revolution. While in those areas under the control of the Royal Lao government, conservative views as to the role of women in Lao society remained influential,

in the zone under Pathet Lao control, the revolutionary movement had little opportunity to put its more enlightened approach into effect. For women in the Pathet Lao movement, as for everyone else, the first priority was survival. Women played an important role in the revolutionary movement, but the means hardly existed to encourage women's studies.

With the victory of the Pathet Lao in 1975, and proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, ninety per cent of the country's educated elite crossed into Thailand. For educated women among the Lao refugees who settled eventually in Australia, Canada, France or the United States of America, the first priority was the need to help their families overcome the difficulties associated with assimilation into a new society. For those who stayed the needs of a country undergoing painful reconstruction after years of civil conflict meant that those who were educated had pressing practical tasks to perform. While this led to some improvement in the status of women in Laos, it has not yet resulted in the study of their needs or changing circumstances.

Dr. Mayoury has been almost alone in seeking to open up the study of Lao women, both in Laos itself, and among refugee communities in countries of resettlement. Her work has the significance of all pioneering studies in not only laying the foundations for future research, but also in setting a standard by which all subsequent studies will be judged. Like all pioneering work, this study also has the virtue of indicating areas of need for more detailed research. Or such is obviously the study of women belonging to Lao

Sung and Lao Theung minorities. Dr. Mayoury has produced here a significant contribution to Lao studies. I commend her work to all with an interest in Lao women, and the status of women throughout Southeast Asia.

15 July, 1992

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INTRODUCTION

This paucity of accurate data and studies about Laos in general, and in particular Lao women, calls for the need to lay down groundwork devoid of any premature theorisation, which would be mere fantasy and groundless speculation. This groundwork consists of sketchy information from archives and libraries throughout the world, painstakingly collected bits and pieces of details scattered in difficult-to-access sources or papers, and data gathered by personal field-research supplemented by oral histories obtained from women and men residing in the villages, co-operatives in Laos as well as overseas. Since all media coverage pertains to lowland Lao, unprecedented efforts have been made, when possible, to cover other ethnic groups, either Lao Theung or Lao Sung, although references to these groups may be occasional and unsystematic.

This groundwork takes a safe pattern in using convenient chronological sequencing from prehistory to the present. With this safety net, the book unfolds two parts, embodying two dialectical themes of oppression-liberation applied to the context of Laos. The first part focuses on the traditional society in which most people are still immersed today. The second part is devoted to the effort made since 1975 to remedy the legacies of the past.

A great number of books have been devoted to the issue of women, particularly in the

Third World. None, however, have been written about Laos. This is the first analysis of this issue, which was not considered as respectable a subject as politics for example. It is also of a true story lived from inside.

Why were women always oppressed by the Buddhist religion, by traditional values and by the archaic division of work? Why could they not have any hope for their future, particularly when the country was undergoing, especially after 1975, tremendous change, especially after 1975? It is during these times that people can really feel that they are making history, that things can change, have to change, when all seems to combine into an immense convivial society: sharing was the key word of this time. There was a real glow in the history of the country then. It was short-lived in time, and unfortunately narrow in scope too. Reality rapidly took command. This book aims to record this privileged moment of an immense effort made throughout the country to discard the old order of things. The time has not yet come to draw lessons from this experience, but the time is ripe for recording what has been the experience of a society dormant for many centuries and brutally thrown into the maelstrom of history.

The romanisation system used in this book of the Lao script is my own, intended to help those not familiar with linguistic notation. I do keep some officially used names.

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank.
ASEMI	Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien.
BARL	Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Lao.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
CC	Central Committee of the Lao ruling Party.
EIU	The Economist Intelligence Unit.
FA	France-Asie.
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation.
LWU	Lao Women's Union.
FLTU	The Federation of Lao Trade Unions.
FEER	Far Eastern Economic Review.
JSS	Journal of The Siam Society.
KPL	Khaosan Pathet Lao (News Bulletin) (Summary in Lao/French (Bulletin Quotidien)).
LPRY	Lao People's Revolutionary Youth.
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic.

LPRP	Lao People's Revolutionary Party (formerly Phak Pasason Lao(PPL) or Lao People's Party).
LPWA	Lao Patriotic Women Association.
LI	Lao Issara (Free Lao), movement of resistance formed in 1945 against the French.
NA	National Assembly.
NLHS	Neo Lao Hak Sat (Lao Patriotic Front).
NC	National Congress founding the Lao People's Democratic Republic.
NPCC	National Political Consultative Council.
PGNU	Provisional Government of National Union.
PL	Pathet Lao (the Lao Free Land).
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency.
SPA	Supreme People's Assembly.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
XP	Xieng Pasason (Voice of the People) (party's daily newspaper).

PART ONE:

THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S POWERLESSNESS

Hamilton (1688-1723), who travelled through much of South-East Asia reported that, "The natives of Laos are whiter in complexion than their circumjacent neighbours. I saw some of both sexes in Siam. Their women are little inferior to Portuguese or Spanish ladies".¹ The comparison drawn by this traveller in the 17th century was not disadvantageous to Lao women, for Hamilton referred to the South European standard to give an idea of their beauty. Richardson, who frequently visited Lao inhabited areas between 1829 and 1838, emphasized that it would be impossible to find such perfect beauties, and that many of these village beauties had skin like Europeans (Richardson, 1839). These descriptions of Lao women brought attention to this faraway and unknown country whose richness was reported by Marco Polo, and sung of by Camoëns in his poems, the "Lusiades" (Le May, 1927:41-42).

Beneath the agreeable surface visible to passing travellers, the reality is more complex, characterised by a gender order in which women are entangled with no noticeable leverage. The marginal status of women, pervasive in most traditional societies, is indigenised to blend into the mental, social and physical

landscape of a particular situation, which is that of Laos in this book. The resulting bonding of women's spirits and their captive bodies was at the heart of this gender order. A part of "Arcady in Asia", as Le May has rightly called it, Laos is not an exception to this universal law, applicable by the distinctively easy-going nature of the people in this part of the world.

1/ BACK TO THE ORIGINS: WOMEN IN CHARGE OF THE EARTHLY KINGDOM.

"The kingdom of the Queen" - it was in these terms that travellers coming from China refer to the area encompassing Laos today (Rispaud, 1961:1855; Hoshino, 1986:39-40). It may be true, as some scholars maintain, that in the beginning women ruled over the tribes. Matrifocality may have been predominant. If time has changed, some clues are still traceable in the social archeology of Laos among the myths of origin of the people. Furthermore, some continuing practices ensure this pattern of the central role of women in dealing with the supernatural universe, which pertains to the everyday life of the Lao people. However, the weight of history has rapidly dwindled away this preeminence. This shift was brought about by the great imported religion, Buddhism, which was introduced for the first time into Laos in the eleventh century. It was consolidated in the fourteenth century, called by some the second Buddhisation of Laos. Hence, in internal exile, women were irretrievably discounted as contenders for power, when through the under-

mining Queen Nang Kaev² Phimpha, they were vilified by court chroniclers in the same century that Buddhism was erected as a state religion. The situation of women was thus crystallised in traditions and laws. The socialisation of the second sex and second-class citizens operated from this time, and the capture of power by men was complete. This struggle is echoed in folk tales, about women racing against men's teams to construct a number of stupas, and outwitting them still celebrated today by a yearly pilgrimage.

A- Women In Myths Of Origin

Like the populations in many countries in the world, the Lao come from many cultural and ethnic backgrounds. They embrace two main belief systems: the Buddhist religion, and forms of animism comprising a multitude of spirits. The role of women in this religious domain is very important within the community, for they are responsible for the rituals linking the sky and the earth. This is not accidental but is part of a universal culture, particularly in this part of the world. While focusing on the role of South-East Asian women in pre-colonial times, Reid (1988b:629) recounts that, "Their reproductive role gave them magical and ritual powers which it was difficult for men to match". Lao society confirms this observation.

According to Lao mythology of the beginning of the world as recounted in the earliest annals of the Lao people, "Women were first born on the Lao soil. Assault on their lives would draw misfortune and ruin to the kingdom" (Vo Thu Tinh, 1970:11).

After the coming of human beings to earth, the ancestral prototype of all Lao women, better known as ມ້າຍນ້ອງ (Maei Nya:mi or Nyeu) (grandmother ມ້າຍ), sacrificed herself with her husband, Pui Nyeu (grandfather ປູ້ຍຸ), in cutting down kheua'khao kat, the gigantic and harmful liana, which links the earth to the sky. This liana had grown so vast, covered the planet so completely, that it blocked out the sun. After hacking away at the liana so that human beings could enjoy sunlight again, the couple were crushed to death when the giant vine collapsed. From that time on, both were venerated as Theva:da Luang (Aijmer, 1979:737), guardian deities of the kingdom. An altar was built for them in the garden of the pagoda Vat Aram (Dore, 1987:45). There, year after year, until 1975, tribute was paid by the Lao king and court to these ancestors during the New Year ceremonies in the royal capital of Luang Prabang (Halpern, 1964a:55). Nowadays, in remembrance of this couple, most Lao people, and particularly the Lao of Luang Prabang, will, before they eat, invoke "ມ້າຍ, ນ້ອງ" (Come Nyeu, eat Nyeu!).

Local chronicles on the foundation of Lao towns refer also to voluntary human sacrifices by women whose spirits, upon their death, returned to protect the city. These spirits are known as phi meuang² (i.e. city spirit), a relic of perhaps the oldest form of religion in South-East Asia (Davis, 1984b:273). The domain of these spirits is not only limited to the community but encompasses all areas depending the town. Deydier (1954:202-203) argues that the spirits are associated with the ມ້າຍ, a common cult among all the T'ai ethnic groups with the lak meuang, the city pillar (see also for tribal Tai groups, Wijeye-

wardene, 1970:251), which is more usually named ມ້າຍນ້ອງ, becoming the guardian spirit of the town (see also Zago, 1972:185). Davis (1984b:273) recorded that "in Laos, stone spirits are often associated with ມ້າຍ, "the post of the muang", which perhaps evolved from the trees that once embodied the fertility of the ancient chief's muang".

An example of such a pillar spirit is Sav Si (Lady Si), commonly known as Nya Mae Si Meuang. She was a young woman, several months pregnant, who sacrificed herself. Her name was given to the pagoda Vat Si Meuang.³ This was the first pagoda established during the foundation of Vientiane as the new capital of Lan Xang by King Saisetthathiraj in 1564. People in Vientiane recount that when Vientiane was being established as the capital of the kingdom of Lan Xang, and when the central pillar of the capital was about to be planted, a pregnant woman, ສາວສີ, was inspired to throw herself into the pit to be buried alive by the city pillar. This action gave her the status of guardian spirit of the new capital (Zago, 1972:185; see another legend of ສາວສີ, Abhay, 1956g). Nowadays, an annual ceremony pays tribute to this woman. The ceremony is performed on the eve of the most important traditional celebration of the year, the That Luang festival, which is consecrated to the Lao national stupa.⁴ The belief in the power of Lady Si is widespread, and even the Lao settled overseas usually require their parents in Laos to solicit her assistance to overcome problems connected to immigration, and resettlement in a new country.⁵

Until 1975 Luang Prabang, the former royal capital of Laos, had its own guardian spirits. Similar events occurred as in Vientiane, but in Luang Prabang the woman was named ສາວທັບ

(Lady Man2), and a sacred landmark in the shape of a pillar bore the Lak'Man2, her name (Deydier, 1954:187).

Some have interpreted these sacrifices as "ritual murder, that liberated the dangerous spirit to become one of the main deities of the territory", to quote Archaimbault (1973b:124). The same observation was made by James Chamberlain, who was interviewed by the author in Bangkok on May 27 1990. Similarities regarding the sacrifice of a pregnant woman are also found by Mougne (1984a:4) in the north-east of Thailand.

B- Women As Shamans

In daily life, women mediums commonly known as Nang Thiam (Lady in trance), or Maei Thiam (Mother in trance)⁶, play an important intermediary role between the world of human beings and that of the spirits.⁷ They are equivalent to shamans in other civilisations (for example in Malaysia, see Rashid, 1990; Karim, 1990). The ritual is provoked by the spirits of the dead, who communicate with people. Seidenfaden (1958:94) states that, "The Lao practise spirit possession with women as medium and shamans". When possessed by a male spirit, the ນາງຊຳມຸ dresses as a man. This often happened in Luang Prabang."

Mediums are also called upon for the incarnation of territorial village spirits (phi bane2) and city spirits (phi meuang, Pottier, 1973:99; Ireson R., 1992; also in Thailand, Davis, 1984b:274). Their activities are extensive, ranging from diagnostic and curing rituals, to exorcism and putting loved ones in touch with dead kinsmen. They also act as ora-

cles, foretelling the future of the harvest or events of the coming year (Condominas, 1952; Zago 1972). People also appeal to them for answers to personal and intractable problems, particularly those relating to the family and marriage. For example, if a child is lost and feared drowned, it is to the Nang Thiam that the parents inquire as to the child's whereabouts. The ນາງຊຳມຸ is able to locate the corpse along the river. By the same process, people consult her on the identity of the thief who has stolen a precious necklace or the outcome of an important investment, which has just been made.

Spirit-mediumship is so important in folk society that Lao women have become the symbol of supernatural being. Possession of supernatural power is one of women's most effective strategies demonstrating their social worth in society (Zago, 1972:55). This was particularly the case during the 1960s, with the men at war (see for instance, the Hmong, Long L.D., 1993). This role is similarly found elsewhere: in Africa⁸; in Latin America, such as in Sao Polo, Porto Alegre (Brazil); in Thailand (Wijewardene, 1981); and in Vietnam (White, 1990).

Symbolically, women as spirit mediums and ritual specialists insured the community against all risks (Zago, 1972:196-7; Hours, 1973a:59). Psychologically, they perform the therapeutic role of softening the blows of poverty, misfortune and calamity. Their activities give the Lao a sense of control over life, which Buddhism denies. Through women, the link between the past, present and future is articulated in clearer terms, democratising a life process which is otherwise autocratic in its predeterminism. The Lao are fundamentally a superstitious people, and women are the most ardent followers and keepers of su-

perstition. By controlling rites and practices linked to the past, women provide the Lao with a sense of assurance about the continuity of interpersonal and communal relations in the future.

Another important dimension to Lao supernaturalism is the intensely personal mode in which it is reproduced. Spirit mediums are non-hereditary (Matras, 1973:75-6). Anyone has an equal chance of becoming a medium, although the majority of women are females.¹⁰ and those selected to be the Nang Thiam are generally young¹¹, and pretty.¹² However, a Nang Thiam may expect a daughter or niece to succeed her. Furthermore, the agreement of the guardian spirits of the village or the city has to be sought otherwise their "vehicles", "horses", "seat", or "body", will not get their co-operation in shamanistic performances. In general, the rationale may be that, "mediumship is one of the essential aspects of the Eternal feminist (...). Until today, the whole prestige of peoples endowed in this sense are female" (Bernard, 1985:20), or simply that, "most mediums are women" (Wijeyewardene, 1981:14). Currently, despite attempts by the government to discourage spirit mediumship, the institution continues to appeal to the Lao in practical every day life.

C- Women As Goddesses

In Laos, as in other countries practising Theravada Buddhism, in Laos, the New Year occur in April¹³, and, surprising though this may be ceremonies are placed under the aegis of a woman called Nang Saing Khane. The woman chosen embodies a goddess and is usually beautiful. She is adorned for the day in the

most brilliant finery, and is paraded on a float lavishly decked with flowers. She is taken around the town to conjure away bad influences, and at the same time to bring prosperity to all inhabitants.

Furthermore, goddesses also preside over daily life. The seven days of the week are named after different goddesses. Gai (1981a:48)¹⁴ wrote that, "The Lao as their neighbours the Thai, give a great importance to the days of the week and attribute to them a peculiar quality. Each day carries a name of a goddess."

Women maintain the symbolic attributes of goddesses in other contexts, such as rice-cultivation. Like other people in South-East Asia, the Lao cultivate and eat glutinous rice. To grow rice is not only to perform an economic act but also to participate intimately in the supernatural world (Halpern, 1964b:26-29). A traditional belief is that rice has a soul (Deydier, 1952:68-70; Ngao-syvathn, 1990). Seidenfaden (1958:94,96) has explained, "The Lao believe in the soul of rice, a female spirit who dwells in the last sheaf to be gathered. This superstition seems formerly to have had a wide extension both in South-Eastern Asia and in Europe where it was also found in the Nordic countries". In rural Lao culture, rice is not only considered a staple food, but also a sacred substance which is cared for by a guardian spirit. Zago (1972:257)¹⁵, an expert on Buddhism in Laos, noted that, "Rice is the staple food, it is identified with a mythic divinity called ນາງ ນໍ້າ (Lady Kosob)". The rice soul rite is unfailingly performed among the people inhabiting the valley of the Mekong, as well as among the minorities living in the mountains, the Lao Sung and the Lao Theung.¹⁶ The same

rite is practised in Thailand.¹⁷ Women dominate these rituals, as goddesses, priestesses and participants. So they assume total responsibility over the continuity of the agrarian cycle, and the fate of the community¹⁸. In earlier days, the rice soul ceremony was associated with fertility rites. This existed not only in the Mekong valley, but also among Vietnamese ethnic minorities in the Tay Bac like the Khmu, Khua and Khang. Here women are elected as Mother of Rice (Mai thi Tu and Le thi Nam Le Tuyet, 1978).

At the deepest level of the Lao culture characterised by animism, which preceded the introduction of Brahmanism and Buddhism, women are credited with possessing magic power (see for Thailand, McMorran, 1984:313), embodying "The female nature of the cults".¹⁹ Women especially had control over the invisible universe of spirits. They were thus required to conciliate the spirits to ensure survival and to prevent their animosity and wrath.²⁰

After 1975, political campaigns were launched against superstitious beliefs to eradicate such despised "old-fashioned" and "pernicious" behaviour. Some impact was noticeable in urban, as well as in rural areas. This was very transitory, for since 1980 the old rituals, whether animist, Brahmanist, or Buddhist, have gained new ground and new strength in the face of general economic poverty. Being keenly intuitive and sensitive, women are the ideal intermediaries of divine revelation (Stone, 1984:21), and mediumship remains very popular in the daily life of the Lao people today. Old women, since the previous regime, have been very attached to them and many follow rituals associated

with Buddhist, animist or Brahmanist deities. Many do not hesitate to appeal to a medium, a sorcerer, or a fortune teller to find a solution to everyday problems. It is interesting to note that in the neighbouring Vietnam, after many years, the worship of female deities and spirits has begun again in some temples. For example, the female economic benefactor temple Ba Chua Lieu has been re-opened to the public (White, 1990).

D- Women As Idols

As a reaction against the official rule of men, and predominated with the matriarchy, many folk stories gave an important role to women in the conduct of the country. According to oral tradition in southern Laos, Nang Sida (Lady Sida), daughter of the king of Campa, who constructed the famous Lao Vat Phu, volunteered to die in place of her father as a sacrifice to the spirits. She was rescued by a foreign prince, who married her (Archaimbault, 1961a:523).

The tale of Nang Tan Tay (1970) (Giai, 1981b), a kind of indigenous Lao One Thousand and One Nights, which was written in the 16th century, tells that a princess gave herself to be sacrificed in place of all the girls in the country, whom the king had threatened to execute because as he was irked by the infidelity of his wife. Due to her intelligence, Tan Tay managed to escape her fate.

In fact, women exercised a crucial influence during the periods of crisis, as well as in peace time, and also during the absence of the king. The Lao masterpieces of literature, such as Sin Xay, written in the 17th century by the poet Pangkham (Abhay, 1956b; 1956f),

are a reminder that during the time that Sin Xay's father was a monk, it was the mother who ruled the country on his behalf (Peltier, 1988:216 and 262). The story of Khun Lu Nang Uai (1970) demonstrates that the mothers of the hero and heroine ruled their respective countries after the death of their husbands (Dore, 1987:798-800). Another marvellous masterpiece of Lao literature is Thav2 'Hung Thav2 Ceuang's epic (Viravong S.1988), which tells that his lover Nang Ngom2 was commander of the armed force which took part in major battles to protect the city. Nang Ngom2's mother, Nang Meng, was also appointed governor of the city². If, in the Lao legend or stories narrated during the pre-Buddhist period, such as the tale of Thav2 'Hung, the society was almost animist, historical narrative was dedicated as much to the women rulers, warriors and protectors of the country, men. It is possibly that, as Reid (1988b:637) has pointed out, "If some militant heroines played a dangerous role in Southeast Asia rather than elsewhere, it is probably because status was prominent than gender, and women were not excluded from taking the lead if the occasion required it".

2/ MEN'S SELF EMPOWERMENT, WOMEN IN THE SOCIAL WILDERNESS

The confiscation of women's power by men was a long process, which was enforced by multiple ideological devices. Religion, history, traditions and laws are all subtle and effective means of social control of "deviance", in this perspective "womankind".

A- The Stigmatised: Demotion of Women by Buddhism

The demotion of women by Buddhism highlights a universal problem, which is the segregation of women on religious grounds. Asha (1987:11, 225) has pointed out that all religions repress women. In Laos, problems took a paradoxical turn when women were barred from the monastical life, after they had been the linchpin of Buddhism's survival in the country.

Buddhism was an imported religion, which was, forced to coexist with a traditional cosmological order and an enduring belief in and worship of spirits. Women are partakers in both Buddhism and animism, for the Lao search in animism for "well-being and a system of terrestrial protection", while turning to Buddhism for a response to the "essential problems of life, away of temporal salvation" (Zago, 1972:380). The resulting experience of Lao women has been determined by their traditional marginalised social status, within the limitations of which they have sought improvement of their earthly condition and a better

after-life.

The spread of Buddhism into Laos and its institutionalization as the state religion heightened discriminatory practices against women. In favouring men, the Buddhist religion introduced into Laos a notion of female exclusion, which had previously been less marked. Lao women, like their peers in other South-East Asia Theravada Buddhist countries, were forbidden to be part of the monastic male-oriented life (Van Esterick, 1982a,b; Kabiligh, 1984; Keyes, 1984; 1986; Breazeale and Smuckarn, 1988).

Every man, without discrimination on the basis of status, can enter into the religious order. Meanwhile, the opportunity to be ordained is refused to women (Condominas 1968:51).

Social activity was rigidly segregated to protect "female innocence", as well as to prevent monks from falling into "evil temptation". Hardship was the penalty when an offence was committed. This situation masked a dialectical relationship between monkhood and womanhood: Buddhism was dependent on female devotees for its survival. Monks had to be fed and female devotees had to remain active in merit-making activities in order to justify men's continuing role as monks. On the other hand, women needed religion for their salvation in the next life. Moreover, if they were active as devotees, they could at least gain some social recognition for their efforts.

Classic Lao literature, as well as folk tales, make women the source of magical power. This may be a reaction to the monopoly

granted by Buddhism to men, or simply a continuation of animistic belief (Le May, 1927).

Despite these above-mentioned practices of subordination, merit-making has long been the responsibility of women, as for women in other South-East Asian countries practising Theravada Buddhist religion (Van Esterik, 1982a:4; see in particular a similar situation in Cambodia, Hiebert, August 1989). These women are considered "second-class citizens" of Buddhism, a religion constructed by men and for men. Thus women, as the inferior sex, as wives and as mothers, have spent their physical energy and their spiritual strength for the sake of the Buddhist religion, and in the hope of having their souls saved so they are not re-born as women.

B- The Wretched: Vilification of Women By Court Chroniclers and Lawyers from the Traditional Society.

As women are celebrated for courting, they are also recorded in Lao history having a second role: a role in politics. This appears to be puzzling.

In general, Lao women were automatically passed over for the throne. This related to the Salic rule of succession, to the throne not men thian bane, which stated that the throne should be handled down from the father to the son. The testament of Khun Bulom stated that, "the sons will succeed to the sons, the grandsons to the grandsons" (Sasorith, 1956:717-9; Vo Thu Tinh, 1970:11). The Lao annals recorded the application of such a

rule.

If the queens did not govern in principle, in practice, as the spouse of the king and as the mother of a future king, they had certain duties roles, such as attending different ceremonies at the court (Levy, 1956a:746-7). They acted for the kings in their absence, like for example, Fa-Ngum's pregnant wife in the fourteenth century. They even actively participated in the election of a new king (Nang Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom Rajathiraj, 1967:48; Dore, 1987:103). One of these queens has her name recorded in the chronicle: Nang Kaev2 Keng Nya, a Khmer "princess", the spouse of Fa-Ngum. One year after his enthronement, king Fa-Ngum left the kingdom's affairs to the charge of his wife, Nang Kaev2 Keng Nya (Viravong S., 1964:30). According to the Vat Kaev Chart, she brought the Buddhist religion from Cambodia to Laos. She took part in the building of a temple Vat Kaev2, in offering her own emerald to be placed in the Lord Buddha's chest.²³

In the XIV Century, one epigraphy named Tham2 Nang Ang (Princess Ang's grotto) was found in Luang Prabang (Hoshino, 1986; Ferlus, 1988). This epigraphy revealed about the origin of the Lao-Thai language (Ferlus, 1988:5).

The role of these women was not insignificant, if we remember that the political socialisation in this country was less than small. Two other princesses were also appointed as governors (Wyatt, 1984:71-73). Another Queen also marked Lao history: the mother of King Saiseththathiraj (1373-1415) ruled Xieng Mai (northern Thailand) with a virtuosity in managing the politics of Laos (Hall, 1976:262).

Later, a Phuan princess called Caol Kham One, or Phom Dam, appears to have rescued her people in Xieng Khuang, after they were driven to Siam by the vanquished army following the fall of Vientiane in 1827. At the end of the 19th century, a female offspring from the same royal line of Xieng Khuang, also struggled, this time against the invaders H02 from South China.

At the end of the 17th century, Nang Usa founded the town of Yasothon and Nang Si Sani, the town of Nong Khai. Both were daughters of the Prince of Ubon; this province "originated from this race, the unique royal race in Laos" (Aymonier, 1885:156).

Southern Laos²⁴ prided itself on having two successive queens who ruled the kingdom: Nang 'Phao (1638-1688), and then Nang 'Phaeng (1688-1708) (Viravong S., 1958:42-5; Archaimbault, 1961a:582).

An exception to the rule, or a ploy to forever discredit women interfering in the "reserved male domain of politics" that Nang Kaev2 'Phimpha, who was the only woman who formally reigned during the Lan Xang period. She ruled for nearly one decade (1428-1438), and accused of having assassinated seven kings. Her origin is unclear, and some historians and chroniclers are of the opinion that she is the same person as the great queen "Maha Thévi". According to others²⁵, she was a daughter of King Sam Saene Thai as recorded in the 'Phongsavadane Meuang Luang Prabang'. Some²⁶ considered her to be the youngest sister of Sam Saen Thai, while the Nithane Khun Bulom Rajathiraj chronicle (1968:87) stated that she was a spouse of Sam Saene Thai. To others, she was the wife of Fa-Ngum, but Sam Saene Thai

had taken his father's wife (Doré, 1987:719; Ongkane 'Kha2 Khobng 'Khruru Saipha, 1968:42). These inconsistencies in the Lao chronicles add to the obscurity, and Lao historians as well as foreigners have different interpretations regarding her birth date, her parents, her name, her origins and her nationality, and her true identity. Some content that she was Siamese (Oger, 1972:112). All this suggests that ນາງເກຍວຸ້ນ is perhaps a fictional character invented by some learned men for their own purposes, or that she did exist and was engulfed in a religious schism. Historians and chroniclers agreed that, at 95 years of age, the "cruel" queen would have been punished by the death penalty, "with her head attached to a rock and her feet in the water, till death intervened".²⁷

In Asia, there have been other queens called "cruel": there was, for example, a queen, in Cambodia, named Ang Mey (1834-1842), who was nominated by Vietnam to rule over the country in 1834 (Osborne, 1969:110). In the case of Laos appears with Nang Kaev2 'Phimpha is accused of cruelty, but as Professor Pierre-Bernard Lafont told the author, in Paris, on May 27 1988, "It is a phenomenon of the Asian mentality in the ancient time of their fondness to write down in the chronicles the cruelty of women taking power". This seems to be a rule in Asian politics. As Danielle Elisseeff, author of Women during the time of the emperors of China, stated, "The Chinese written sources about women, are thus, by nature, totally biased (...), but sources practised omission: the examples of women's virtue and pride" (Le Monde, 1988:19). South-East Asia as a whole was influenced by foreign culture. Thus, it was inevitable that Laos would be influenced. As Reid (1988b:640) stated, "where Indian influences had been

stronger, especially in the more exalted courts of the mainland, female rule was rare. Siam has never put a woman on the throne, and Vietnam and Burma very seldom. In Muslim South-East Asia the Islamic model of male kingship seemed finally to prevail by about 1700, and there are few women rulers there after."

Whatever the rationale behind the puzzling background of Nang Kaev2 'Phimpha, the fact is that from that time women were conspicuously absent from politics, and became even less visible when Laos embraced Buddhism, and later furthermore when Laos lost its independence first to neighbouring Siam, and later to France.

Like many traditional societies, Laos also had a class system, although this was relatively flexible.²⁸ It was thus an unequal society.²⁹ The classification of social class influenced the writing of law codes, especially with respect to the monks, who formed the first category of the privileged class, and who had introduced religion into the country and were in charge of education. The first Lao legal texts back to 700 years before. Fa-Ngum's reign. It was Khun Borom's Law. Khun Bulom's Texts are not based on the five Buddhist precepts as law codes in later periods, though the terms nisacane or pana were used. The Code gives an image of a society living much above subsistence level and based on villages of the kind that could still be found in the 19th and 20th centuries (Taillard 1977).

Later codes of the classical kingdom of Laos have a different tone, format and content, such as that of Soy2saikham (Buasi-

savat, 1992b), which focuses entirely on the duties of monks with 227 precepts. There is also 'Na:ng Seu Muletantay (ibid. 1992a) named after the judge. This is a compilation of judicial stories from India with Indian names, rather than a code in itself. The most popular, found by some French travellers and translated into French, was the 'Khamphi Phra: Thammasat Buhane (1963), or the "Code de Vientiane", so called by the French in Laos (Raquez, 1902). This compilation is the most Buddhist of all the Buddhist law texts (Huxley, 1993:43). Written in the sacred Tham script³⁰, this Thammasat was arranged according to the major precepts of Lord Buddha, namely: do not kill (regulated in 45 articles); do not commit adultery (extensively focused on sexual transgression and comprising 77 articles); do not lie (30 articles) and do not drink alcohol (7 articles). More generally, this compilation took examples from legal cases from India, and continued to be used until the installation of a French administration. After a 15 year trial period, the French administration promulgated a new code in 1908. However, the Thammasat kept its value in a common law (Aymonier, 1885:160). The penalties were not proportionate to the offences, but varied according to the social status and rank of the offender, as well as of the culprit (Raquez, 1902:405). Visiting Laos in 1902, Raquez (1902:404-405) noticed that a woman was a "property reserved and preserved, so reserved that the most simple proposal of a free talk was repressed. Touching the chest or the hands of a married woman exposed the daring man to the severity of the law." Aymonnier (1885:180-181) sarcastically detailed that, "all have been rated [by law], such as touching the hand or the arm, the waist or the breast, and the ultimate favour" (see also Taupin, 1888). Laos was not the only country among traditional societies

to have laws of this kind: in Merovingian and Carolingian times in France, a man who pressed the palm or the arm of a married woman was fined (Koenigswarter, 1850:29). The same severity is traceable in Vietnam under the reign of Gia Long in the nineteenth century, in Siam, under the code of 1805, and in Cambodia, where the law was also fashioned by Buddhism. The Khmer law even punished the man who, passing by a woman, breathed her scent (Leclère, 1899:38). Reasons for such legal controls may be that the laws stipulated penalties to protect women who did not approve of male attention or bodily contact (Tournier, 1900:31).

The brutal occupation of Laos by Siam in 1827 and the total destruction of Vientiane for the second time (the first occurred in 1779) provoked social decay. In other parts of Laos, untouched by the Siamese due to remoteness, the social structure remained. The example of justice is striking, for the Lao legal system is very similar although less severe than the Siamese one. To protect their presence in Laos, the Siamese increased the laws, thus increasing the numbers of offences and intensifying repression, which in turn led to the adoption of new rules which would be violated (Ngaosyvathn, 1975).

Legally, women succeeded in obtaining their rights over their property and managed according to their want. For example, they could independently use and give their property to their children without the agreement of their husbands.

After more than fifty years of the French administration, the Governor General of Indochina, issued a decree on January 1st 1944 stipulating the compulsory use of a family

name. Every Lao must have a family name, which is passed on through the male line. According to this decree, a woman must add her husband's family name to her name. The most privileged situation is found among Black Tai women, who keep their own name even after marriage (Chamberlain, interview 27 May 1990; Dore, 1987; Lafont, 1955). The 1989 family code allows married women to keep their maiden names.

After 1975, the new regime banished all previous laws and jurisprudential systems. Gender rights are protected by many new laws, such as the constitutional law, or the criminal laws. The new family law enforced the monogamy. There are also the laws, for example, on the judicial organ of the state supervising the judgments was mentioned in articles 65, 67 and 72 of the new constitution. These are people's courts and the public prosecution. The people's courts comprise a people's supreme court, people's provinces, people's municipalities, districts, and military courts. Judges are appointed and removed by the National Assembly's Standing Committee. Representatives of social organisations also have the right to take part in court proceedings. The public prosecution operates at provincial levels, in municipalities, districts, and the military. Their duties are to control the observance of laws by citizens, government, enterprises, and local administrations.

In the 1980s there were no solicitors and barristers. Attendance to the criminal or supreme court's audiences was strictly screened. After 1989, however, in accordance with the Prime Minister Cabinet Decree Number 24/PSL dated 30 July 1989, Laos had its Board of Advocates, which was supervised by the Mi-

nistry of Justice. According to this decree, every Lao aged 25 with one to five years of legal practice and having never been condemned can apply for membership. The duties are specifically mentioned in article 3, such as providing legal assistance, safeguarding the rights and interests of all citizens and maintaining the good order of society.

C- The Frail: Socialisation Of Women In Traditional Society

Tradition, that's the key word which has served to justify, for many centuries, the condition of women; a tradition established by men and reinforced by laws, which are also conceived by men. It is certain that the day when women become conscious of this injustice, they will revolt against the fate which has been reserved for them, a fate that daily life hid from some of them, privileged, blinded or ignored. (Groult, 1975:1).

The ideology of gender dependency is mediated through Lao popular literature, such as in fairy tales, stories and novels, which tend to reinforce and make rigid gender relations which favour the male. During the traditional period, the literate, exclusively composed of men, wrote stories, novels, legends and poetry aimed at educating people by portraying women as self-sacrificing and self denying in both the family and society. Folk tale common to the Lao and the Thai, which traces the origin

of the Tai people, Khun Bulom's legend, established the pattern. There are others, such as the popular folk tales written in the nineteenth century: 'Naing Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (Inthinyan's teachings for his children) (1965); Leu Si Som Sone Luk Nying (Hermit Som instructed his daughters) (1969); Nithane Thav2 'Khamsons (chronicles of Thav2 Khamsons) (1966); and Nyot 'Khamsons Buhane (The gist of ancient wisdom) (1972). These literary masterpieces unmistakably paint women as the weak and yielding sex, having noble and graceful manners, and as a "subservient and faithful spouse"³². At the same time women must manage the household perfectly, doing the weaving, working hard in the fields, or in trading, and being devoted to Buddhist worship³³. A more recent masterpiece, Nang Phavady - A Model Lao Woman (Nginn, 1967a), embraced the ideal personality traits of the female epitomized in the folk tales of the 1940s. (Rakow, 1990; 1991). Most folk tales aimed to educate people, particularly women. They developed the morality which served as the rules of behaviour that women must learn (see also Peltier, 1988:146). Thus, women were socialised according to the views of men. Relying on the husband for "protection, honour, and security", traditional Lao society imposed on women a heavy burden.

Politeness of Women Towards Men

Many folk tales, such as 'Naing Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965) or Leu Si Som Sone Luk Nying (1969), developed a set of rules prescribing behaviour for women. The best known is the 'Naing Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom Rajathiraj (1967:36-40), which constituted the founda-

tion charter of the kingdom of Lan Xang (the ancient name of Laos).

Khun Bulom, the first king of the Lao people, after haranguing his seven sons and assigning them to rule over different principalities, addressed himself to their wives,

Go to rest after your husbands, and always be the first to rise; always foresee their commands, do not wait for them to order you to prepare food, fabrics, whatever is necessary to their welfare: be mindful of their servants, watch over the plantations, the gardens. Whatever you may hear in your home, tell it not beyond your walls, whatever you hear beyond your walls, do not tell it in your home. Suffer the wicked in your house as well as the good; what knowledge you may have of good or evil, think well before you make it known to your husbands, then act accordingly as your heart guides you. In the countries where you will reign, have four, three or two friends to advise you; when their opinions differ to yours, think well before you follow your own counsel. When the Kings, your husbands, will have judged or condemned someone, never make it your business to examine their reasons with a view to making them change their mind. Do not dispose of what belongs to your husband, do not give your love to another man. And finally, all of you are my children, who are human beings, refrain from lying in speaking of your possessions, do not

drink spirits till inebriated, and do not smoke opium for being shameful (Vo Thu Tinh, 1970:7-22).

Similar instruction can also be found in the feudal legal code and customs of the Tai ethnic minority in Sipsong Panna (Yunnan, in China) (Bain, 1988:12-13; Enchang, 1989:10-14).

All turned around the husband; and the wife must accept the role of his servant. Even today women continue to follow these traditional rules. Lao women living overseas still follow this code of behaviour. "Having talked with Lao girls and women in Honolulu, it seems that the same code of socially acceptable behaviour is still held up as a desirable ideal for females in Lao society today", Rakow (1990:14) noted.

The 'Naing Seu Pheun² Khun Bulom Raja-thiraj's chronicle is expressly aimed at legitimizing the ruling royal family of Luang Prabang, by reinforcing the male as the head of the family and successor to the throne in opposition to the earlier matriarchy.

In a civilised society, men should be polite to women, but in traditional Lao society a woman was nearly a slave. In the past, all Tai women including those of Sipsong Panna, as well as Lao women had to be as polite to the husband as towards a supreme master. Lack of this behaviour could lead to a divorce. A woman had to speak in a mellow voice, and always smile before speaking to her husband. She should never interrupt him (Suryadhay, 1970:5). Lao folk tales, such as Nyot 'Khamson^e Buhane (1972), 'Naing Seu Inthinyane

Sone Luk (1965) and Nithane Thay² 'Khamson^e (1966) point out how a polite and a good wife should be. Lao literature insists on this behaviour emphasizing that women who hurt their husband's feelings risk going to hell, and being burnt alive (Peltier, 1988:358).

The Husband as a "God"

Lao women, as well as women in other Buddhist societies, were taught by the Buddhist religion that they were a "predestined spouse", united to the husband in their former life, and so they should honour him as a "God". The Twelve Rites and Fourteen Traditions was a handbook for the daily life of the Lao in ancient times. Points six and seven prescribe that,

Before going to sleep, a woman must wash her husband's feet. During the holy days, she must take flowers and josssticks, along with candles, to perform the somma ritual, rendering homage and asking for forgiveness from her husband and grandparents (Bouphanouvong, 1970:34,49,50).

This marital duty is enforced thus,

The social superiority of the male is embodied in diverse exterior signs and ceremonies. During each day of the month, the van sin, women must perform the basi ceremony for their husband, it means that they must kneel and ask forgiveness for the wrong acts they have done

(Massieu, 1901:267).

In the late days of the kingdom of Laos, a Minister of Justice still referred to an oral tradition, "every night, before going to bed, a Lao woman must pay respects to her husband by prostrating herself at his feet, ask him for forgiveness for all the wrong acts she has done during the day" (Suryadhay, 1970:5).² Among the Tai minority in Sipsong Panna (China), women were instructed as follows: "The moon is in the tree-tops and the whole family is resting peacefully, then walk quietly to the foot of the bed and kow-tow to your husband three times. Unloose your hair and sweep it thrice across the soles of his feet. Your pillow should be four inches lower than that of your husband and you should not sleep with your head at the same level as his" (Bain, 1988:12).

Lao literature³ encouraged the practice of this respect for the husband during the *van sin*⁴, in which have to ask pardon for wrong acts done in the past and to swear fidelity to their husbands. Today, many married women over fifty, living in and out of the country continue to observe these traditions. ⁵

Another phenomenon of the husband cult is the prohibition against touching a man's head in general, and the husband's head in particular. Among Tai Buddhist people, there is a belief that the different parts of the body are related in a strict hierarchy. The head resides in an eminent place because it is the nest of the soul. A man's head and hair, particularly those of the husband, are sacred; thus, women are strictly forbidden to touch it (Taupin, 1888:58).⁶

According to traditional Lao custom, when sleeping with her husband, the Lao woman's head must lie lower than her husband's head.⁷ A learned Lao woman confirms that "a woman must never lie on a bed higher than that of her husband or than that of any other man who is older or of a superior status" (Levy B.P., 1963:257). This practice is also noticed among Siamese women, as well as among the Tai in Sipsong Panna.⁸ A former Minister of the Lao royalist regime insists, "The wife could not sleep with her head at her husband's head, her pillow should be placed lower than his. She could not sleep at just any place on the bed, and invariably must sleep on the left of her husband, in order to allow him to get ready at the first signal of any danger, and to take up his sword more quickly" (Suryadhay, 1970:5).⁹ The rationale given for such positioning is hardly convincing. The left and lower position are considered by the Lao and Siamese as inferior compared to positions on the right and above (Wongthej, 1982). For the same reason, when making love, a woman must always be beneath her lover. This is a rule that the Lao superstitiously hold on to. Thus the cosmic and the sexual orders reinforce each other. A woman must also sit on the left of a man. Levy B.P.(1963:257) notes, "A Laotian woman is, by definition, inferior to a man and must therefore always take a lower place in any situation. A man always goes before a woman". Today, the majority of men continue to walk in front of their wives.

Because the husband is like a second 'Bud-dha', women's clothes are considered as dirty and sinful things and must not be mixed with those of their husbands's. They have to be washed separately.¹⁰ In the literature, such as the story of *Thav2 'Hung, Thav2 Ceuang* (Thao

Hung Thao Ceuang's epic, Viravong S., 1988), talismans lose magic powers because of contact with women's clothes (Ferlus, 1979). This taboo is also found in Thailand in the legend of Princess Camathevi, where she used her skirt stained with her menstrual blood as a weapon against her enemy, hoping he would thereby lose all magic powers."

"Three First Mouthfuls of Food"

Inequality between gender in Lao traditional society appeared in all aspects of life, including eating. It was forbidden for a woman to eat before her husband. A Lao woman "must not eat till he [husband] has swallowed three mouthfuls of rice", noted Nginn, in his book on Lao Politeness and Traditions (1965).⁴⁴ This situation prevails not only among the Lao but also among the Tai of Sipsong Panna and Siamese women who must wait for men to take three mouthfuls of food before they began to eat. "Lao folk tales, such as Nithane Thav2 Khamson (1966) also say that, "a woman must let her husband take at least three first mouthfuls of food before beginning to eat herself."⁴⁵

Lao women were denied the right not only to eat before their husbands, but also, according to the royal tradition and custom embodied in

lokavinat (malevolent deeds), a document kept in the Royal library of Luang Prabang, they were expressly forbidden to eat at the same table as their husbands, who were treated as princes and high dignitaries. The rationale for this was that "Women must not share meals with kings, ministers and dignitaries for these personages would lose their magic power" (Archaimbault, 1963:23, 27). This taboo marginalised Lao women in any social function. In the 1940's, Nginn (1965:41), Director of the Information Department, wrote a booklet to propagate a new and modern Lao way of life among the newly Frenchified elite:

Laotian women have the habit of standing separately from the men. In a banquet, the group of women stick in a corner. We must remedy this habit from today, for the place of a woman is (sitting) between two men (...). Some Lao women seem not to be allowed to eat with their husbands (...). We must pay the same honor to the Lao women as to western women. One must, 1- at every meeting, not sit women on the soil while men are in armchairs; 2- at every banquet, women must be placed between two men; 3- reserve the place of honour for the fair sex; 4- serve women before men; men must pay respect to women and not consider them as inferior.

At this time, Nginn seemed to face a "mission impossible", for these traditions originated from the time of the progenitor of the Lao people himself Khun Bulom. In 1949, an ethnologist, Embree (1949:151), observed these traditions and wondered about them with his modern logic in these words:

The French conseiller of Laos has a Laotian wife and children, but the wife does not participate as hostess at dinner parties. It is possible that this is because she does not wish to, since the Conseiller's dinner parties are mostly of male officials, both local and visiting, and because he has a good staff of servants and may not care to mix his official activity with his private home life. However, it is interesting that during my stay as a guest in his home I was never introduced to his wife.

Some male power defenders endorse this "Lao politeness" by equating it to the "love philosophy of the Lao" (Nginn, 1951:978).⁴ This segregative tradition has strongly shaped social interaction up to the present time, causing Lao women to isolate themselves from male transactions in any mundane function inside Laos or in the Lao communities overseas (Ngaosyvathn, 1993a). However, some Lao ethnic groups do not value such a rule, and Tai Dam (Black Tai) women sit and eat at the same table as men.⁵

Literature and law were imported and were intended to impose a foreign model. As Condominas (1952:626) has pointed out, "Lao literature is mostly tributary to India". Since

them, the state was strengthened, especially centralised and authorised, has had an impact on the relations between genders with the unquestionable subordination of women, reduced by men's fantasies to a combination of woman-object, woman-maid and woman-producer.

3/ ECONOMICS OF THE FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

The conquest through power by men in Laos did not occur without the use and abuse of the work of those vanquished. This can not pass without reference to the culture of femininity, which in pre-modern society took the form of courting and courtship, reputedly making Laos a "kingdom of flirts". This cultural proclivity meant that the people were receptive to a particular form of acculturation in the late nineteenth century brought about by the Western presence in Laos, in particular the military garrisoned in this backwater of the French empire in Asia. This enabled prostitution to flourish, as well as other aspects of Western society, notably the cash economy and consumerism. However, these influences occurred on the fringe of Lao society, with most women, particularly those in rural and remote areas, being subjected to their traditional heavy load.

"The woman, the Lao phu2 say, the young girl, has a gracefulness and sweetness that make her famous around the world", wrote Meyer in 1930 (1930:29).

The feelings of people in neighbouring Cambodia is maliciously elaborated by Lefevre-Pontalis (1896:11), "The Cambodian women, cautious wives and mothers, were afraid when they saw their husbands or their sons going towards the country of the north [Laos]. They knew the power of seduction of the Lao girls and dreaded these sirens, so clever." (see also Gay, 1989).

Hence, marginalised in religion and in society, women seem to have taken their revenge - lasting as a rose flower - with society paying special tributes to Lao women's femininity.

All Lao people, and particularly women, just like the Malay women of Java for example, are fond of a bath to keep their bodies constantly clean (Raquez, 1902; Whitaker et al., 1979). Courted and coquettish, this is a Lao woman. "The habit of a daily cold bath, begun at birth, keeps a beautiful, soft glow on the skin of the average Lao man and woman. Whoever among them fails to have a daily bath is uncomfortable. In person and in dress, the Laos are a cleanly race", an American missionary noted of the inhabitants of what is now the North of Thailand (Meyer, 1930:29). Aymonier noted already in 1885 that they took up to four or five baths a day (Aymonier, 1885:176,179). This French explorer, who had ethnic girls from the mountains as bearers for his luggage, was not patient with them as they rushed to take a bath in each river encountered.

After bathing, the Lao woman takes care of her body. She uses the "romiet" plant or curcuma crushed with a pebble and mixed with lemon juice to rub on her body (Aymonier,

1885:176), while ricin oil is used for her hair. To wash it, she uses the juice of kaffir lime (*Citrus hystrix*) (Gourneau, 1959b:226), or the water taken from rice, which is marinated the night before and is used as a shampoo to smoothe the hair. Usually Lao women, both young and old, like to put flowers in their hair. American missionaries noted in 1884, "Lao women's hair, being drawn back, is fastened in a knot by a gold pin and is almost invariably ornamented with flowers (...). Both men and women are passionately fond of flowers" (Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884:441). *Plumeria* ໂພນໂພນ dorkampa, the national flower of Laos is one that old and young people are fond of placing above their chignon or behind their ears (Gosselin, 1900:171). A flower placed behind the right ear means that they are single; while the left side is reserved for those who are married (Raquez, 1902:478). Women do the same today (Aymard, 1985:42).

Lao women can let their hair grow long, but not hang free because it is considered a sign of "bad behaviour". Today, the majority of Lao women do not leave their hair free, as in some neighbouring countries. Methivorakhoun (1967:19), a former monk wrote that, "The Lao women like to let their hair grow long to do chignons. After they reach 50 years old, they cut it short." During the period of Siamese domination, women were forced to cut their hair short. Subsequently, a few girls of the noble class followed this fashion up to the age of 13. It has finally been abandoned (Aymonier, 1885; Picanon, 1901).

Lao people have observed that when they are overseas, nobody can guess where they come from. It is only through their clothes that they can be recognized as Lao. Incidentally,

Laos is one of the few countries in the world where the names of some of its ethnic minorities, such as the Black Tai, or White Tai (Gedney, 1979), derive from the colors of the clothes, which are traditionally worn by the women (Halpern, 1964b). The Hmong too are called after the colors and patterns of the women's clothes, such as the Black, the Green, the Red, and the Flowers Hmong, who inhabit the north of Vietnam and Laos (Gay, 1983:133-4; Long L.D., 1993:206). As Morechand (1968: 67) says of the Hmong, "The custom of men, in its essential elements, is Chinese among every group, so it is never easy to identify the ethnic group. It is the women's clothes which serve this function".

For many generations, Lao women wore a skirt, called a sin2. The sin2 is a cloth garment worn by the majority of Lao ethnic Lao Lum women, and has since become the national dress (see more Bounyavong D., 1992). A sin2 is divided into three main pieces. The principal piece is woven material, called the pheun, with two additional pieces of material attached to it. The upper piece is called the hua sin2 (the sin2's head), and the lower one, the tin sin2 (the sin2's feet). The three pieces together, called the sin2, covered most of the body. The Lao sin2 is little different from the pha2 sin2 of Thailand, as Mouhot (1986:144) noted in the mid-nineteenth century. Before the French administration, women generally wore the skirt without blouses or scarves, and Aymonier (1885:153-154) reported that, "Only a few girls wore the Siamese dress, and in general, they were faithful to the Lao skirt." Then step by step, during the French colonisation, women in urban area began wearing a scarf to keep their breasts covered (Aymonier, 1885:32-33). Later blouses were worn instead of scarves.

The sin2 must not be too short, nor too tight nor too wide (Methivorakhoun, 1967:13-15). This recommendation was made by kings in their edicts on traditional customs, part of which focuses on women's clothing. "High ranking mandarins could not marry women dressing contrary to the rules, and if one of them contravened this, he might be dismissed from his post", noted Methivorakhoun (ibid.).

Lao women hold their sin2 in place with a belt. The wealthier wear a finely embroidered belt in gold or silver. Those who are not wealthy wear one of aluminum. Although an imported mode of mini skirt (Methivorakhoun, 1967:19) and large bellbottom trousers arrived in the 1960s, the Lao sin2 still holds its place as the national dress. Up until today, although with improvements brought by fashion, the national dress remains unchanged. In the office, as well as in the field, the sin2 is worn. In 1980s, pants began to appear. In 1986, with the opening of the country to the West, song2 kha boy (the blue jeans) have come to be preferred in many parts to the traditional sin2 (Hiebert, 1987; 1990), although recently, jeans were denounced as "decadent clothing".

A- Courting And Courtship In Pre-Modern Society

Courtship marked a special period of life and had a special flavour in Laos, which was celebrated by foreigners travelling through this country.

Courting "was and still is above all a love duet between a phu2 bay1 (young Lao boy) and a phu2 say (young Lao girl)", stated Abhay (1949:491). Effectively, besides their free rendez-vous outside the house, custom tolerated young men and young girls over 16 years old meeting openly. However, tradition forbade the young men to pass certain limits accepted in the house. A member of the Philadelphia Presbyterian church has recorded, "The young girl is still left largely on her honour, as we American girls are in similar circumstances" (Freeman, 1910:23). Visiting Laos during the last century, Prince Henri d'Orléans called it, "The kingdom of the flirts (...). This strange country where love is held in such high esteem." (1894:363). As the Lao of both sexes are gifted in poetry, in singing and song writing, it is easy for them to say what they feel during courting. Abhay (1949:491), himself a prolific poet, explained about this propersity as follows, "The men and women of Laos are artists and poets. Although it is a long time since genius has graced the mind of any, yet more than one flowery verse forever sings in the heart of one and all" (for a thorough article on this Lao way of life, see Abhay, 1959b:206-209). The courting by the young people in Luang Prabang, is described thus by Massieu (1901:219-220):

During the full moon, the girls in Luang Prabang, go each night, their chests always bare, in a long row or in groups, arms entwined, singing to the night star their most tender aspirations: love stories or improvised invocations. Princesses and non-noble girls mix together, and when two groups meet, joyous remarks are uttered. Each couplet ends up

with a modulated shout, long lasting in the hot night, till two or three hours after midnight, and is characteristic of the song of the Laotian girls (...). Young women and men like to joke, to sing and to talk fondly about love. As one says, it is a perpetual court of love.

Courting takes different forms and varies from one region to another and from one ethnic minority to another. Generally, the young folk meet on the veranda of the girl's house by the light of a candle or torch made of some kind of resinous wood, because sometimes the girl's parents are already asleep (Picanon, 1901:111). Often they meet, while the young girl works on the spinning wheel, producing cotton for the family's loom, or while she grinds paddy or rolls tobacco in banana leaves as offerings to the pagoda in preparation for some religious festivity.⁵⁰ After 1975, festivities were limited, but today any pretext is valid for individuals, as well as for the village community, to perform them again.

The court of love takes on another form among some ethnic minorities, for example the Hmong people of Xieng Khuang (Vongsakdaphoum-xay, 1986:29), or the young people of Huaphanh province, northern Laos (Kasetseri, 1987:158).

Laos is the country whose its people, even during the hard times before, and after the 1980s, continued to have an easy-going life, the where love and joy reign. As Abhay (1949:492)⁵¹ pointed out, "Laos is a beautiful country where the love and joy are kings." This Lao way of life is also valid for the Lao

living overseas (Ngaosyvathn, 1993a). In Laos post 1975, however, it was not possible for urban young people to openly date, for this was considered "deviant behaviour", at least before the policy of openness.

Local custom tolerated freedom of expression and rendez-vous for courting. There was, however, always a protective device for the young girls. As Aymonier (1885:178) noted, "There is no doubt that the most impressive side of the Lao customs was the moral condition of the young girls." (see also Seidenfaden, 1967). The young man, uttering his suggestive words, must not offend the girl. If she is offended, he must pay an appropriate fee, commonly called paeng 'heuan (repair the house)²², known as phit phi 'heuan (offending the tutelary guardian spirits of the house). Any failure to respect custom and decency was considered a sin against the phi 'heuan (Zago, 1972:221), and a fine would be paid according to the seriousness of the sexual offence (Aymonier, 1885:178).²³ The young man could also decide to marry the girl, if he refused to pay the fine (see the Lao overseas, Ngaosyvathn, 1993a). If the transgression has any consequence, he must pay double. Crossing southern Laos in the 1880s, Taupin (1888:91)²⁴ noted, "A girl falling pregnant must declare the name of her lover(s) who then must pay a fine proportionate to the social position of the girl, and varying for each province; this fine consists of a buffalo, candles and an amount of money." Among the E_K92 minority, in the far north of Laos, tradition allowed every man in the village to have sex with the young bride, on the eve of the ceremony of wedding, while in Xieng Khuang, intercourse before marriage often led to young girls getting pregnant, and a precinct of the provincial capital was called na say 'man (the field of pregnant girls).

B- An Aspect of Modern Acculturation: Prostitution And Cash

Laos is a country where the inhabitants, particularly the women, were long protected by tradition and customs, but historical events have torn the country apart. Irrevocable scars have marked society in a series of crises influenced by foreign powers. In 1827, the domination of Bangkok succeeded in sweeping away the last Lao kingdoms, which had striven to preserve their identity. In 1893, France formally occupied the country as a colony. From 1954 to 1975, war disrupted the entire social fabric, pitting the right-wing government backed by the United States against the patriotic resistance movement, which was entrenched in the liberated zone and supported by 'socialist' countries. Before 1975, one scholar focussing on the socio-cultural issues fully agreed that,

The feudal-bourgeois society of Vientiane which is westernized and hybrid, lost in this way its traditional and national character, which means that this society consists of the most retrogressive and obscurantist aspects made of superstitions, social discrimination, and the modern aspects of the western capitalist society based on pleasures, games, the exhibition of wealth, indecent luxury, illicit profits, embezzlement, corruption and extortion (Norindr, 1979:466).

The importation of a foreign cultural model, of goods, dress and easy money have turned Lao society upsidedown. Particularly in

the towns, as a French scholar noted, "The feudal and the bourgeois compradores, in exchange for the privileges offered, acted as servants of the imperialists; while the peasants and the other social disadvantaged classes became the prey of this "model", with the appearance of evils, such as prostitution, alcoholism, and drug addiction" (Braunstein, 1978:166).

Before 1827, travellers stated that there were neither thieves nor criminals (Pallegoix, 1854; Aymonier, 1885). With the Siamese invasion, the ravages of the war and the dislocation of populations provoked by the forced transfer of the inhabitants from the left bank of the Mekong, Lao society was shattered. The victorious Siamese general, Phanya Bodinthondesa, boasted of sending the Lao princesses and the most beautiful young girls from the Lao areas to the harems of the Siamese king and other high dignitaries in Bangkok. Such deportation of Lao women was probably to furnish warm bodies for prostitution, an official institution in Thailand from at least 1680, when the Siamese king had given the monopoly of exploiting prostitution to a Siamese official in the capital Ayuthya (Reid, 1988b:633). Prostitution flourished to such an extent that in the 21th century Thailand has become "the brothel of Asia" (Bangkok Post, July 14, 1988). During the period of Siamese domination, when a Siamese official was known to be approaching the village, young girls and women rushed to hide in the forests (Aymonier, 1885:177-178).

The consequences of the Siamese invasion were felt in faraway areas and were long lasting, as a French explorer recounted at the

beginning of the 20th century:

Our translators who regularly follow the audiences of the tribunal (in Luang Prabang), narrated to us eminently suggestive anecdotes about some Laotian ladies who speculated on the freedom of love in Luang Prabang, and found the way to disproportionately increase their revenues and their fantasies. Divorces increased rapidly at this time, and this depressed the elders in the country who recalled with nostalgia the time when, before the arrival of the Siamese, "The virgins get mad, but the married women are faithful" (Pavie, 1894:77).

The influence of Western values and culture was very detrimental to Lao society, as it was in many developing countries when changes had not been cautiously assessed before allowing them to happen. In particular, women were the first to be targeted as sexual objects.

The Lao upper class used money and power to procure girls. From the 1960s, some members of the government used threats of force to kidnap girls and married women for their pleasure, particularly during the period of the "kom paisane ngane" (Department of Police Coordination), the name of the most frightening political police to ever exist in Laos, who tortured and assassinated those who resisted at a well-known place, ກຳງູງ ກຳງູງ kaeng2nyang (the nyang's rock).

In Thailand prostitution, though a very old institution, only flourished with the internationalisation of capital (Van Esterick, 1989:

2). This analysis is also appropriate in the case of Laos. De Reinach (1911:174), a former French commissioner in Laos, explained:

The opportunities offered by the customs in Laos in the field of marriage and divorce are such that prostitution did not exist. In large urban areas, and particularly near our dwellings, it is true that one can meet some "public" girls, who are well-known to indulge in clandestine prostitution; but it is an exception due only to the presence of the indigenous troops or of the Asiatic "boys", the servants of the Europeans.

It seems this phenomenon was a very limited one for the French had to supplement women by bringing foreign prostitutes to Laos. This may, according to a French ethnologist, have been the start of prostitution as such in Laos:

The Westerners, unless exceptionally well-integrated in the Lao environment, were reduced to seeking their pleasure with women brought in from Vietnam (by the French officials), who willingly or forced by their situation, formed the first known group of prostitutes at this time. Under the protectorate, the beginning of clandestine prostitution, localised in Vientiane, was undertaken by young girls coming from the Siamese bank of the Mekong river for the weekends. The first tide of Lao prostitution was caused by the conscription of the Lao male population decreed by the French au-

thorities in 1945. This conscription, (previously the French authorities had preferred to rely on a Vietnamese militia), provoked an economic and social unbalance in village communities. Moral imbalance soon followed: brothels opened near military camps. Most of the women who came from rural areas were hidden under some anonymity. The prostitution of Vietnamese women, which was never interrupted, continued after 1954. Parallel to the growth of Indochinese war, a form of clandestine Lao prostitution slowly appeared in inhabited centres (Dore, 1974: 61-2).

Dara Kanlagna, a noted feminist during the French and American eras and now editor of Vannagin magazine for the Ministry of Culture, stated on March 15, 1987, "The period of French colonialism is the epoch of the beginning of the poisoning of Lao women. Under neo-colonialism, women were totally despised".

The flesh trade continued and expanded with the departure of the French administration and the arrival of the Americans in 1954. The "world's oldest profession" affected the youth in the towns, as well as in the countryside. "Madames purchased village girls from their parents for \$200-\$400 to work as prostitutes, and those who run away are brought back by the police", stated an American member of International Voluntary Services working in Laos, Branfman (1970:228). He noted that whorehouses mushroomed during the 60s and 70s (1970:228; see also Wolff and Donnan, 1970; Braunstein, 1978:166). The most infamous places of prostitution were the nightclubs, such as Vientiane

Latry (Vientiane's night life) - also known as the "Lucky Bar", "El Morocco", Non Tane, "Vientiane's Strip" (Dongpalane) - known by foreign reporters as the "Street of a Thousand Joys", or the Western style "White Rose" or "Madame Lulu's". Some brothel owners secured social and political prestige for themselves. Among the first Americans who came to Laos, Halpern (1964b:11) noted in the 1960s:

Another occupation making its appearance among the Lao and a further indication of the growth of Vientiane, is prostitution. Although the overwhelming majority of prostitutes in Laos have been Vietnamese or Northeast Thai, in recent years some have originated from villages in the Vientiane area. A few have made their appearance in Luang Prabang where their contacts are mostly soldiers and younger civil servants. These girls work in brothels owned by Lao; the Hong Kong and Vietnamese girls operate from Vientiane's foreign managed night clubs patronized by the elite.

This situation was made worse by the massive influx of American aid, which split Lao society and created parasitic social classes in the towns (Braunstein, 1978). The former leader of the LI Movement and the Lao statesman who fought the French, Prince Phetsarath, complained of his disillusion, "The youth of today court money more than honour" (Halpern, 1964a:41).

Women were reduced to dull flesh, as novels of this time denounced the prostitution sweeping the society.

With the change of regime in 1975, a severe social code was brought in outlawing prostitution and drug addiction. There has been some relaxation of the social code since the end of the 1980s with the opening up of the country to foreign capital. It is not surprising to find Lao novels such as In New Things, in which the author, Bounthanong Somsaiphon, speaks out against Lao girls working as Thai-style "hostesses" Thai style in Vientiane in places which are "cafes in name, but more a cover for prostitution" (Clutterbuck, 1993:33).

The consequence of the parasitic society was that men and women abandoned production, fishing, animal breeding, and weaving, which had constructively occupied their time in the past. Drawn into the town by the glitz, women indulged themselves in the casino, and having lost all their money, were entrapped in prostitution. In the 1970s, girls began to work as prostitutes at the age of 14 (Dore, 1974:62). A 1970 study revealed some girls of 13 employed at a Vientiane brothel in 1964 (Wolff and Donnan, 1970).

Other writers do not indulge in romanticizing prostitution in saying: "Young Lao prostituted themselves because of lack of money, but some have a big need for money solely to indulge themselves by dressing according to fashion" (Seitz, 1978:9). In the view of the population, the prostitutes were "rotten", "despicable", and "irretrievable". Some Lao women in urban areas living under the royalist regime organised an association, which aimed to limit the oppression of women by men by striving to ban prostitution (Halpern, 1964a:62).

In 1975, the new regime tried to solve the problem of prostitution. Inspired by the slogan "kill the illness, and save the human beings", the new regime banished most prostitutes and drug addicts to a "Rehabilitation Centre" commonly known as Done Nang (Girl Island), and its nearby counterpart, Done Thav2 (Boy Island) less than 100 kilometres north of Vientiane. In April, 1976 there were about 1,200 (Stuart-Fox, 1986:37) women who were considered "infected" by "decadent culture". The duration of their stay in "Girl Island" depended on their response to the political and professional curriculum provided (Williams, 1991:51). Most of them returned to their homes and families with professional knowledge to allow them to make their living from weaving, sewing hats or making straw baskets. Unfortunately, a small number of inmates from the islands returned to their "old profession", after they were unable to find adequate work. In 1991, a representative of the LWU recognized that, "There are a small number of women doing this kind of thing. We have our ways of finding out who they are and where they live" (Williams, 1991:52). Again Williams (1991:52) stated "Certainly there are no brothels in Laos and what prostitution does exist is conducted discreetly, at a price of around 200 baht (\$10) for a Lao man and 500 baht (\$25) or more for a foreigner." Another reporter noted,

The new influx of foreign businessmen, especially those from across the Mekong in freewheeling Thailand, has created a new problem in Laos - ladies of the night. Just when the nation's Women's Federation thought it had the problem licked, the world's second oldest profession is back in business" (Pringle, 1991:8).

Prostitution in Laos is thus again a problem. In Pringle's words, "Now that capitalists are being courted again, the good time girls are back and the Women's Federation has to start worrying again" (1991:8).

Recently, there have been no round-up of what are commonly known as "social deviants". However, as Williams (1991:52) reported when visiting Laos in 1991, "round-ups of undesirables in Laos are never announced. One Western diplomat said the last major swoop was in 1989, but that a number of individuals had been picked up since then. There is no published information on the number of people in so-called training seminars."

The 1989 Criminal Code in its articles 122 and 123 stipulate that prostitution is punishable by six months to three years of imprisonment. Beyond the moral debate about prostitution, there is paradigm discussed by Skrobanek (1986:22) about prostitution in Thailand, which is fully applicable to Laos and elsewhere: "Prostitution is certainly not women's oldest profession, but it is a mode of reproduction in a male dominated society, in which women's sexuality is controlled and utilized for male sexual pleasure".

The arrival of casinos in the 50s was another development which spawned crime. Some women lost all they had and amassed gambling debts of up to one million kip (Halpern, 1964b:160). These habits, like a cancer, spread through the Lao population and were encouraged by the organisation of raffles, lotteries, and gambling at each of the many pagoda festivals, which lasted from seven to ten days, and in particular, during the lon-

gest festival consecrated to the national stupa, the That Luang. The gambling caused a massive migration towards the towns, especially Vientiane. Peasants sold their plots of land to come to the towns and risk their futures in gambling. In homes, public places, offices, cafes, or in the Parliament, everybody talked about casinos and gambling. The moral and social foundations of Lao families were thus undermined. "The father prefers nightclubs; the mother, the gambling house", a popular song sneered in 1971. Disputes erupted in families, and what was by then common but had been unusual in the past, fathers hit their loved ones. A vicious circle was engendered, as Branfman (1972:79) says, "People were allowed to become addicted to gambling and the lottery, and when they came back home they would beat their wives and children." The bourgeois and the compradores got richer with the exploitation of brothels and gambling houses, the embezzlement of public funds, and vested interests in war and the opium traffic. Crime spread, as LeBar and Suddard (1967:187) substantiated, "Juvenile delinquency is now found in Vientiane, and the crime rate, while low, is rising. There is some vagabondage and beggars, too, are increasing." These facts were inconceivable in traditional Lao culture (Westermayer, 1973a:123-131; 1973b:740-745). Plagues are such that in 1989 businessmen from Thailand proposed the re-opening of casinos, but the proposal has so far been rejected on the basis that investment in the project seemed to be harmful to Lao society (Bangkok Post, 4 October, 1989).

Generally speaking, the rural economy was severely affected by the situation (Barber, 1974). The ancient arts and crafts in the countryside were stifled by the massive amount of imports from Thailand and Europe. Most Lao

artisans stopped work and a scholar noted, "The only artists who survived were working for the embellishment of the life style of the Lao and foreign ruling class, and the disappearance of handicrafts went along with the increasing dependance of the rural society on the marketable exchanges" (Braunstein, 1978:122,123).

The image of a safe Lao society of yesterday had completely disappeared, and was superseded by insecurity, sleepless nights, locked doors and windows, barricades and electrified fences, at least for those who could afford it.

In the 1990s, the same situation has occurred. Children are gambling (Long L.D., 1993:195-6), even though this is prohibited by article 76 of the 1989 Criminal Code.

Corruption was rampant in this money-oriented society where money became the be-all and end-alls (Halpern, 1964a:22,25,35; 1964b:130-134). Already in the 1940s, Rochet (1946:107) argued, "From top to bottom of the social scale, everything that could be racketeered was." Wealth was a principal factor in maintaining political and social status. A handful of political bosses and upstarts dominated the scene in Laos. A French scholar pointed out, "The rottenness of the moral values, the development of fraud and corruption, were the blemishes which tainted all the social stratum, urban and 'urbanised'" (Braunstein, 1978:166).

In 1986, the opening up to western capital and expertise (in particular to Thai businesses) in accordance with the government's new economic policy, provoked bustling economic activity in Vientiane, as well as in the

border cities along the Lao-Thai frontier. The crumbling of the Eastern Europe Communist systems sent shock waves throughout Indochina of a magnitude still difficult to assess.

This "smashing" of barriers to the West has spawned positive and negative effects. As one Thai scholar duly warned, "The opening to a foreign world can bring counter effects to the good traditions and customs of the Lao people" (Malapetch, 1990:148). It is widely said that the open-door policy will inevitably have good and bad consequences, particularly since Laos is not ready for it in all fields. The opening of Laos makes sympathetic foreigners frightened about its negative effects, particularly the growth of tourism, which could have more adverse than positive results. The Thai "contamination" has been very rapid around the main cities. Teenagers are the quickest to imitate new fashions. Evans (1989a:24), an Australian sociologist, noted, "Laotian teenagers adopt the fashions they see on Thai TV from across the Mekong River border. And young women consider it chic to drop Thai phrases into their conversation". Many people are asking, "Will we become Thai?" (KhunThong ThungPhiangkham, 1989). Lydie (1989:31) who visited Laos recently also wondered, "will Laos be a branch of Thailand. Despite the privileged relations established since 1975 with Vietnam, it was Thailand which brought the changes."

Some Lao writers, such as Outhine Bounyavong, also worried: "Lao children watching TV are learning more Thai than Lao" (Clutterbuck, 1993:33). Another Lao writer, Bounthanong Somsaipol could not refrain from commenting, "Lao people are seduced by glossy advertising and the Thai entertainment machine. The ultimate result is a de facto as-

similation into Thai society. Now Lao people get drunk and watch the Sunday boxing just the same [as the Thais]" (ibid.).

Recently, Laos has been making efforts to preserve the traditions of its population and to wipe out so-called "decadent culture", while efforts are being made to expand mass culture and to educate youth according to the model of "new men and women" and with revolutionary morals. However, recently, the private sector, which has been allowed to begin functioning again, has recently promoted some undesirable things. Another traveller who visited Laos in 1990 noted, "The young people are indeed eager to acquire both the knowledge and material goods of western societies and are trying to prepare themselves for the inevitable influx of these outside influences" (Gibson, 1990:2). Bars have sprung up in the capital with names like Feeling Well, they are crowded each night with young people drinking foreign beer and dancing to Western music (Hiebert, 1987; 1989a). Evans, who travelled to Laos in 1989, found a similar situation: "Vientiane resembles a bustling Thai provincial town, with new shops and stalls full of Thai consumer goods. Some of Vientiane's old bars that flourished before the communists took over in 1975 have reopened, joined by nightclubs and discos, - though the night life is tame by Thai standards" (1989a: 24; see also Gibson, 1990). Another Westerner who paid a visit to Laos in 1989 noted:

A relaxed social atmosphere has gone hand-in-hand with liberalized economic controls in Vientiane over the last two years. The Ministry of Tourism has even opened a new disco, the Vieng Latimay, or the "New Vientiane at Nighttime Club", to

lure tourists and businessmen, as well as capital. This official endorsement of rock en roll is ironic since communist regimes have typically condemned such music as a corrupting capitalist, bourgeois influence. Lao officials previously denounced rock as "poison" for the people, saying it "promoted extravagance, wasting of time, and loss of interest in production" (...). For the time being, a wait-and-see attitude prevails in the capital as crowds of young Lao jam Vieng Latimay nightly to drink Foster's Lager and gyrate to a Lao band's respectable renditions of Beatles' and Rolling Stones' hits (Keenan, 1989:5).

To prevent such activities from getting out of control, in August 1989 the Lao authorities authorized the nightclubs to remain open only until 11.30p.m. (Williams 1991:52).

Even in village households, many houses (especially those with teenagers) had pictures of famous Thai actors cut from magazines and calendars hanging on their walls. I believe these outside forces have contributed to an increased interest in material goods and a decline in the attitude toward traditional belief values,

stated Pfister (1989:32). In 1990, I was told that the Lao authorities have also specified that out of the songs played in these places 70 per cent should be Lao songs and 30 per

cent Western or Thai ones. When on the defensive, a society may reveal itself to be touchy, and articulate on arithmetic! In the city, the local authorities previously prohibited posters of nude Thai female stars on the walls of restaurants and hairdressers. Since then, the situation has completely reversed.

On the one hand, the socio-cultural atmosphere is changing, but on the other hand, prostitution is still under control (Khunthong ThungPhiangkham, 1989). Conservative measures are necessary when the youth (see Taillard, 1989), disciplined in the past to "the right way of life", are now pursuing the new cultural trends which accompany the open door policy. This has had negative effects on families, as well as schools and other social organisations. As Hiebert (1987:44) recorded, "Parents are again complaining that their teenagers are staying out too late and spending too much money imitating the latest fashions from Bangkok".

Another consequence of outside influence is that "Laotian girls, aged between 10 and 15, are taken to slave labour factories in the capital (Bangkok) by job placement agencies (in a factory of Thonburi). Most of the Laotian girls are smuggled into Thailand through Ubon Ratchathani, Khemmarat, Chanuman and Khong Chian district, as well as Mukdaharn province", reported the Bangkok Post (Nov. 9, 1989). A similar situation obtains for Chinese-Burmese girls, as reported by The Sunday Mail on 23 February 1992 under the title "The Shame that is child prostitution" (see also Paul and Walden, 1992:10-18). Ireson C. (1992:19) also reminds us that there is a risk of rural Lao girls of all ethnic groups being sold to urban houses of prostitution.

Lao participants at the "Second Indochinese-Thai Dialogue" on March 16-21 1990 expressed their worries when they claimed that the, "Child prostitution problem" in Laos was concurrent with the "open door" policy (Seeds of Peace, May 1990). Again according to The Sunday Mail on 23 February, 1992, there are 800,000 prostitutes under 16 in Thailand, and more than 90 per cent of the child prostitutes in Thailand are from southern China, Burma, Laos and the minority tribes in north-east Thailand. Thailand has a population of between 200,000 and 400,000 people threatened with AIDS (Matison, 1992:34-35). This situation threatens a tiny country like Laos too. Although the situation in Laos is not as serious as in Thailand and in other Asian countries, but the impact of AIDS in Laos is a problem. Laos has taken the issue seriously and entered the worldwide war against AIDS (Lao Samphan, 1989:9); for this purpose a National Committee for the Control of AIDS (NCCA) and its prevention was set up and a programme established (ibid.10; Phokeo, 1991:28). At the "Second Indochinese-Thai Dialogue" in 1990, help was requested in disseminating information and documentation about AIDS in order to alert Lao people to this infection and to protect their children from the risks of prostitution, particularly in Champassak, southern Laos (Seeds of Peace, May, 1990:13-14). Before the opening of the country to foreign investment, Lao society was virtually free of crime, and schools were free of drugs and of AIDS.

C- The Replenishment of Fresh Manpower": The Marriage System and Women as Resilient Victims of Polygamy

Women in Laos had their lives strongly shaped by the cycle of production of glutinous rice, a staple in the country. Most social processes revolved around it, as in other traditional societies in this part of the world. Marriage, and subsequently polygamy, and labouring in the pagoda, patterned women's place in Lao society, to which clings nonetheless the cliché of a "smiling country".

Marriage System

The make-up of a couple is a matter which any society takes seriously to heart. Few things are left to chance, even in this country known for its casualness. Elaborate rules are intertwined with marriage in Laos, from the day of its formation to its disappearance.

Marriage is in itself eagerly sought by the young girl, as well as by her family. In order to increase the manpower available to the family, some parents blackmail their daughter by asserting, "We cannot rest after death without seeing our daughter married."

In Laos, the choice of a life mate, particularly for the groom, is a preoccupation for the individual, as well as for the family. As an old Lao saying sums it up, 'If you are looking for an elephant, look at its tail, if you are looking for a girl, look at her mother, look carefully at her paternal

grandparents, her uncles and her aunts'. In times past, the choice of marriage did not focus on the beauty of the body but on the charm of the heart, as a Lao saying pointed out, 'A beautiful soul is better than a beautiful body'. Tradition requires that a good spouse should possess certain qualities summed up as, 'heuan sam nam2 sil ('Three Clean Dwellings and Four Waters').'" The Lao literature, such as Nithane Thav2 Khamstone (1966:4); 'Na:ng Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965:20,23,33-34) praised goodness, faithfulness, devotion of the heroine to the husband and to Buddhist religion, hard work and a beautiful body. Many folk tales and classic novels described the beauty of the heroine, and compared it to that of a goddess, which everybody, young or old, wanted to look at, or to admire, to touch. Some men would lose their reason when seeing her for the first time (see more Peltier, 1988:107). A man, on the other hand, is often pictured as a hero with a despicable body, almost animal-like, though endowed with supernatural power, uncommon intelligence, and exceptional kindness." The Vientiane Mai related an article on November 26 1986 entitled "Do men marry a woman who has a beautiful body but does not know how to cook, or a woman who is not physically beautiful, but knows perfectly how to cook?". The article concluded that it is better to marry a woman who possesses "three qualities", which are being a good mother, a good citizen, and a good spouse.

Under French colonisation and afterwards, some literature continued to educate women as to the qualities of an ideal spouse. For example, Nginn (1967a) spoke about Nang Phavady (a Lao model wife), who was an illiterate heroine who shrewdly listened to advice given by older people, and for this reason married a

good man. The advice was that she must respect the man as a theva:da (God). When talking to him, the wife does not say "I", but "your slave", and in this way, obeys her husband. As a Buddhist devotee, she wears the white dress of a nun on holy days. Behaving as she does, Nang Phavady is a good wife, living without problems, and when she dies, her reputation was "exemplary" (Nginn, 1967a). French authors, in general, portrayed Lao women as being "dominated beautiful natives", as in Royer's novel Kham La Laotienne (1935). There was also Ajalbert's Sao Van Di (1905), which represented women as objects and in which a foreign man paid a certain sum to the parents for renting him their daughter monthly (Gay, 1989:12). In Sao Tiampa (1912), Baudenne described how, after marriage, Lao women became lazier. In the literature written on the PL zone during the struggle for national liberation in the 1970s, Lao women were represented as beautiful if they displayed revolutionary virtue", whereas in the zone occupied by the right wing, women were considered as "sex-objects", as in the novel 'nao cay (Cold at Heart) by Panay and Douangchampa (1971). In post 1975 Laos, an ideal 'new woman' should devote herself to socialism, as portrayed in the novel of Sanyan Dongdaeng, konel nan2 kao2 pi (Nine Years Before) (see Clutterbuck, 1991). In the 1980s, a woman should be a person imbued with the "three goods": a good citizen, a good wife, and a good mother (Vientiane Mai, 26 November, 1986).

Lao writers tend to create stories describing an impossible love that challenges family authority or proposes a forbidden interracial marriage. "The Lao spouse only Lao, and if this was not possible, they will only mix with those having lighter-skin", stated the 'Na:ng

Seu Pheun² Khun Bulom Rajathiraj (1967:27-29). Khun Bulom's son, Khun LO had an agreement with Khoun Lang, king of the indigenous people, that in order to avoid to have inter-ethnic problems, between the ethnic groups (lowland Lao and Lao Theung, it was forbidden to mix together (Ketavong, 1968:248). As a result of this policy, before 1975 all political position and ministerial positions were monopolized by the Lao Lum, the inhabitants of the Mekong valleys and denied to other ethnic groups (Halpern, 1964b:5). In the Lao literary masterpiece, Sin Xay (Pangkham, 1965), the heroine, Nang Sumuntha, could not marry a nyak (demon), who was considered an alien (interview, Maha Vankham Souriyadej, August 15, 1988) (see also Ketavong, 1968). In southern Laos, the story of Thav² Ba Ciang and Nang Malong depicts the hero, Ba Ciang, as an offspring of an ethnic khai, one of the Lao Theung (Austro-Melanesian), and the heroine, Nang Malong as a lowland Lao (Archambault, 1961b:2597-8, 2602; Ketavong, 1968). Identical stories occur in Luang Prabang in the tale of khun Lu, Nang Uai (1970) (Archambault, 1961b; 1973c). This sexual taboo decreed by the Lao conquerors over the Lao Theung strictly applied, for the Lao Theung were suspected of possessing powerful virility (Archambault, 1961b:2597-8, 2602).

When mixed marriages occurred, the town was desecrated and endless purifications took place, as in southern Laos. More recently, Zago (1972:122) pointed out, "In southern Laos, it is the sin committed by the princess (Nang Phao) who was pregnant to a prince hunter, that still has an influence over the communities. Thus pregnant girls without husbands have their sins expiated by the annual sacrifice of a buffalo." Otherwise,

their mistake would cause drought and flood. The annual sacrifice is a ritual to compensate for this sin. In this way, it is hoped to ensure the rain which is vital for the rice fields (Archambault, 1961a; Hours, 1973b). However, it seems that Western people were considered by some segment of the elite in the old kingdom of Laos to be at the top of the scale as regards their value as marriage partners, with Lao princesses marrying American or French men (Stieglitz, 1990; Calazel, 1990; Delorme, 1991; see the Lao in Australia, Ngaosyvathn, 1993a).

In traditional Laos, popular culture predominated and in reality seems to have rebelled against this change decreed from above; according to a Lao saying, 'Build a house as the owner wants, hang a cradle as the sleeper prefers' (Marcus, 1969). Until recently, the political socialisation seems very limited in Laos (Halpern 1958; 1964a).

Even in urban areas, the wedding is generally arranged, and parents themselves decide for their children, who are prepared to accept their parents's choice (Zago, 1972). Parents mostly intervene in the marrying of their eldest son, who has to perpetuate the family's name in the future, or their youngest daughter, who has to take care of them in their old age. To encourage young people to accept their decision, parents explain that their own marriages were arranged, and they had no complaints about it. They had had numerous children, because in the words of an old Lao saying, 'Men and women are like fish and water, or like rice and soil'. If the marriage was shattered by disputes, parents, grandparents or the elder people in the community conspired to keep husband and wife together by trying to convince both to accept

compromise and be more flexible.

In traditional society, a wedding was only a religious family affair, but with the introduction of the common law in 1908, the newly married couple had to make their marriage vows before a public official, and marriage was valid only when agreed to by the young people themselves (Saysanasy, 1964:3). Although a younger sister can be married before an older one, an offering in cash or in goods must be paid to the eldest sister, for the younger is "by-passing" her: respect for the rule of seniority is still very much alive in Lao society.

Girls were generally married between 14 and 16 years old in the 1880s, and then between 15 and 18 in the 1930s (Aymonier, 1885:177). Generally, young men were 18 when they got married. Parental consent was needed. Today in Laos, as in some other South-East Asian countries (Xenos, 1989a:20), had financial problems and the long period needed for study and official duties means that young people prefer to marry later. The average marriageable age for females now in Laos is between 18 and 25 (Pfister, 1989:33), and for males between 21 and 30. In rural areas, girls still marry between 14 and 16 years of age. The 1989 family code authorized both sexes to marry at 15.

After an informal approach undertaken by the mother of the young man or by some older person in the community, the young man's parents call at the home of the young girl's parents to give a formal proposal of marriage. Agreement between the two families is a very important step. Sometimes it brings confirmation of what the two young people have already promised each other (Saysanasy, 1964:3). Ac-

cording to the customs of the formal proposal, commonly called 'man2 (to string)', the young man's family sends relatives to the young girl's home with trays of areca cathechu, schontenia and betel nuts wrapped in banana leaves. The offering is placed on a red square handkerchief in a silver bowl, and is brought to the girl's house, where the official proposal is made in front of all the elders in the house. As symbol of their agreement, the parents of the girl take two of the four packs of the betel mixture and chew it, the young man's parents doing the same with the other two packs. Then, the girl's parents determine the bride price.

The period of engagement depends on the decision of both families, but if the betrothal is broken before the agreed time limit agreed, the break-up is more detrimental to the girl's reputation than her fiancé's. She will be despised as a girl who engagement was broken off", and the young man will have to pay reparation.

Contrary to Hindi tradition, where the dowry is paid by the bride family, in Laos the boy's parents must pay three kinds of bride price to the girl's parents. The bride price is a form of "exchange value". With the bride price, men have "to practise their protection over women", although the bride price varies from one region to another, and also depends on the social status of women. Traditionally in rural society as communication is difficult, the dowry is measured in live animals or goods (Vannasin, June, 1988:31).

The three forms that bride price take reflect the cultural environment in which Lao

people are immersed are:

1. 'kha1 kheun2 phi is a tribute paid in goods to the tutelary spirits of the house. In the kingdom of Laos this compulsory bride price was included in the family code. It varied according to the social position of the two families, and was less expensive for a girl of lower social status and more expensive for the daughter of a high ranking official. This bride price is not returned to the former husband when divorce occurs." Its amount is roughly one tenth of the kha1 dohng's bride price (Deydier, 1954:56), and is considered as compensation for expenses incurred during the girl's upbringing.

2. 'kha1 'man2, or the engagement dowry, should be in the form of a ring or other precious goods given to the girl. This is her personal property and she keeps it even after her divorce.

3. 'kha1 dohng, or the price of the wedding, is not determined by law. It consists of gold or silver, and of goods delivered to the parents of the girl. This is not compulsory for common people. For upper class people, however, this dowry is materially very important. By virtue of this payment, the girl may be considered as merchandise. The amount of this bride price depends on the social status of the two families concerned (De Reinach, 1911:167; Archaimbault, 1967:668-669). In Laos, during the 1960s-1970s, the bride price system was important because it served to "buy" status. Girls and women were considered "The most precious merchandise" (Vannasin, June 1988:32). Marriage promoted social mobility, and was viewed as a device to preserve power in a very restricted elite

circle. It allowed some influential people to collect a "pretty wife" and "increased" about their status, this practice of bride price allowed the more powerful to obtain the most desirable girls (Alzon, 1978:233-235). After 1975, the system was officially suppressed (Vientiane Mai, 6 March 1987), but in practice this tradition still operates, and the mass media, such as Vannasin (June, 1988) criticize it openly. The money of the bride price money can be used to fund the wedding banquet for the guests, to buy the bridal bed for the newlyweds or for some other purpose. The amount varies according to the social status and financial position of the couple's parents. Some families hold a celebration for the wedding of their children over three days and three nights, or more.

Besides the agreement of the two families, both sides will consult an astrologer, often a monk or a former monk, to find out whether the couple's birthdays fit well together and if their fates harmonize. The Lao believe that astrology, based on the year of birth and other information, can reveal the compatibility of the couple. Marriage will only be authorized when the young man and the young girl are born in years corresponding to sympathetic animals or elements. For example, those born in the year of the Rat or the Pig are compatible with those born in the year of the Ox, the Tiger or the Dragon. It is highly discouraging when birthdays correspond to antagonistic elements such as water and earth (Phimmasone, 1956:1-11). In the 1970s, a new trend appeared, forbidding marriage between young men and girls from the former liberated zones and the newly liberated zones, in particular those whose father had been sent to the political re-education centre. This led to some young people preferring suicide. Things

have changed dramatically since then. The new elite in the 1980s, comprising the newly rich, whose wealth was made before 1975, and officials from the former liberated zones, tended to strike an alliance through marriage (Stuart-Fox, 1992).

Before getting married, mixed couples had to get permission from the Prime Minister's Office (see also in China, Woolrich, 1992) through a process which lasted at least three to six months. The young man had to certify that he was unmarried. If the man divorced the wife, he had to provide his Lao wife with the aeroplane ticket to return to her country of origin.

In the former liberated zones, and in the early years of the new regime the "revolutionary wedding ceremony", or the thrifty wedding, was performed, in most cases in front of the organisation. All expenses were paid by the community and the mass organisation of which the couple were members. The state organisation gave the couple a marriage certificate which is considered to be a marriage contract. The state also provides a premium in money and goods to the couple. Once the reading of the authorisation ends, the ceremony of the sukhuan-basi begins (Ngaosyvathn, 1990). In the 1980s, "bourgeois" marriages reappeared in the Lao society. The wealthier the couples, the more ostentatiously the marriage is celebrated, with the number of guests reaching as many as 500. Such marriages have been criticized as a waste of money, for Laos is among the poorest countries in the world. Marriage is also becoming a means for some rich families to join the post-1975 power structure. Poor families continue to value the thrifty wedding performed in the previously

liberated zones (Vientiane Mai, March 1987; Vannasin, June, 1988:30-32).

On the wedding day, at the appointed time, a noisy procession goes through the streets to the home of the young girl, to the wailing of brass gongs, and the shouts of men applauding the tireless male and female singers who accompany the young man. Flanked by two close friends, grooms' men, who provide him with a ritual umbrella, the bridegroom arrives in front of the bride's house. The party will not be allowed into the bride's home until they have paid a tribute in the form of alcohol and sometimes a symbolic amount of money to the female guardians simulating a resistance, hindering the entrance of the procession. At the threshold of the stairs of the house, the youngest sister of the bride pours water on the groom's feet, which are placed on a banana leaf. This ritual is aimed at washing away all former stains before undertaking a new life. Then, the youngest sister will symbolically receive a sum for her work (Deydier, 1952:57).⁶⁰

The bride and groom, accompanied by two brides maids and grooms men, together enter the ceremonial room, where monks are already sitting. The girl sits near the man on a mat on his left in front of the 'pha khuan tray (trash for fastening the soul) (Ngaosyvathn, 1990). The master of the ceremony then recites the formulae of blessings for the newlyweds, and cuts the auspicious egg in half. He verifies that the boiled hen's egg is shelled and without spots, that it is pure white and in a perfect state. This means it is a good sign for the couple. He gives a half to them to eat immediately. He then ties a white thread on the wrists of the newlyweds while muttering blessings. The relatives and guests then

follow suit. Before the end of the ceremony, the newlyweds proceed to the somma ceremony, aimed at begging forgiveness to the parents on both sides for all the sins they may have committed in the past. Their palms are pressed together holding bunches of flowers, a candle and joss sticks, as they bend over and present the offerings to their parents (Zago, 1972: 221-224). At this moment, the mother of the bride addresses her son-in-law, "From now on, I trust you with my daughter." In traditional marriages, advice is given as recorded by Nginn (1965:21). At the end of the advice given by the parents of both sides, the bride offers items, a mat and a pillow to her parents-in-law as homage (Methivorakhoun, 1967:29). At the end of the ceremony, the bride kow-tows with flowers to her husband, by taking his feet and putting on her head (Mas-sieu, 1901:267).⁴¹ The newlyweds offer food to the monks for lunch, and the feast continues for the party-goers and fun-lovers.

The Lao tradition requires that as a part of the marriage, one must cover the bridal bed of the newlyweds with a sheet. An old woman selected to perform this ritual, must have a virtuous life. She should not be a widow or a divorcee and should be the most respected woman in the community.⁴² This will assure that the newlyweds live without connubial hassles, as long as that family's "order" is respected from the first day of shared life.

As soon as the wedding process is ended, the couple have to organise their residence.

Authors generally refer only to two forms of marriage in traditional Lao society based on marital residence.⁴³ As a matter of fact, there are three types of marital residence:

the matrilocality, in which the groom moves into the bride's parents house; the patrilocality, with the bride coming to settle in the groom's parents house, and the neolocality, where the bride and the groom live independently. Lingat (1959:278) suggested that whatever the type, it is not significant for, "The marriage causes the transfer of power from the father to the husband, and the married woman, of first or second rank, is in a situation near that of children." This may explain why in Laos the form of marriage is not compulsory (Condominas, 1970:13) to be followed strictly as in Thailand, for example in rural Nan (Davis, 1973; also 1984a).

Matrilocality

The matrilocal residence is the most popular choice of marital residence (Methivorakhoun, 1967; Nguyen Phu-Doc, 1970; Zago, 1972), and conforms to an old Lao saying, 'Taking a son-in-law to take care of the parents-in-law is as someone who has a paddy full in the storehouse' (Methivorakhoun, 1967:27). Accordingly, the bride price is reduced to compensate for the son-in-law's work (Nguyen Phu-Doc, 1970). The tradition has a practical basis in that it prevents a girl who supports her parents from being taken away and leaving them without help.⁴⁴ A learned Lao woman wrote:

The custom in Laos is for the young husband to live with his wife's parents. If the wife is the only daughter, he stays with them permanently and brings up his own family there. If they have several daughters, the first one to marry moves away with her children to

another house when the second daughter marries, in order to make room for the newly married pair, or simply when the house becomes too crowded (Levy, P.B., 1963:246).

The youngest daughter or the daughters who live with and take care of the parents are privileged with regard to land tenure and particularly as regards the house site inheritance (Lebar and Suddard, 1967:68; see in northern Thailand, Wijeyewardene, 1984). This kind of marital residence is considered by some as a survival of matriarchy (Zago, 1972), enabling the newlyweds to perform under the guardianship of the girl's parents.⁶⁵

Other writers support the view that it is an opportunity for the mother to prepare her son-in-law to deal with hard work under her leadership. This is also perhaps a counterweight to the privileges given by tradition to the husbands and to ensure that the wife has some rights of her own. So the balance of power initiated in the house of her parents will be moulded. "The newlyweds must live in the home of the parents of the girl, and the husband can not strike his wife without the authorisation of her parents", noted Nguyen Phu-Doc (1970:51). This is a kind of insurance policy for women and tames the husband, as been keenly recorded by Aymonier (1885:186): "it is customary to inflict several fines on the son-in-law for violation of the domestic rituals and for the offences to the spirits of the ancestors. If the wife is careless and unruly, the husband cannot beat her, but instead he must ask his parents-in-law to correct her one, two, or three times and after that, they must give him full authority to cope with her as he wants." This is also a kind of deterrence against a premature quarrel

between the newlyweds, which might bring disillusion that could lead to a divorce without the presence and the constraint of the parents. According to the Vientiane Code, the parents of the girl can reprimand the groom if he acts in insolence, and he has to ask for forgiveness (Raquez, 1902).

Moreover, the financial interests of the husband tend to force him to behave in such a way that he may be fully accepted and integrated into his new family. Generally, the couple will stay at this home until the marriage of the wife's younger sister, who will later inherit the house, or even the paddy field, for it is the youngest girl who will ultimately take care of the parents in their old age. Alternatively, after the birth of their first child, the couple can ask to live elsewhere. This old custom of having a son-in-law living with his wife's parents contributes greatly to cementing the bonds between the son-in-law and the parents-in-law. Although accepted in Laos, as well as in northern Thailand, this pattern of life is unpopular in Eastern Vietnam and China, as shown by a Vietnamese proverb, 'The son-in-law who comes to move into his wife's home is like a dog who must always be lying down beneath the press' (Nguyen Phu-Doc, 1970:52).

Patrilocality

Although widespread in most part of Asia, for example China, Vietnam and Bangladesh, patrilocality is, on the contrary, unpopular, in Laos, as a Lao saying indicates: 'Bringing the daughter-in-law into the groom's parents house is as to draw the pest into the country'. Whatever the truth or untruth behind

this saying, it appears that this form of marriage is less practised in rural areas, and it reinforces the inferior status of the wife in comparison to both her husband and her parents-in-laws. The rationale behind such a situation is generally clear, as Alzon (1978:278) stated: "In societies with a patriarchal structure, the girl must not only give her body to whom she has chosen but also settle in his family home." This practice is current in urban areas, within the "big families" who want to expand their clientelist relations, and is often practised in the Huaphanh province, northern Laos (Kasetseri, 1987:158; Doré, 1987:285), and by the ethnic Hmong.⁶⁶ One Lao researcher said of patri-locality that, "the old Lao family, as well as today's of the patrilocal type, the husband is the chief of the family, he has the right to repudiate, to chase his wife from home. It is true that at the beginning of the marriage, he comes to live with his parents-in-laws, aimed not at brutally taking his wife away from a home where she helps her parents to exist, but he always has the right to choose the conjugal domicile" (Phimmasone, 1974:974).

Stories of clashes between mother and daughter-in-law are endless. In the strongly hierarchical structure of the Hmong ethnic minority (Lemoine, 1972), the feud is settled to the advantage of the mother; if the husband is absent, the wife must be completely dependent on her mother-in-law. If her husband is dead, she must automatically marry her brother-in-law, even if he is much younger.

Neolocality

Neolocality was rarely practised in Lao traditional society, as De Reinach (1911:169)

noted: "It existed in some cases only when the groom already had his own house, he brings his wife in after the wedding ceremony." It was also the case after war when the young couple's parents were killed. But in modern times, young couples often choose this arrangement when moving from a provincial town into the capital, where they are without any relatives. This form is advantageous for the harmony of the couple. The couple have to shoulder more responsibility in their lives, and in most cases they manage well. The wife, at least, is only under one authority, her husband.

Women As Resilient Victims of Polygamy

When blessing the groom, the master of the wedding ceremony likes to say, "I tie the white cotton threads on your left wrist for you, and having a thousand wives!"

As Cresswell (1975:102) stated: "Polygamy ensures conditions for the survival of the human beings".

While polygamous marriages existed in traditional Lao society, a Lao saying warned, 'To be unhappy, be the chief of the people, to want an infernal life, have many wives'; or as it is said more commonly, 'If you want difficulties, be the boss; if you want confusion, take a second wife; if you want people to curse you, dirty the main road'. This wisdom is shared by many cultures: for example, in the faraway Emirat Abhu Dhabi they say: "One wife, one problem, four wives, four problems."

As in other traditional societies in Lao traditional culture a man was allowed to have many spouses. This tradition seems to be foreign in origin, as a Lao writer pointed out: "The law on polygamy which exteriorised the Indian culture and civilisation, was imported into Laos at the same time as Buddhism" (Phimmasone, 1974:976). Buddhism as well as Islam sees polygamy only as a moral order (Djime, 1964:2). However, Seidenfaden (1958: 92), who was well-acquainted with the area, was of the opinion that, "Polygamy is, however, rather common among the Lao people, the male being a fickle lover." Through the power of the traditions and the customs, polygamy became a legal institution, at the time that Laos was ruled by France, a monogamous country.

Polygamy was an integral part of the Lao myth of the beginning of the world. Khun Bulom, the legendary king of the Lao race, was said to have come down to earth accompanied by two spouses, Nyommala, queen of the right, and Ok 'Khaeng, queen of the left. Khun Bulom's father advised him to have up to 10,000 wives, but the important point was not to forget the principal queen! ('Na:ng Seu 'Pheun2 Khun Bulom Rajathirai, 1967:14). The old people recall that before 1975 kings in Luang Prabang might have 500 wives. Father De Marini (1910:163) mentioned that during his visit to Laos in 1642 to 1647, the king had over one hundred wives. Massieu, visiting Luang Prabang in 1896, during the coronation of King Zakarine (1888-1903), had the opportunity to talk with the king's mother, 70 years of age. She confessed, "his father [Zakarine's father] has 800 wives, and he manages each morning to receive them and the children, and in this enormous family, there are no disputes"

(Massieu, 1901:240).

Legally, a man can have as many spouses as he can materially afford, but only one wife can be treated as the first or principal spouse. She is commonly known as mia nyay, and the others, given the status of wife of second rank, are commonly called mia noy2. The hierarchy is established automatically between the different spouses, and each stays at the rank assigned at the date of entry into the house. Disputes between the spouses were rare and corporal punishment was applied if they did occur. This certainly kept Lao wives in a conciliatory mood. The marriage ceremony of the first rank spouse was performed with great pomp, while for other ranks, it was generally performed among close friends and relatives. Traditionally and legally, the mia noy2 were all under the supervision of the first wife; they could not be permitted to be at the same rank as her, nor to wear jewelry, dress more sumptuously, or be richer. The rank of the mia noy2 depended on when they came into the domicile. After the death of the first spouse, the husband will appoint one of the most senior among his second rank spouses to replace her. The wife's rank played an important role in the matrimonial system, and in sharing out the real estate and inheritance."

Polygamy in Laos stems from an archaic belief in the superiority of the male (Say-sanasy, 1964:5). This institution is limited mostly to the privileged class, which draws certain advantages from it. In traditional Lao society, the majority of aristocrats and dignitaries could afford to be polygamous due to revenue collected from their rice fields, as well as from their social positions (Taupin, 1888:91; Cabaton, 1932:60). In Laos pre-

1975, only military officers, high-ranking civil servants, and businessmen, had several spouses. They were the main protagonists of this practice, and were satirised in a novel by Panay and Douang Champa, Kui Kiri Say 'Khay Phu2 Xay (Female smelly, Male smelly) or in Leng Boupha Ngoen, ຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຊື່ (O you, Women) in the 1960s-1970s.

Having many wives is a source of social prestige for the upper class, and for some ethnic groups in remote areas a pool of manpower, for these women are considered more a work horse of work than anything else, and the more of them there are, the more they produce for men (Djime, 1964:2). As in a general view, Alzon (1978:228-9) noted:

Polygamy has nothing to do with the shortage of men, except in the case when an individual inherits the widows of his brothers. It is the powerful who display, in this way, their social superiority and at the same time, thank their progeniture for having at their disposal abundant manpower and a solid armed force.

In traditional Lao culture, the majority of people in urban, as well as rural areas led a life of sobriety. They were not rich and did not have the means to pay for a second marriage. Halpern (1964a:61) stated that, "Polygamy doesn't exist among the populace." Polygamy is common among some ethnic groups, such as Lao Sung or Lao Theung stated one of the members of the National Committee of the Ethnic Minorities of the Lao PDR in an personal interview on February 6, 1987. He said that in certain Lao Theung ethnic groups the

Kha2 Tu and Ta Oy, males have at least five wives. Generally, if polygamy is allowed by law, the only limits concerning the number of wives was if a man could afford it. Nowadays, despite the monogamy law, some ethnic groups still practise polygamy (Inuma, 1992). Many polygamist people were confronted with problems in the refugee camps or in resettlement in a third country (Dia Cha and Chagnon, 1993). For example, as one of conditions required by a successful applicant for resettlement in Western countries was to be part of a nuclear family, many second wives become "younger sisters" (Long L.D, 1993).

Some Lao men who move around for their work, usually traders and travellers, have different wives in different parts of the country generally in places faraway from each other. In each place, the husband has an associate who represents him and deals with his business in his absence, gathers merchandise for the next round of transactions, and gets together a home for him where he is assured to find a smiling face and a nice welcome after his long journey."

Apart from social prestige and manpower, there were also political reasons for polygamy. It was the pride of parents-in-laws to have a relative belonging to the noble class. Just as in many other countries kings were married to foreign princesses, so it was among Lao kings, for example, Fa-Ngum (1350-1393). The founder of kingdom of Lan Xang married Khmer and Siamese princesses; his son Sam

Saene Thai (1393-1415) had foreign wives from Pegou, Ayuthaya and Lanna. King Visoun (1501-1520) married a princess from Chieng Mai. King SaiSetthathiraj (1559-1571) was married to eight foreign princesses, and King Souli-gnavongsa (1637-1694) married the sister of the king of Sipsong Panna. Besides foreign princesses, the kings married the daughters of their ministers and officials, as well as of commoners. The large number of their wives resulted from the custom in traditional society of providing high-ranking officials with females who generally were a political asset for the family.

Nearly all Lao literature deals with polygamy in some way. Wives of heroes customarily number from 10,000 to 84,000.⁶⁶ 84,000 is a symbolic number: it is a reminder of the age of Lord Gotama, and the number of the verses (gā'tha) in the tripitaka (the Three baskets) (Peltier, 1988:120). In tales such as 'Phu Thav2 'Phu Nang (Mountains of Phou Thao and Phou Nang) (Gouineau, 1959a) or the story of Sin Xay (Sin Xay's Epic) (Pangkham, 1965), the hero's father has eight wives and 500 mia nov2, who are half human and half bird (Peltier, 1988:262-263). 'Na:ng Seu Thav2 Sulivong (Chronicle of Sir Sulivong) (1968) refers to the several wives of the hero, while the Kala Nab Meu2 Suay2 (1968) stipulated four categories of wives, as in Muslim law, which permits men to have four spouses.

Lao literature also gives a dramatic view of the consequences of polygamy, broken families and children encountering misfortunes. The struggles between the wives are bitter and merciless and always results in the death of one of them, such as in the tales of Four Plumerias, Campa Sil Ton2 (1969) (Gourneau, 1959a:425-6).

If male dominance has instituted polygamy, Lao women were not indifferent to it. Poems have been written aimed at educating women not to accept the role of the "small wife", such as "I do not hunt for the place of a "small spouse" to be looked down upon. I prefer to be a spinter and stay till my death to escape to my sadness." The resistance of women was also likely to preserve the happiness of the family. Lao wisdom attributes this outlook to women: "It is better to lose a gold piece bigger than the size of a head than to lose a husband". A story about the hard lesson of polygamy entitled She is formidable, the mother-in-law, was written by a former Lao Prime Minister, Katay Sasorith in the late 1950s to 1960s:

A Lao has two wives. The first wife is furious when she caught her husband on the bed with the mia nov2. She then takes a knife and cuts what the writer called "his most beautiful ornament" and threw it to his mia nov2. The husband is dead. When this story was published, many men decided to separate from their mia noi. This unprecedented crime, in the old Lao country where women always obey their master, the husband, had a large impact after all (Sasorith, 1958:61-62).

An identical case happened in Laos in 1977. In the 1960s and 1970s, people were already reacting against womanizing (Halpern, 1964a:41); "Some of these demonstrations featured students carrying signs; one of the more extreme ones asked for the castration of a former head of the national police" (ibid:62).⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the movement was

short-lived, for the worm was already in the fruit. During these years, there were disputes in the beauty salons and in the market, and even mediums were mobilised, and magic potions and amulets used (Som O, 1966) to try to bring husbands back.

Sexual strife was unbridled in the former regime, as the first American anthropologist to work in Laos, Halpern (1964a:62) indicate: "among the elite and urban population generally, the position of the second wife is unenviable, and those men who have two wives must obtain a separate household for each. A few years ago the wife of a member of the elite created a scandal." A succession of scandals drove Lao men to abstain from having as many legitimate wives as before. As a matter of fact, even if polygamy is legal in Laos, there are not many men who had legal wives for they were terrified of the conflicts that can erupt in the family (Saysanasy, 1964:15; Phimmasone, 1974:976). Instead of legally having many wives, some men preferred as Branfman (1970:226) reported, "Village girls removed to the provincial capitals by high-ranking government officials to serve as temporary concubines until they ceased to amuse their patrons. Such stories are extremely common place in Laos."

In Laos, in the 1960s-1970s, the commission for a reform of the legal code (Whitaker et al. 1972:288), which included Lao and French lawyers, proposed a draft on polygamy saying that some Lao ethnic minorities were not yet ready to abandon it. The authors of the code have revised and codified the draft by letting newlyweds marry under the monogamous system if they prefer it and then sign a marriage contract. As in some French influenced African countries, such as Cameroun, Togo and Gabon,

the renunciation of the polygamous marriage of the couple should be made by a special act (Van Den Wiele, 1969:35).

In 1975, polygamy was abolished in Laos, but it was only in 1989 that the country enforced monogamy, even though the state apparatus is mainly composed of representatives of the ethnic groups, some of are polygamists.

More generally, polygamous marriage remains common in many countries in Asia and Africa, as was shown by the debate organized by UNESCO in Paris for the celebration of the International Year of Women on March 9 1988. This meeting revealed that the struggle for the suppression of polygamy will not be successful without the energetic contribution the whole society in general and of males in particular.

In Laos, with the opening up of the country to the west, there are more opportunities for men to have subordinate wives. Before the country became more open most married women counted on the vigilance of the mass organisations to which they belonged to put leash on their husbands. This was successful, because extra-marital relations were rare. Since 1988, the old fashioned ideas have steadily made a comeback. Many families have broken down, because of a new form of secondary wives known as 'mia keb' (hiding wife), or 'mia xaol' (hiring wife), or 'mia bolikane' (agencing wife) (see a similar problem occurs in Cambodia, Boua, 1980).

D- A Back Breaking Chore

Life in the countryside has not changed since time immemorial. Hence, women's lives remain tied to the various workload that is always on their backs.

"In Laos, women work at least three times more than their husbands", recorded Taupin (1888:91) in a field report to the French Governor-General of Indochina. Some years before, another explorer gathering political information in Laos, Aymonier (1885:176) granted generously that, "In Laos, women do all work. Aside from the hard work in the fields and forced public labour, men think only of catching partridges, turtledoves and wild hens with nets". A tireless explorer of Laos, Pavie (1947:54) confirmed this, "The Laotian appreciates agricultural work very little; he prefers to leave it to his Kha slaves or to his spouse." A Lao woman not only supported the burden of work for the family, but if she travelled with her husband, she had to follow behind him carrying the load. Aymonier (1885:176) sneered, "If the husband carries anything, this will be a weapon, as if he wants to apologise for his laziness on the pretext of protecting his spouse." Conversely, in Cambodia, which otherwise is culturally close to Laos in many regards, a husband travelling with his wife preferred to bear the load and let his wife walk in front of him (ibid.). In rural areas of Laos nowadays the same attitudes still exist. It is possible that vigilance required the husband to carry a weapon, but a similar situation has been noticed in Vietnam too (Hocquet, 1966:2-3).

Work in the rice fields begins in June, after the first monsoon rains in May. Ploughing is man's work. After planting the rice seed in a seed bed, women and children transplant the tightly packed young green shoots by pressing them into the mud. For example, in the 1860s, travelling with the Commission for the Exploration of the Mekong led by Doudart De Lagree, De Carne (1872:18) was surprised to see that, "the island of Khong is peopled by farmers. Rice fields appear in good care, and we are attending the spectacle of planting out rice seedlings. Women in the country, concentrated on this operation, back breaking every day and their feet floundering in the mud."

During the growing period, women are still kept busy caring for the young plants and keeping the fields clear of weeds. The fish in nearby ponds as well or hunt for crabs in the rice fields to improve the meagre daily diet of the family.

The rice harvest season begins in November, the harvesting being done mainly by women and children. Neighbours came to help using traditional sickles. They cut handful after handful of rice-heads, and are then kept busy drying and winnowing the paddy in a corner of the rice field as in ancient times. "The soil is rich, but gets so hard in summer that the inhabitants throw their rice on it and sweep it up later", stats Kaempfer (1729:22). Finally, the paddy is stored in the grain storehouse, from where it is taken for preparation each day.

As in rural areas of Thailand, in Laos rice milling is exclusively a female occupation. The rice is hulled with a giant mortar and pestle whose beam is operated by foot. This is planted on the around floor of the Lao house, and it is worked by foot. It is usual to see women or young girls, under their houses on stilts, pounding mechanically while holding a baby to their breast on a sling of material, commonly called pha2 kha ma2. At each move of the pestle, the child jerks up and down. Levy B.P. (1963:247) has described the process: "Although hand mills were sometimes used, paddy is more commonly husked in a large mortar worked by the foot. The rice is then winnowed by hand; this is quite a skilled operation and is always done by women."

American missionaries who visited Lao in 1884 could not help but lament that, "life in Laos is exceedingly monotonous. The women do much of the hard work in the field as well as in the household" (Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884:443). Another Western traveller in Laos was dumbfounded by the activity of women: "while her husband was already resting, she still fetched water and dedicated herself to the various care of the household" (Taupin, 1888:58). With fatalism, women had to bear the burden of the household chores and to fulfil their duties as traditionally prescribed. They were called upon "to go to bed after their husband and to rise first". Daily life was constant work as Aymonier (1900:18) noted:

A Lao woman works more than men. She must cope with housekeeping, cooking, caring for the pigpen and the farmyard. She must, from dawn,

steam the rice that the family will eat during the day, till and water the garden, and during the dry season, fetch water from the river, sow, plant, replant, weed and harvest rice during the rainy season. Men plough, harrow and prepare the paddy field, go fishing or hunting, conduct boats as they are excellent skippers, and go trading far away; the remaining time, six out of twelve months, they rest. Women work the whole year, for it is again they who unwind silk, spin cotton, weave material that the family sells to make some money or clothes, go to the market, as either seller or purchaser, gather wood for fire, and at last feed and bring up the children.

The cooking of meals, the gathering of wood and forest products (bamboo and plant shoots, insects, and fruits), fetching water, feeding animals, gardening, braiding herbs and bamboo together for roof material, embroidering leaves and pandanus for mats or baskets, all these activities are exclusively female; including feeding babies day and night. The division of labour was spoken about long ago had in such Lao literary master pieces as 'Na:ng Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965), Nyot Khamson Buhane (1972), and Nithane Thav2 Khamson (1966). All the heavy tasks pile one on top of another, and when a woman has spare time, she weaves.

In the Maghreb, for example, men weave (Cresswell, 1975:54), but in Laos this was a task considered as a woman's domain (Nginn, 1956b; 1959b; Levy B.P., 1963; Whitaker et al.1973). Lao folk tales, such as Nyot Kham-

Sone Buhane (1972), Kap Pul Sone Lane-Lane Sone Pul (1970), 'Naing Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965) relate that women must keep busy with their silk and cotton weaving. 'Naing Seu Pheun² Khun Bulom Rajathiraj (1967:40) pinpointed this duty as belonging to women. As American missionaries reported in 1884, "The women did not know how to read, they were always trained to be useful in their homes, and a Lao girl who does not know how to weave her own dress is considered as ignorant as a girl in this country (USA) who does not know how to read" (Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884:486). Nearly all Lao women are brought up to understand and to practise weaving (Bounyavong D., 1992). Even as a baby, a Lao girl has already touched the weaving products that her mother has placed on her bed: the Ka:dong² a bamboo plate, which is generally used to husk rice; and when she begins to understand her mother's language, she can watch her weaving when not absorbed by other chores. From eight to ten years old, the child learns with her mother the step-by-step process from breeding the silk worm to dyeing cotton and weaving. Once married, when household work affords her a break and if pregnancy is not too advanced (a family of 12 children is not unusual), a woman is busy with the loom machine. "Weaving activities are exclusively in the hands of the women and there are few huts without a loom, either on the veranda or under the house in the space allowed by the poles and the floor of the house", noted Picanon (1901:304). Pavie (1902:33) may be outraged by such a chore, as he wrote down in his diary: "The groaning of the loom, alternating with the bump of the paddy mortar, rocked the traveller long after the signal for rest had been given by the chanting of the monk from the neighbouring pagoda." It is indisputable tradition and social structure,

as well as need, that necessitated these craft activities, as a former Director of Information, Nginn (1959b:215-6), marvelled with a tone of nostalgia.

The surplus material was directed to the market, in order to help the financial situation of the family.

A woman assumes her feeding role in a traditional society, where needs are limited. The subsistence economy meets fundamental needs. With the appearance of markets, in Laos, women constitute the dynamic force, and the powerful participants. A 19th century foreign traveller remarked that the market in the Lao royal capital was swarming with women. Perhaps, they kept the string of the family's purse strong, as in most South-East Asian countries (Reid, 1988b:629-645). However, the Reverend Freeman (1910:30) asserted that, "Neither the husband nor the wife is expected to enter upon any important business alone. They share the work, the responsibility, the rewards of their labour. The whole atmosphere of a Laos home is on a plane distinctly higher than we find in any other non-Christian land."

PART TWO:

LAO WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD

The world is possessed of two wings—the male and the female. So long as these two wings are not equivalent in strength, the bird cannot fly. Until womenkind reaches the same degree as man, until she enjoys the same arena of activity, extraordinary attainment of the world of humanity will not be realized; humanity cannot wing its way to heights of real attainment (Writings of the Bahai Faith, quoted by Lindsay, 1980).

In 1975, a republic replaced a kingdom in Laos. However, the problems were overwhelming due to the total withdrawal of foreign assistance, which until that time ensured the survival of the population in urban centres. The unilateral closure by Thailand of the border, through which Laos's international trade passed, exacerbated contradictions in Lao society. Much of the country was still full of unexploded bombs (Wilson, 1987:9-10; Pulcini, 1987:11-12). Some provinces in the North of Laos were transformed into "lunar" landscapes as a result of the air war which

was carried out in secret from 1964 until 1970, and then overtly until Congress put an end to it around the middle of 1973 (Burns et al. 1984:38). It is not exaggerating to qualify these activities as "ecocide" (ibid. 215), the total number of bombs dropped in Laos surpassed the total dropped in the European theatre of operations during the second World War!

Poverty remains widespread, but the country is safe from other scourges of under-development, which exist in other parts of South-East Asia: "while it is true that the per capita national income is certainly one of the lowest in the world, it is generally acknowledged that this income is fairly equally distributed among the population and the different regions" (Lao PDR, Economic Report, 1983:3). Luther (1986:3), a lecturer at the Thailand's Chulalongkorn University, states:

Though it is true that the national income counted per capita is one of the lowest in the world, it is a system of subsistence and "shared poverty" which prevails. Wide parts of the country are hardly touched by the cash and market economy, bartering still exists and income is fairly equally distributed among the population. There is also a notable absence of crime, prostitution, urban slums and other evils which normally go with the nature of semi-modernized countries in Southeast Asia.

After the country's opening to Western countries and the collapse of Eastern European communist regimes, the Lao had to count on the loans from the World Bank and the ADB. In 1990

the Lao PDR was US\$ 1.2 billion in debt to foreign countries (Report of the Ministry of Education 1990:II:1).

This part of the study will examine the movement to change the long established structures through social reform. The changes were decreed from the top of society, the bottom of society being compelled to carry them out. The method of central-command decision-making is now breaking down all over the world with the collapse of the communist system in the former USSR, and elsewhere, yet it still lingers on in Laos, as evidenced by the fate of the women's policy on the decision-makers' agenda.

It is true that this policy augured well for women when it was first, put forward by the Lao ruling party when they were contending for power. After the total seizure of power in 1975, the ruling party designed a coherent policy for women, and established an organisation to work on women's issues. However, the attempt to change the traditional gender order soon led to a showdown between conservative sectors in the town and the ruling party and rural areas, with two differing and conflicting emphases. Outcomes and Break-through, and failures are recorded in selected fields where data is available.

1/ THE TRIALLING OF A POLICY

Women's issues were on the agenda of decision makers of the Lao ruling party long before the party took over total power in the country. This was then a period of social experimentation. During these years in the wilderness and under the pressure of an urgent need to mobilise politically the conceptualisation of women's issues had crystallised.

Once in power, the ruling party attempted to liberate women, but it was not possible to avoid a situation where there was in fact no more than a new molding of the old traditions which reglemented gender relations.

A- Molding A New Society

Under the Siamese, Laos was ignored except for the pillaging, while under French colonisation, the situation improved only slightly, particularly in the field of education. A scholar notes,

The needs of the French colonialists for an "educated" Lao, knowing how to speak the French language, was of a little importance with their administrative system, producing and relying on many Frenchified Vietnamese. This did not prevent the French from despising the Lao language and considering it an "alien" language, (Lao books and newspapers were banned) and to only recognize the French language as the only of-

ficial vernacular (...). Illiteracy was inherent, and more than 95 per cent of the population was illiterate, and the French authorities never tried to eradicate it or even cope with it (Braunstein, 1978:162).

Later, Lao language classes were introduced into schools. Even so, the whole curriculum was still in French, except for Lao language and civic education (for more details, see Chanthala, 1972).

In contrast, in the former liberated zones (the Pathet Lao) a different image of education and society was found by a Lao scholar, who, at one time lived there before settling in France: "The new society that the Lao revolutionaries proposed to construct has the national characteristics of independence, liberty, democracy, equality and fraternity" (Norindr, 1979:466). In the liberated zones, which were heavily bombarded by American B52 bombers, the new state structure was formed under very difficult conditions for, "To hide during the day, and to work at night was the only possibility of surviving". Women needed to bury themselves in caves, as well as in forests. Despite the saturation bombing, the new "social fabric" was patiently constructed, piece by piece. One person had to perform several tasks, living as "an owl during the day, and a fox during the night". A woman was simultaneously a worker, member of the militia, a vegetable farmer, and a student or teacher attending classes, in conformity with the motto, "study well and teach well". In the educational system of the NLHX, the students schedule was divided between attending courses during the morning, and doing productive work (fetching water and wood, construction, repair

and maintenance of the school, raising fowls) during the afternoon. The evening was given over to political meetings (Norindr, 1979:450). The results were evident in the spectacular breakthroughs in the cultural, ideological and professional fields. Old men and women and all children went to school. Books were free. Today, those who learned to read and write under these very difficult conditions vividly remember it.

The rights of women and minorities were acknowledged and promoted. Women learnt not to be afraid of their husbands any more. Some conservative men were irked when hearing that men could have no special rights over women, although other agreed that it was a valid idea (Chomsky, 1970:456). Branfman (1972:80-81) recorded the reaction at the grassroots as follows when he interviewed one of those who fled the liberated zones:

As a young girl, I had found that the past had not been very good, for men had mistreated and made fun of women as the weaker sex. But after the Neo Lao party began to administer the region, if one makes a serious comparison, it became very, very different. On the subject of women, under the Neo Lao things changed psychologically, such as their teaching us that women should be as brave as men. For example, although I had gone to school before, my elders had advised me not to. They had said that it would not be useful for me as I could not hope to be a high-ranking official after graduation, that only the children of the elite or rich could expect

that. But the Neo Lao said that women should have the same education as men, and they gave us equal privileges and did not allow anyone to make fun of us. Women could also work. For example, I helped my parents plough and grow vegetables just the same as the men did (...). They encouraged husbands and wives to love one another; and women would do men's work and men would do women's work, each helping the other willingly (...). The Neo Lao had made men and women equal.

So for the first time in Lao history, the word equality was no longer an empty word. A woman enjoyed the same rights and accepted the same responsibilities as a man. Her vote counted as much as a man's vote. She could be a citizen, militia woman, soldier, functionary, militant, cadre, teacher, doctor or artist (Norindr, 1979:466). An educated Lao woman, Levy B.P. (1963:262) gives her impressions in these terms,

My experience is that of hundreds of others, except that Laotian women today, even the older ones, take an interest in politics, particularly in the area occupied by Pathet Lao, where groups of partisans instruct and train them. For my part, I had never been interested in political questions and I am grateful to my husband for having enlightened me.

When coping with third world problems, authors like to point out the lack of "po-

litical will". However, the case of Laos may bring some nuances to such an approach.

B- Roots Of A Powerful Conviction

Numbering more than half of the population, Lao women constitute the country's backbone. "Women constitute half of society; if they are not emancipated, half of society won't be liberated". This phrase from Lenin has been embodied in several aspects of the policy of the Lao ruling party. It is a heritage of socialism to handle this age old problem of humanity. For practical reasons also, if women constitute more than half of the population, to liberate them is to free the most important part of the working force which could positively influence the "other half", or the men. Until 1975, politics were not part of women's lives. According to the royal Lao dictum, "Women were not allowed to meddle in politics, nor monks in the affairs of the state". For the first time in Lao history, the documents of the First National Congress of the LPRP were released in March 22, 1955, followed by point eight of the Ten Point Program adopted on April 10 1964 by the Second National Congress of the NLHX. This was reproduced in Point Five (with more details) at the Third National Congress of the NLHX in November 1968 (see also Brown and Zasloff, 1986), in the Political Program of the Second National Congress of the LPRP (February 3, 1972) (Phomvihane, 1985, I), and in the new constitution. These points were promoted at the same time as gender equality, and put an end to social and political inequality among ethnic groups.

Representing the fundamental position of the NLHX, the sixth Point of the Program for Achieving Peace, Independence, Neutrality, Democracy, Unification and Prosperity adopted by the NPCC Plenary Sessions on May 10 and 24 1974 stipulated the following objectives:

To guarantee the rights and freedoms of men and women in all fields (...), and to assist women to raise the standard of their knowledge in all fields, and to help them increase their capacities, so they can contribute to all tasks of building and defending the country. To improve the living conditions of women of all ethnicities; to pay particular attention to the protection of mothers and children".

This policy was a political alliance during war which also applied in the post-war period, and was aimed to foster a social mobilisation of those excluded from the former regime, as well as to draw women from their political and social ghettos. The two problems were linked. Social barriers existed in the old regime which contributed to an attitude of looking down on the members of different ethnic groups as "The lowest orders in the human life" (Halpern, 1964a:92). Thus, women were oppressed twice, both on the grounds of sex and of ethnicity. In Laos post-1975, women took on various tasks in their daily life. Some measures have been adopted to lighten women's burdens and to allow them to receive a higher education. The adoption of Women's International Day was used to stress the importance of women in Lao society and to sensitize Lao men to the central role of women. However, the

promotion of women in Lao society has still been slow due to the survival of old beliefs and the fact that women's education compared to that of men's has been lower. Female literacy appears to be 10-15 per cent below that of males (Lao PDR's Report, 1989:29). Little or nothing has been done to educate men in order to change their biased conceptions about the inferiority of women. According to the official line, "Society must create a popular concept, the concept of equality between men and women and resolutely eradicate the mentality of insulting women" (Phomvihane, 1977:84-85; also, 1985,I:139). To avoid women and men committing "social promiscuity", in 1986, female workers were forbidden to go overseas with men if there were two men. Since the opening up of the country, women are allowed to travel with men. In October 1991, three business women went to Australia with two men to the International Trade Development Centre in Sydney (Khao Lao, 1991:22).

C- Redefining Worth

The Lao Women's Union is a vehicle for a system of values deeply rooted in "socialist" ideology, as evidenced for example by the "Three Goods, and Two Duties" (3 Di 2 Na2 Thi). The LWU was set up after the First National Congress in 1984.

The LWU's main concerns were formulated in its foundation document adopted in March 21, 1984. The document is dedicated to forming a "new" socialist woman. The LWU's statutes of March 21, 1984 state that:

Having a revolutionary virtue and professional training obligations

towards the revolution and socialism will be met according to the requirements of the "Three Goods, and Two Duties" (to be a good wife, a good mother and a good citizen), in the spirit of authentic internationalism combined with an ardent patriotism.

The first of the "Three Goods" is to be a good citizen. The fuller meaning is given in the first two pages of the document on the "Three Goods, and Two Duties", and includes patriotism, devotion to the new 'socialist' regime, fidelity to the party line and directives, and solidarity with all Lao ethnic minorities in order to contribute to the task of safeguarding and building the nation. According to a Lao reporter (Buakham 1987), the result from the mobilisation on the first motto was 85, 597 persons, while 79, 504 to the second one (ibid.).

The second good is to be a "good wife", reflecting traditional Lao cultural patterns. A "good spouse" must be faithful to her husband and must deserve his confidence. She helps him with advice to overcome obstacles. She and her husband should form a couple enhanced by equality, and by the absence of quarrels. She must provide all the conditions for her husband to work and study, and congratulate him when he succeeds. If he makes errors, she must have the courage to criticize him, and she must not hide his weaknesses or allow him to behave wrongly in pursuit of his wants. If the wife does wrong, she must acknowledge it in order for the couple to go forward. She must learn how to take care of the household, do embroidery and weaving, and keep the house clean according to the rule of the

"Three Cleanlinesses" in ways of living, eating and sleeping. A "good wife" must like and help her parents and her parents-in-law. She must show solidarity with her compatriots and the international proletariat.

The last of the "Three Goods, and Two Duties" is to be "a good mother", to be an educator of children. This requires women to learn how to care for children and appreciate child psychology. A mother must ensure that her children become good citizens. This is the heart of the document. The "Three Goods and Two Duties" gives a brief mention to the obligations incumbent on the "good husband". A "good husband" must be exemplary. He must instruct his wife and help her to achieve all tasks in order that they may go ahead together and become a couple without any strains. In following the "Three Goods, and Two Duties", the husband and wife will build and safeguard the country.

After a campaign of four years, 100,334 out of two million women in the country were reported as being good spouses (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:7; 1988c, 1:6). Judging by this number, a step had been taken to encourage females towards good behaviour as in ancient times; but comparing this number to the 501,797 families overall in the country by 1990, the campaign of "Three Goods, and Two Duties" looks less successful. The present "Three Goods" are slightly different from those previously mentioned. The Second National Congress of the LWU held in 1988 adopted a new orientation towards the "Three Goods and Two Duties". These required one to be a good citizen, a good builder of the family based on the new culture, and to develop solidarity; while the two main duties remained the same.

It seems paradoxical that the document on the "Three Goods, and Two Duties" has never been applied to men, who are simply supposed to behave as "good husbands". This point was made to the author by Khampheng Boupha, former president of the LWU on August 28 1988. The path of women's liberation is also related to men, whether in the factories, the plantation, the farms or the offices. Education aimed at developing good gender relationships should perhaps begin with those most responsible, the men. The Second National Congress of Lao Women decided that the document on the "Three Goods and Two Duties" should be applied to both sexes (Report of the LWU, 1988a:54,56). In the past, men have never had their own organisation to educate themselves on gender issues and problems. When interviewed by the author on September 29, 1988, the former president of the LWU, Khampheng Boupha stated that, "In many areas, the people and the official cadres understood the meaning of this campaign differently. They thought that it concerned only women." The "Three Goods, and Two Duties" is not dissimilar to the centuries-old teaching of Na:ng Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom Rajathirai (1967), and in that it concentrates on womanhood, and the mothering role of women.

Ideally the members of a family and society are equal. Meals are taken and are an opportunity to discuss a wide range of concerned issues in order to create understanding and draw valuable knowledge from this. In reality, Lao women today can not be silent as in the ancient time. If their husbands want to treat them as they were treated in the former society, they are not afraid to criticize them, even in public, as a foreign scholar stated in 1978 (Braunstein, 1978:279). In meetings of the LWU's section at the ministry level, many Lao women talked courageously about the misde-

meanour of their husbands in order to pool a kind of collective energy to correct them. They no longer what they were before, such as "Women are the ministers of Finance and of the Interior", similar to Vietnamese women known as "the Generals of the Interior". However, this is not a general phenomenon, and progress is slow.

D- The Fledgling Arm of the Women's Agenda

Youth, workers, peasants, and women are represented in the Party's mass organisations. The women's association "is deemed for women to be the appropriate framework for them to become conscious of their struggle and their solidarity." (Braunstein, 1978:73; Report of the LWU, 1986:4).

A Long tradition of Struggle

The first women's organisation was the Kohng yuvanari, or the Women's Unit established in many towns before the end of the Second World War. Songs, such as yuvanari, or nying lav kao2 kheun2 (Go Forward Lao Women) were written to mobilise Lao women throughout the country (Report of the LWU, 1986; Ngaosyvathn, 1993d).

On July 20 1955, in the same year as the foundation of the party, the LPWA was also established in northern Laos. The Association's statutes aimed "to mobilise women of all ethnic minorities and of all social strata in the struggle for national liberation" (Report of the LWU, 1986:77).

As a transmitter for the LPRP the Association fulfilled its mission, and reports from women themselves illustrated the problems of this period. After the liberation of the whole country, and at its First National Congress organised in 1984 the name of the women's association was changed from the LPWA to the Lao Women's Union (Report of the LWU, 1986:5).

A Centralized Structure

The LWU began with the establishment of a nucleus and then expanded with the creation of branches at first confined to two provinces in the north of Laos. A former Prime Minister stressed that, "The Association had bases in all the liberated zones even if the system of organisation was not very solid" (ibid. 4). With the liberation rapidly expanding, the structure of the Association grew too.

Before 1975, the headquarters of the Association were always in the liberated zone, but a branch was instituted in Vientiane.

Women's activists at the grassroots were called "cells of solidarity". The Association's cells were organized at all levels, as well as in the work places, such as ministries and enterprises. Only the members of the Association were regrouped in cells in these bases. Women not yet co-opted as full members were in the "solidarity cells". At this time, the cell presidents were not elected but designated by the top level of the organisation, approved by the general assembly, and then ratified by the top level. The mandate was initially for one year, but might

extend up to three years or more, according to the circumstances of each local cell. The president nominated two other members to help her. The LPWA had its local cells at each level (previous statute:2), and comprised a managerial group of 11 to 13 members. At the provincial level, had nine to 11 members,; there were seven to nine at the district level, five to seven at the sub-district level, three to five at the village level, and one to three people at the hamlet level. This widespread organisation with branches at grassroots levels provided guidance and education to women in both the cities and in the countryside.

This pyramidal structure operated until the First National Congress of the LWU held in 1984, when the statute of the organisation was modified in line with the changing socio-economic and political situation of the country. Article five of the new regulations stated that there would be four levels of management in the organisation, these being the central, provincial, district and the village levels. Each level has its own executive bureau. At the central level, the executive bureau is composed of nine members placed under the responsibility of the president of the LWU, and assisted by a number of deputies (Article 15). The president is a member of the Party's Central Committee (as was the former president, and the newly elected president). The working bodies of the executive bureau consist of several departments, which are responsible for the activities of LWU in certain areas, such as organisation, foreign relations, nursing or information. Departments are further divided into numerous sections responsible for executing policies. At the national and provincial levels, the executive committee is elected for five years, and at lower levels

for three years (article 12, and on their formation see article 10/3). The LWU Congress elects new presidents at the central, provincial and municipal levels once every five years (articles 12 and 17), once every three years at the district level, and annually at the hamlet and local levels (articles 10, 12). At the grassroots, there are the cells, and each comprises at least five members. The number of cells in a province is variable.

Before 1984, all women over 15 years could apply for membership, but after this date, the age was raised to 17. According to the regulations adopted at the First National Congress of Lao Women in 1984, members included: "All progressive women, without any distinction of class, ethnicity or religion are patriotic, loving peace, hate the enemy and share solidarity with the people of the whole country, can apply to be a member. To be a member, a woman must agree with the present regulations and must not have participated in the activities and organisations of the reactionaries." In fact, membership is very selective. The applicant must have not only an irreproachable political background, but also, most importantly, she must have political credentials. Professional qualifications are not sufficient, but revolutionary virtue is essential; as in a Maoist slogan: "Red first, and Expert". It may take many months to consider a candidacy before the candidate is nominated to become politically active in a "cell of solidarity".

With its structured and well-rooted organisation, the LWU should be the ideal instrument for the cause of women's liberation. However, because of its very limited budgetary allotment, small number of personnel and scant

resources, the organisation is confined to what appear to be basic activities. At the provincial level, and in some districts, there were not enough leading female cadres (Report of the LWU, 1988b:12). After stressing the positive output of the women's organisation, in his speech at the First National Congress of Lao Women, the former Prime Minister devoted a long passage to criticising its weaknesses (Report of the LWU, 1986:15-19). Ireson (1992:19) reminds us that,

The socialist government established an official mass organization for women. Initially, this organization was weak and focussed solely on mobilising women to support the new order.

A former Lao Prime Minister noted,

The extension of membership is slow. A great number of women are still left outside the organisation. The conditions of admission are too severe and do not conform to the characteristics of a large mass organisation. (Report of the LWU, 1986:17).

A similar situation has already occurred in Vietnam. As Nguyen Thi Dinh, president of the Vietnamese Women's Union stressed: "Activities of the Women's Union have not changed fast enough to keep up with the demands of the new revolutionary situation" (Quinn-Judge, 1983:3).

For example, in the Vientiane municipality in 1986, there were only 199 cells at the hamlet level, 22 at the sub-district level,

and nine at the district level, comprising in all 26, 848 women (Phanthalangsi, 1986:2), while the total female population was 390,200 (State Statistical Centre, 1988:15). So the total number of cells in the entire country was 10,200 (Vientiane Mail, 9 December, 1986; Bouakham, 1987), and by 1988 it had increased to 15,914 (Report of the LWU, 1988a:41). Back in 1964, there were only 1,000 members (Cf. interview, Sitphaxay, September 1st, 1988). In two decades, from 1964 to 1984, the number had increased to 425,021 (Report of the LWU, 1986:108). In 1986, there were 446,141 (Bouakham, 1987), and in 1988, there were 496,032 or 27.09 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:9; 1988c, 1:8) of the whole female population of 2,009,400 (State Statistical Centre, 1988:14; 1989:14). In view of the relatively small percentage of the female population, the LWU's plan is to increase its membership by up to 50 per cent by the year 2,000 (Report of the LWU, 1988a:77). The data shows a slow increase in the whole country of at least 2,000,000 females, one quarter of whom are members. Before, to be a member was an honour and gave prestige, now it is seen as a task to be fulfilled. In a personal interview with the author on August 27 1988, Khampheng Boupha said that, "Women at the local level would not work on the activities of the women's movement, we must rotate them, but they will not co-operate fully. They said they have children and did not have enough time to voluntarily help women's activities, but in fact, there are kindergartens to take care of their children." Women preferred not to be involved in the women's movement directly. The same problem is found in Vietnam which might be expected to be more structured in this area. In 1983, Nguyen Thi Dinh, president of the Vietnamese Women's Union said in 1983, "In many places, women do not yet feel

close to our organization" (Quinn-Judge, 1983:3). A similar situation was also found in the former USSR, even 70 years after the Russian Revolution: "In our country, for some reason, there is not a serious women's movement (...). Women's voices are audible only in their kitchens" (The Boston Globe, 1988). The same situation has also occurred in Cambodia, as Flemming (1984:442) found,

The Women's Association appears to be just another branch of the government's bureaucracy (...) [and] seems to have played a similarly ineffective role in mobilising women at village level. Again, it appears to have been created by the leadership for little other purpose than to promote the Party line (...). This demonstrates how little women's emancipation has advanced in Kampuchea, and shows how such progress depends directly on government policy.

Although partly resulting from excessive bureaucratisation, as in other communist countries, the low performance is attributable to local reasons too. One of the reasons is that the LWU is a front organisation for the party. Although it is more than 35 years old and has done a lot for the ideological education of Lao women, and its organisation extends throughout the whole country, it is short of funds and cadres, and has done little to alleviate the fate of women in their daily life and work. The LWU has heavily stressed its policy of gender rights, but gender equality is still elusive. A researcher noted: "Women's consciousness of their own rights is still at a very low level...Hence, despite the

greater economic role of Lao women today, the gender relations in Laos have undergone very few changes" (Ng Shui Meng, 1988b:65). The blust is given by an inhabitant of the Lao remote capital as reported by the Bangkok Post (25 March, 1989) is revealing: "Women's rights? I don't know of any thing much about it in Vientiane." The under-development of the country has had a harmful effect on women, and the challenges are immense for them, while change takes place very slowly. Again a similar situation obtains in Cambodia as Curtis G. (1989:166) states: "the Association seems to view its work as being charity related rather than directed to developing its members' capacity to manage projects or programmes of direct benefit to women."

A New Role With New Challenges

The LWU insists the formation of the "new" woman according to the motto of the "Three Goods and Two Duties". The new statute of the LWU strongly emphasized that: "The organization helps to awaken women to their liberation, to achieve equality between genders, to praise the heroic role of the women during the war, and identify the exploitation of women under imperialism."

With the era of international detente, the Lao Women's Union has been making some openings up to the Western world. In the past, it confined its relations to Eastern Bloc countries in the past but recently its cadres have begun to exchange experiences with those of Thailand, Indonesia, France, Australia, or Sweden.

Lao women have made valuable gains in the

last fifteen years. There is however, still much to be done, and much human potential that still needs to be developed. The challenge is to defend and preserve gains made, while extending them into every area of life so that all women, men and children will benefit.

2/ OLD VALUES AND NEW IDEOLOGY

Your hands tell your tale
 ever so poignantly;
 Heavy as the weight
 on your shoulders
 Light as the kiss of dead, dying
 babies
 Emptied of lovers
 who wanted them gentle
 Full of children to raise,
 to rise
 From the days of hunger
 From the depths of wretchedness
 They soak in soap all week
 Press the iron, till the soil
 There is no rest, no end
 To the barter of flesh and bone
 They are gnarled and chafed,
 In strength, they speak of
 tenderness

(Rosalida V. Pineda, in *Asia and Pacific*, 1989:101).

Given the general level of poverty, their domestic burdens, and their social status, women continue to encounter the same set of problems. The conditions for women in rural

areas, and their problems, are shared with those working in the towns, although these urban dwellers have their own particular problems. Wherever they live, Lao women share the same aspirations in their daily life, and participate together in the greater tasks which mobilize the whole country.

Ideologically, new structures had difficulty taking shape while the old kept their strength. This is a difficult issue, which often wrecks attempts to reform society in the third world. Laos has also experienced such a conflict with the old insiduously subverting the new ideology, and taking over again with ease.

A- The Traditional Burdens Of Rural Women.

Women shoulder workloads unknown to men, and are often pushed to the limit. This unbearable situation still continues today (see for example, Macdonalds, 1987:2), for one typical case among many others portrays the daily struggle for existence of a rural woman overloaded with work. A study made in 1985 by Maroczy (1985a:14) gives a break-down of tasks that women must undertake. As well as being a mother, rural women must fulfill the household duties which comprise their daily routine.

B- The Restless Pregnancy: Much More Rest and Fewer Children

The first and heaviest load for women are the endless pregnancies and taking care of the children. This has been the case in all generations from the traditional

society to the present. Women may want to reduce this burden, but they often can not (Ireson C., 1988).

Sexuality

The concept of sexuality for most Lao people, as for people in many underdeveloped societies, is a mass of taboos, because Lao traditional social values are conservative. In the family as in the schools, this subject has never been one for discussion, and is still not even today (Lutheran of Immigration and Refugee Services, 1978; Dore, 1981; Ngao-syvathn, 1993a). It is never discussed even in the private realm of people's lives. Women are generally very shy when faced with questions regarding sexual behaviour (Pfister, 1989:72). Sex topics are considered immoral. Generally, in contemporary literature or folk tales, there is no mention of explicit sexual behaviour. Until recently, many modern Lao songs did not even focus on love, but mostly on economic production and "revolution", where love is allowed and marriage performed only after the harvest or after finishing the dam construction, the road, the school, or the hospital.

Boys and girls do not know how the body develops. "Most Lao village women are aware that sexual intercourse may result in pregnancy, but they do not seem to have any knowledge of the biological process involved, i.e. the sperm, the ovum, and fertility", noted Pfister (1989:45), an American scholar. It is estimated that 99 per cent of rural Lao women and roughly 98 per cent of urban Lao women do not know what sperm and ovum are. A girl would not know when to expect the changes of puberty, when she will begin menstruation, what the

consequences are, or how to cope. "Some young people have never heard the words for the sexual parts of the body or language describing sexual behaviour", stated one scholar (Merchant, 1987:18). When many young girls have their first menstrual period, they think that they have been bitten by a leech. When, when they ask their mothers, they are told "it is only nature". They do not know the facts about pregnancy. Nowadays, teenagers of both sexes are not completely ignorant of sexuality. Although their knowledge of conception and contraception is relatively poor, they do learn something, at least from friends, and foreign television or videos, but they do not receive a thorough sex education. On the one hand, traditionally, premarital sex and pregnancy were not supposed to be discussed in public, a situation which still holds true today. On the other hand, as if to exorcize a taboo, Lao people are inclined to joke about a boy's organ, and even give it as a nickname to children in rural areas. Furthermore up to the 1950s, also against sexual taboos, particularly in Luang Prabang, women would capture men and demand a ransom during the New Year celebration (Dore, 1987). Up to 1975, they took the opportunity to rub mud or colors in the men's bodies (see in Northern Thailand, in Nan, McMorran, 1984; Davis, 1974). The Tai people who live nowadays in Sipsong Panna and the areas adjoining Burma gave two of their cities 100 km apart the names of meuang hi (the "yoni"city, or "female city") and meuang ham (the "lingam" city, or "male city") (Rispaud, 1961:1855).

Furthermore, sexuality permeates some festivals and rituals. Before the onset of the rainy season, one of the most popular Lao festivals is the "Boun Bang-Fay", the

rocket festival, traditionally performed in May, the sixth month of the Lao calendar. During this event and as part of their entertainment, men disguised in female clothes (and women in male clothes), gather in groups and sing songs with transparent sexual allusions, and show an artificial female and male sex organ. Villagers carry "Furiously coupling male and female marionettes called zobistes, exhibiting homemade bawdy pictures to the crowd, and waving crudely painted wooden phalli at the ladies, who titter. All this helps the crops to grow", an American traveller reported in the 1950s (Meeker, 1959:83). Since most of them are drunk, nobody blames them for bad behaviour. In fact, people of both sexes, particularly young girls, laugh at such entertainment. This event is a fertility rite before the start of the rice growing season (Faure, 1959b). Sexuality is also expressed in other rites, such as trance states' (Dore, 1979).

Sexual Abstinence

Unlike the Chinese tradition, which forbids the husband from having sex with his wife after giving birth, the Lao traditions do not expressly forbid the husband and wife having sexual relations during the post-natal period. But most older people believe that the husband will be tempted to "rape" his wife during her first early period of confinement, by the fire after giving birth. As a Lao saying goes 'the stoves are still hot, a woman becomes pregnant again'. To avert this temptation for the husband, and to prevent the woman becoming pregnant again too quickly, old people, in particular the mother of a young wife, prefer to come and take care of the

daughter during the period of penitence, commonly called yul fay (lying by the fire) or yul kam (in penitence).

Sexual relations for widows before remarriage are socially unacceptable. The widow is traditionally permitted to be remarried only when her husband has been dead for three years.

Sexuality is more generally controlled through an elaborate cultural belief system in which sex is associated with sin and not with pleasure. For instance, the 14th point of the Twelve Rites and Fourteen Traditions prohibited sexual intercourse during the holy Buddhist days (occurring, two to four times per month), the Buddhist Lent Day (in July-August), and the New Year days (Bouphanouvong, 1970:50). The majority of Lao women interviewed by the author in two factories (cited below) said that making love is another burden compounding the heap already weighing on them.

Family Planning and Birth Control

The first impulse of the Lao is to ask new acquaintances, "How many children do you have?". In opposition to the one child family policy in overpopulated China, or one or two in Vietnam, the Lao, who have a great feeling of wide space, like to have many children. In almost all marriage ceremonies, while seated in front of the basi-sukhuan tray (Ngaosy-vathn, 1990), the bride and the groom receive words of blessings, with white threads joining both of them. The many friends, siblings, and even the master of the marriage ceremony will bless the newly married couple with the ritual formulae: "May you have a house full of chil-

dren and then of grandchildren, to fill the city" (Archaimbault, 1959c:136; see also Pfister, 1989:46).

Buddhist belief considers human and animal lives are sacred. On the one hand, Lao people are prepared to have many children, and leave it all to heaven, as noted in a Lao saying: "It depends on merits and misfortunes done during the former life" (Thongsith and Phongsouvanh, n.d.). Pregnancy is considered to be a natural state for a married woman (Pfister, 1989:49). Moreover, having many children also means social prestige for the father (as does having many wives), and he considers them a source of manpower for economic production and for his security. It is not unusual to find a Lao woman feeding a dozen children or more. However, a more recent figure from the 1988 census seems to suggest a more moderate family size with six people being the average (Lao PDR, 1988 Report; Lao PDR's Report, 1989).

The Lao believe that the foetus of a three month pregnant woman has a soul. If the foetus dies through miscarriage, they believe the child does not want to be born with the mother or it belonged to the wrong mother. If the mother wants to destroy the foetus by abortion, she is guilty of a crime against her own child, and it is a sin. Because of this belief, even if they are very poor, Lao women bear many children until they are no longer physically fit. Moreover, due to this belief it is very difficult to encourage family planning. However, a 1970 study conducted by Wolff and Donnan (1970) among prostitutes found that girls knew of contraceptives, although their use, except for the condom, is almost nil. Nearly two decades later, in 1989, Nancy Volk found during her

field trip in Vientiane's suburbs that birth control was mainly confined to the use of Depo-Provera, which was brought by the staff of the Public Health Ministry to women in these areas. Again according to Nancy Volk (1990), only a small number of women used the pills. Men do not want to use condoms, and they easily become a joking matter in the village.

The new government encouraged a birth policy aimed at increasing the national population. As in other countries of the same political persuasion, such as in the former USSR (The Boston Globe, 1988), there is currently in Laos no policy at all for providing free contraception or family planning (Population Briefing Paper 1987). In the 1980's, stating that the nation was still under-populated, the government accelerated the pace towards population growth, although there no adequate measures were taken to sustain this trend. There was no specific laws or policies prohibiting the use of contraceptives, but there was also no policy permitting or promoting family planning. Before 1989, as there was no specific laws or orders prohibiting abortion, a woman went seek help from a private clinic. If she died, and if the practitioner was caught, he or she was sued for manslaughter. The 1989 Criminal Code stipulates in article 85 that abortion is now illegal. If no death occurs, the practitioner will be sentenced from two to five years' imprisonment. If death occurs, he will be sentenced to between five to ten years' imprisonment. A woman who has requested the abortion will be sentenced from three months to one year of imprisonment.

Until recently, the government's birth policy and the tradition of a large family caused a rapid rate of demographic growth, the highest in the region at 2.9 per cent per year (Sukhaphab, 1987). The crude birth rate is upward of 46 per 1,000 (Lao PDR's Report, 1989; Pfister, 1989:18), and the infant mortality rates is above 200/1000 (Ljunggren, 1992:173). In 1988, 45 per cent of females were of reproductive age (Pfister, 1989:18), and fertility was very high at 6.8 children per woman (World Bank, 1990:20). At the same time, life expectancy for women is only 46 of age (EIU, 1988-89:28).

In about 1984, a new trend was initiated in reaction to many problems derived from the former policy. As in the State of Cambodia where a birth spacing policy was officially accepted in 1988 (Curtis G., 1989), so in Laos a campaign of birth spacing began for "females of reproductive age" for the first time since the new regime. The LWU began to be sensitive to the stress on women over this issue (Report of the LWU, 1986:45), but it was only in 1988 that some projects were initiated (Vongsak, 1988: 2,5). At present, opinion is in favour of the promotion of family spacing as a means of improving maternal and child health. The ideal number, according to Lao planners in 1990 is to have a family with less than four to five children by the year 2,000, with a space of two to three years between each child (Pholsena, 1990). According to our 1988 survey, on the question of the desired number of children per family, 90 per cent of 117 women workers at the Tobacco Factory and at the Weaving Factory in Vientiane, aged between 20 to 54, said that their first need was to have fewer children, with the ideal number being two to four (boys and girls). Only 10 per cent said they wanted more than four.

However, 90 per cent said that they did not know how to stop and did not know any contraceptive methods. If a woman does not desire more children, she does not know what to do (Ireson C., 1988:49), or from whom to seek advice, because information on this subject is not available from either family services or the private sector. The Bangkok Post (25 March, 1989) found a similar situation among women in Vientiane: "The birth control? NO, we didn't have". So illegally and discreetly, some urban women have used pills received from their siblings living overseas or even through merchants from Thailand.

C- The Challenges For Urban Women

The situation facing Lao women in terms of workload does not differ between the remote parts of the country and the towns, where there are some advantages of modern life. Only the type of problems changes, while the basic problem remains the same.

"Equal pay for equal work" or "Same diploma for the same position"; these mottos of the First International Congress of Unions convened in 1921, were espoused by the LWU long before the political change in Laos in 1975. One former Programme of Action of the LWU stated that, "With the same work, women and men must have the same salary". This has since been implemented, but the situation of "same diploma for same position" has still not been achieved, in particular in the private enterprise, although the government claims to ensure a woman a job according to her ability. Progress has occurred, when compared with the previous situation (LeBar and Suddard, 1967; Turton, 1977). For example, the two female managers

interviewed at the Tobacco Factory in 1988 said that they had the same position as deputy chief of branches and earned the same salary as men.

However, the attention of the party and of the state wanes, the old prejudices against women resurface.

Do More With a Few: Gender Equality and Its Discrepancies

The proportion of women in the party membership is very small. The reasons for this, are numerous.

Despite the construction of many kindergartens, women have problems coping with their children. They must care for them, so their husbands can get to the office on time. As a result women are late for work or absent. Women are also victimized in the selection process for party membership in the following way. No woman is represented in the politburo, which is the main decision-making body in the country. At the Second National Congress of the LPRP in 1972, only one woman among 14 men was elected, as an alternate member (Thayer, 1983:90). Since 1955 she had served as president of the LWU. At the Third National Congress of the LPRP held in 1982, four women, one of them again the president of the LWU, were elected to the CC of 49 members (Political Documents of the Third Congress of the LPRP, 1982:207). The Fourth National Congress of the LPRP was held four years later in 1988, and out of 51 full members elected to the CC, four were women, with an additional one woman elected an alternate member (out of nine)

(Political Documents of the Fourth Congress of the LPRP, 1986:303-304). By March 1991, at the Fifth National Congress of the LPRP, two more women were appointed as full members and two others as alternate members. Sisomphone Lovanxay, who was Vice-President of the SPA, and Head of the Organisation Department of the CC of the party, and responsible for the promotion of cadres in both the party and the administration, was asked by the author about this under-representation of women. He responded flatly that "women do not meet all the requirements." In 1988, of the 27.09 per cent of the female members of the LWU, 40 per cent are in the LPRV, 19.44 per cent were in the FLTU, and 9.19 per cent were members of the LPRP (Report of the LWU, 1988a:42). This low ratio is not surprising because even nationwide, the total LPRP membership before 1986 was only 43,000 (Stuart-Fox, 1986:66; Mikheev, 1985:58). This accounts for only 1.5 per cent of the 3,584,804 inhabitants in the 1985 census. According to the 1985 census, the population of Vientiane municipality totalled 377,409 (males are 193,136, and 184,237 are females), but only 198 women, or 0.10 percent, were members of the LPRP (Pasason, Feb. 26, 1988). Women are under-represented as heads of the LPRP cells. Meanwhile in the State of Cambodia, only one woman was a member of the Politburo of the Cambodian People's Party (Curtis G., 1989:160). In the former USSR, more than 70 years after the Russian Revolution, only two women had been appointed to the politburo (Keller, 1989), and women only represented 29 per cent of Communist Party members, and 7 per cent of secretaries of district Communist Party Committees (Rosenberg 1989:20). A Japanese scholar, Takeko Inuma (1992:3) noted that "the female political representation has decreased in the post revolutionary period". The low number of women in

political bodies stems from the popular belief that it is still largely 'men's territory' and often incompatible with women's roles as housewives and mother's lives.

In fact, politically, men and women fought together for the independence of the country, and today women shoulder with men a wide range of duties. They are more educated than before and have obtained qualifications in all activities and fields to build up as well as to safeguard the country. The differentiation of general roles is manifested at all levels of socio-economic and cultural life. However, if we compare the situation with the former regime, during any period of history from 1893 to the collapse of the kingdom of Laos, we see that women had never been members of the government. Under the new regime, women have at least been promoted to various positions in government, even though there are still few women at the highest levels. Thus women still have limited input in policy-making. In the government, one woman was nominated to the level of vice-minister, and was then appointed as president of the National Bank in 1982. A similar situation was also found in the former State of Cambodia (one woman of ministerial rank, as vice-minister of Health, Boua, 1980:11). Nine years later in Laos, after the Fifth National Congress of the LPRP in March 1991, four women were appointed as vice-ministers (Education, Health, LWU, and FLTU). There has also been some progress in the employment of women in different occupations, and in positions of high responsibility as directors in some ministries. In 1982, a table of the LWU produced by UNICEF (1987:70) illustrated the low representation of women in key decision-making positions at the director/managerial level in some important ministries. For example, there were three

women to 33 men at the directorial level in the Agriculture Ministry. In the Public Health Ministry, there was one woman to 12 men at the level of director. In the Ministry of Industry there were four women compared to 37 men.

In 1988, the Second National Congress of the LWU recorded that women represent 60 per cent of the active work force in the agricultural sector (Report of the LWU, 1988a:32; 1988c:5).

Most government functionaries and technicians are men (...). Directors and heads of factories and work unit are almost entirely male (...). Women are not proportionately represented among the government ministers, though rarely a ministerial department may be headed by a woman or a woman may very occasionally head the ministry's provincial office,

noted Ireson C. et al. (1989: 8, 12). Manivone Viravong (1987:8) had already found a similar situation, "Women are less visible in local and national politics and government." However, in the qualified professions known as women's work, women are over-represented (Inuma, 1992), for example, on the staff of kindergartens, where 95.62 per cent of the workers are female (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5). Lao women do play an important role in economic activities, and according to the 1985 Census, females represented 831,032 out of a total of 1,601,535 in the work force in the national economy. However, the Lao PDR has one of the most gender-segmented societies in the world. This means that women are concentrated in certain occupations, such as teaching and

nursing. By comparison to other societies, in Laos, these two occupations are not an enthusiastic area.

Women are heavily concentrated in the distribution sector, where 95 per cent of the workers are females (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5; 1988c, 1:4). The third highest area of women's employment was in the field of handicraft production, where they represented 80 per cent of industrial workers (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:4; 1988c, 1:4). In the public health service, female nurses were 71.54 per cent of the total (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:6; 1988c, 1:5). Women provided most of the low level civil servants, such as secretaries, typists and clerks (Vongsak, 1988:2; Inuma, 1992:3). In government services, only 22 per cent of employees are women (ibid.). In the activities of state-run enterprises, where normally female employees normally fare better, they still make up only 51.88 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:4; 1988c, 1:4), the majority of whom are labourers. Very few are enterprise heads (Heyzer and Boon Kean, 1988), one exception being the head of the Phon Tohng2 Weaving Co-Operative. This Co-operative subcontracted female weavers from outside the factory, and in return they produced silk and cotton for them (interview, September 8, 1987 and August 11, 1988; for more see Adams, 1987; Ng Shui Meng, 1987a; 1988). It is exactly these co-operatives that were the first to function without financial support from the state and have been revealed to be more productive than those which are state-sponsored. "It's not without surprise that an independent non-governmental women's organisation serves to educate a predominantly male government on their needs and possible roles in women's production", wrote Adams (1987:3), after visiting this Phon Tohng2 Weaving Co-

operative in 1985. At the Hong Ngane Ya Sub (the Tobacco Factory eight kilometres away from Vientiane), according to my survey in the field on August 10 and 11, 1988, there were ten work units total of 117 female and 92 male workers. Only two units were managed by women, and the three standing committee members of the factory were all men. A similar situation was found at Hong Ngane Keua Khok Sa At (the Salt Factory, 25 kilometres far from Vientiane) in an interview conducted on August 12 1988, it was found that this factory comprised four work units (of 225 male and 71 female workers), which were administrated exclusively by men.

In many countries, in the profession of teaching, female teachers fill the role of "second mother": it is a typical female occupation. It is paradoxical that in the Lao PDR, teaching has dropped from being a highly respected profession to one of the least attractive (Wu, 1983:6). The number of female staff in the Ministry of Education totals only 50 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5; 1988c, 1:5). In the 1985 census, women accounted for 10,652 out of a total of 30,003 in the education and cadre-training sector. The under-representation of women is even more stark at the primary level, with the number of female schoolteachers at the primary level being only 25.50 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5; 1988c, 1:5). However, 95.62 per cent of kindergarten teachers are women (Report of the LWU, 1988a:35; 1988b, 1:5). At the local level, the situation is similar (see for instance, Ireson's 1989 survey). At the secondary level, female schoolteachers make up only 23.42 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5; 1988c, 1:5), and in the high schools, 32.97 per cent (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:5). In the health sector, despite slogans

such as 'Medical doctors have a good heart' like mothers' (a rendering similar to the Vietnamese slogan "A doctor is like a good mother", White, 1981:231), females in the 1985 census totalled 5,728 out of 10,056 workers. More than one decade later, women made up only 48.08 per cent of health workers; 41.79 per cent of female assistant-physicians, and 57.05 per cent of physicians (Report of the LWU, 1988b, 1:6; 1988c, 1:5). To summarize, in the sectors mentioned above, considered as female "jobs", women are not represented in the numbers one might expect.

Women are also under-represented in political positions at the grassroots, such as the head of the administrative hierarchy. Heads of village, sub-district, district or province, are overwhelmingly men (Ng Shui Meng, 1987; Ireson C., 1988; Pfister, 1989; Inuma, 1992). Ireson et al. (1989:12) pointed out, "I have never met or heard of a woman, district chief, sub-district leader, or village head, though a few may exist". Ireson C. (1988:15-6) further noted:

While socialist ideology recognizes the importance of women in the construction of a socialist Laos, little has been done to improve women's situation (...). Gender equality is ritually espoused by government officials, but no effective measures have been taken in the political arena, the legal arena, or in social practices to change the traditionally subordinate position of women.

This shortcoming is not particular to Laos. A similar situation occurred in the former USSR.

One of the two women in the politburo, Mrs Biryukova, stated that, "Few women have advanced to the upper ranks of Soviet power (...). They [women] rarely rise to the top" (Keller, 1989:10).

To Leave the Office So As To Produce as Well as to Trade.

For women, working is a matter of survival in Laos. It is remarkable to see these women create their own income strategies to alleviate poverty. The household work is invisible in national accounts, and undervalued as "unpaid family labour", but by working outside of the role of home-maker to earn some money, women can improve their capacity to make decisions, and this in turn means an increase in levels of self-reliance.

The co-operativisation policy was launched in 1978 (see Evans, 1990), and women are beginning to regroup themselves into commercial co-operatives, particularly in the weaving sector. Some rural women want to cease focussing on rice production if it is possible to work full time at weaving (Ireson C., 1988).

Laos is experiencing rapid development and change, economically and socially; and it is inevitable that its women will be affected by these changes. In fact, with the government's new policy of openness towards international trade, many women were encouraged to leave low paid civil service jobs to help foster what is officially called the "family economy", with a view to earning more money for the survival of the family, and incidentally for the country's economy. This shift is gaining momentum with the increasing number of government personnel

being fired, as a result of drastic budget tightening. This policy began in the 1980s. Proportionately, there used to be more women in the civil service than men, because in 1976 all the workers'wives and relatives from the former liberated zones, like those from the Vientiane zone, were integrated in the state in a melting pot fashion. Those who had never typed learned to do so. Others were allocated to work in kindergartens or in sectors not requiring any particular knowledge. The Bangkok Post (25 March, 1989) reported that, "To earn extra cash, some government officials have their wives run personal businesses in the market, although this phenomenon is not much talked about." An "early and voluntary retirement" really materialised in 1985-1986. Since then, women have become more involved in trade, while men have dominated the political arena. Ireson et al.(1989:13) stated: "Since government salaries are so low, spouses of government workers must either engage in farming or gardening activities or work in the private sector to adequately support their families." In the Vientiane market, women are in the great majority. "Markets are populated predominantly by women as both sellers and buyers", stated Viravong M. (1987:8). These Lao women deal quite well with trade because they have traditionally been traders. They act as shop-keepers, street-side sellers of fresh vegetables or prepared food. There are women managers. Recently, in Vientiane, women have begun to appear in marketing as the owner or the manager, director, president of the company, as for example at the Lao Inter Trade Inc., the Clothing Factory, the Bamboo Trade Co, Ltd. (Khao Lao, October 1991:22), or Tourism Office.

The 'openness' introduced into Laos has had also a good effect. The 1988 foreign invest-

ment code gives opportunities for women to trade. They have become dominant in the trading sub-sector. They are on the move economically, and have control over their own earnings, only because a male would be too ashamed to accept money from a female. Thus, females have increased negotiating positions and entered a different work role as an income-earner, or even as sole family support and breadwinner (see the Lao in Australia, Saykao, 1985; Ngaosyvathn, 1993a). Women's autonomy in trade influences a couple's decisions in the family. In my field survey, in the Vientiane morning market, the market committee members interviewed said that there were 506 stalls, of which 318 were owned by Lao people, selling mostly clothing and handicraft with 24 entrepreneurs selling gold. The stalls in the market were managed by husband and wife. The husband plays the role of "buyer" or "runner" of goods to feed the stall. The wife sells or buys. The license was registered under the wife's name according to the agreement of both.

For the sake of economic self-sufficiency, many women left their office employment and became goods buyers or sellers of their own vegetables, fruits and poultry to the market. In Laos today, it is not unusual that families tend to survive economically by helping each member more than in the past and every member contributes to the work, such as in breeding chickens, or pressing sugar cane water for soft drinks. In fact, the work is divided between each member, as Kasetseri et al. (1987:142) stated, "The mother turns the machine for the sugar, the father puts the cane into the machine, the grandmother peels it".

3/ THE DYNAMICS OF FEMALE EXPERIENCES: BARRIERS, OUTCOMES AND SHORTCOMINGS

Through efforts in three fields, the liberation of Lao women was promoted. However, some shortcomings are unavoidable when facing the grim reality of scarce financial resources, as well as lack of management.

The country's economic problems give a particular feature to women's issues in the field of education, in social policy and in the work place.

A- Equality Through Education

In Laos, it was historically only men who were initiated into the pagoda's teachings. The project to bring educational practices out of the middle ages and into the present day, particularly regarding women, took shape through the universal teaching of literacy and the professional training given to women.

In 1975, 60 per cent of the Lao population was illiterate, including 95 per cent of women over 45 years of age (Boupha, 1977:2; Vongsak, 1988:2). Illiteracy among ethnic minorities was higher; for example, among the Hmong, illiteracy was 99 per cent (Yang Dao, 1974; see also Lee, 1982). Under the new regime, Lao of both sexes had the right and the opportunity to learn to read and write. In the early years of the foundation of the Lao PDR, one of the main measures taken by the new regime was to eradicate illiteracy in order to

foster the development of people's political consciousness. In the words of a foreign researcher who was in Laos in 1978, "literacy gives to the people the conscience of their dignity and the possibility of development" (Braunstein 1978:312). The implementation of this policy was due to "revolutionary will" rather than financial or material means. As the previous Lao Prime Minister stressed, "to eradicate illiteracy, we appeal to the party, the army and all our citizens to promote the spirit of revolutionary heroism which permitted us in the past to crush the enemy, in order to crush today's ignorance, our new adversary" (KPL), 26 January, 1977).

The adult literacy campaign began in January 1977. A Prime Ministerial Decree (Number 08 of January 14, 1977) created a special committee for the eradication of illiteracy and cultural improvement of people at all levels in state organisations, the army, and the population in general. It stated, "Everyone, from Comrades ministers, directors, and Comrade presidents of the provinces down to employees, functionaries, young and old employees, new employees, workers, peasants, men and women, young or old, must strive to study" (KPL, 26 January, 1977). The state apparatus reserved two days per week (Tuesday and Thursday) to implement this policy. For those with a more advanced education, the state organised classes of professional improvement in subjects, such as accounting or management. In rural localities, literacy classes were also introduced. Lao women, neglected for many years, wanted to learn. The desire to learn in these evening classes was moving. In their right arms they held their babies, while in their left hands they held a book. Teachers were either government cadres or monks. Classes were given in the available spaces of

pagodas, of primary schools or in the district administration meeting rooms, which lit by torches when electricity was unavailable. During this period, obstacles such as the lack of transportation did not deter the enthusiasm and the will of men and women to learn. These "students" were very proud when they received certificates awarded by the authorities concerned. A decade later, in 1984, illiteracy was reported to be entirely eradicated nationwide (Vannasin, December, 1985). In the Huaphanh province, northern Laos, the district of Xieng Khoz was awarded a Kroupskaia, a UNESCO prize, for its tremendous efforts (Seuksa Mai, 1986). In 1988, another UNESCO prize, Noma, was awarded to a sub-district, Nyot Ngeum, in the district of Paek, Xieng Khuang province (Pasason, 2 March 1989).

The Lao PDR has recorded impressive gains, not only in literacy, but also in the increase in the number of schools, students and teachers. From 1977-1978, the early years of the regime, there were only 54 kindergartens; one decade later, kindergartens had increased to 628 with 28,982 children and 1,603 teachers. Primary schools, or Pathom, numbered only 4,444 in 1977-1978; just over one decade later, by 1989-1990, the number of schools was 8,330. Lower secondary schools, or Mathanyom, numbered 72 in 1975-1976; by 1989-1990, the number of schools has increased to 640. The number of upper secondary schools or Udom was 11 in 1975-1976, but by 1989-1990 there were 110 (State Statistical Centre, 1990:117,119, 121). Thus a tremendous expansion in the number of students occurred from 1975 to 1988-1989: about 80 per cent at the primary level; 247 per cent at the secondary level; and 1,146 per cent for higher education (Report of the Ministry of Education, 1990, II:2).

However, these attainments are not irreversible. According to a UNESCO report, in 1985 the number of illiterate people had increased to 3.6 per cent (UNESCO, 1985:89), and was growing, because in some places people had forgotten what they had learnt through lack of practice. For example, before 1981, 98 per cent of the population of Phongsali province, northern Laos, were literate, but by 1988 15,000 of 135,640 inhabitants of this province were once again illiterate." The Ministry of Education's Report in 1990 stated that in the whole country there were 300,000 or 40 per cent of the population aged between 15 to 45 years old who were still illiterate (Report of the Ministry of Education, 1990, I:2; II:1,5). Educational weak constitutes a hemorrhage of resources for the country, and a personal loss for families. Until recently, the north and the south regions had the poorest infrastructure of rudimentary roads, and were also home to large ethnic minorities who still practised shifting cultivation, although the government had persuaded many to abandon this itinerant culture (see also SUAN, 1989)." The low salaries of teachers has accelerated the decline in the level of education. As the Bangkok Post (25 March, 1989) reported, "A teacher earns approximately 500 kip a month and a deputy director general salary's is around 1,000 to 2,000 kip. In addition to cash payments, all government officials receive a few thousand kip worth of coupons which can be exchanged for food and other necessities at their respective co-operative stores". There are other reasons too for declining standards (Pfister, 1989:37), one being the lack of trained-teachers: the ADB reported in 1990 that 35 per cent of primary and 14 per cent of lower secondary school teachers were untrained.

Today, as before 1975, children and women, in urban as well as rural areas, and among minorities too, are still the primary labour force for the survival of the family, particularly when the whole country is still very poor. Children especially are needed at home for labour and have a high drop out rate in the later years of primary school (Ibid. :36). Girls from poor families, peasant families, and ethnic minority groups have particular difficulties in attending school, and tend to abandon school studies part way through, due not only to lack of financial support, but also in order to help in the home or to look for a job outside the home. Parents may prefer to educate sons and pull daughters out of school. Education for girls has often played a secondary role (Lao PDR's Report, 1989:28). Different gender roles contribute to discrimination against girls. Girls have lower priority than boys when it comes to education in most families. In other words, girls are prone to drop out to satisfy family needs (KPL, Feb. 1, 1977; Maroczy, 1985a; Viravong M., 1987; Batson, 1988). In 1988-1989, although there was equal access nationwide to free education at all levels, girls represented a low percentage of the enrolment at higher levels. For example, there were 40 per cent at Udom level. As one Lao woman researcher stated: "Although there exists no discrimination per se in regard to education, women bear the negative benefit due to sex differences and the role they are assigned by the society, at large and by the family" (Viravong M., 1987:7).

The new regime insisted on the necessity of promoting education for both sexes of all ethnic groups and raising their educational

levels. It was hoped to integrate all ethnic groups into the national community, and in particular, to intensify the formation of women cadres from all ethnic minorities. (Chagnon and Rumpf, 1982). Although, there are difficulties of fulfilling the policy of equal education in practice.

B- A Basic Social Policy.

The social policy, although limited in scope both in design and implementation, was formulated to back up the policy of promoting women as equals of men (Kamm, 1979). This was very unusual in Laos. A number of measures have been taken although unsystematically in these being free medical care, hospitalisation (at least before 1990), granting family allowances, and establishing kindergartens and daycare centres.

Social Welfare, Free Medical Care and Hospitalisation

Within the bounds of what was possible the Lao government has taken measures aimed at women's liberation and the realisation, of their rights through free medical care, hospitalisation and the creation of kindergartens and creches. These measures have been implemented to allow women more time, and more opportunity to work.

On March 11 1987, the Second National Conference on Health reported that in the decade from 1976 to 1986, the number of medical personnel at the higher level had been increased by 742 per cent, 633 per cent at the

middle level, and 58 per cent at the lower level. At present, the country's medical network has served the population from 1976 to 1990 through eight central management hospitals, 16 provincial hospitals, one municipality management hospital in each province, and 115 district hospitals. Sub-district dispensaries numbered 937 (State Statistical Centre, 1990:134). This health network is serviced by some 1,173 physicians (high level), and 2,731 assistant doctors (middle level), while 5,874 primary level medical practitioners work at the lower level (Ibid.). By 1988 the ratio of doctors and doctor-assistants was roughly around 2.3 per 10,000 inhabitants (Lao PDR's Report, 1989; Lao PDR, 1988 Report). Medical schools have been created: one medical university, and four medical schools for the middle level (Sukhaphab, 1987:18).

The government has also shown its concern for the health of mothers and children by providing pre-natal and ante-natal examinations. It has also established maternal and infant consultation centres in hospitals.

Although the health field has recorded good results, the health structure is still weak. The lack of experienced personnel, of basic medicine, of essential equipment, of administrative and financial support, reflect the under-development and poverty of the country. A lack of understanding about the importance of the health program, particularly immunization, aggravated by a belief in the supernatural origins of illness, explain the under-utilization of the medical network. Since 1990, people have had to pay for their hospitalisation, including medicine. The low income of most families poses great problems. While a trip to the sub-district centre may be

tolerable, the journey to the provincial or to the central hospital is often unattainable.

Family Allowances

Women employed in the public services, as well as in state enterprises received a small premium on their marriage, and at the birth of a child. They get a post-natal allowance and also a family welfare payment equivalent to the average wage of a middle government worker. A woman who is a state employee has maternity leave lasting three months, with a full regular wage. She can work up until childbirth, or she can have one month off before the birth and two months afterwards. In general, women prefer the option of three months following delivery. After three months, if her health condition requires more rest, she can ask her superior for an extension. However, in some former conservative co-operatives, the mother was expected to return to work 15 days after giving birth. (Discussion with Boupha, August 28, 1988).

Family allowances for children took the form of two-thirds payment in rice and one-third in money. Since 1989, total payment has been in money.³ Women workers who go for training for a short or long period, in country or overseas, receive a premium.⁴

Kindergarten and Daycare

Another measure taken by the new regime to lighten the burden on women was the establishment of kindergartens. An unprecedented post-war baby boom led to the urgent creation of kindergartens. Hence, the kindergarten assumed

a fundamental role in the education system, as a place where small children might be socialised life (Xiang Nyaovaxon, December, 1986).

In the first few years of the new regime, ministries and state enterprises built kindergartens with whatever materials were available to meet needs. Children were looked after only during working hours. However, after a trial period, children could be cared for all day. Women could come to breast-feed their babies at the kindergarten located at their work place. Kindergartens were also created at the local level or in agricultural co-operatives in order to help those parents not working in the state services. In remote areas, women organised themselves, such as on the outskirts of Luang Prabang, in the village of Pong Van, where they formed a daycare centre. "Their children gathered in a big house while their mothers worked in the fields. That was the beginning of a kindergarten", reported Maroczy (1985a:17; 1985b:4).

After a decade the Vientiane municipality had 14 kindergartens and 38 pre-schools (Vientiane Mai, Nov.4, 1986), while up to 1955 the whole country only had one pre-school (Keo-luangkot, 1959:445). In 1977-1978, there were 34 kindergartens and daycare centres with 2,358 children in the whole country. One decade later, in 1988-1989, the number had increased to 628. Despite these figures, the situation is still grim. A former Lao Prime Minister, unnerved by the unsettled situation, he had the opportunity to witness on his extensive trip around the country, said openly that he would "no longer tolerate the situation where our worker-sisters must bear the extra burden of their youngsters at their work places" (Report of the LWU, 1986:38). It is common to see some mothers bringing their off-

spring into political seminars or classes (see a similar situation in Cambodia, Boua, 1982: 307). In weaving factories such as Tamphaeni (Weaving Factory), it is dangerous to mind babies and at the same time work on looms, only for the mother but the baby too (Discussion with Sitphaxay, September 1st, 1988). In some places, the number of creches are not enough to meet demand. Obstacles to developing creches in the state-sectors, as in local administration, still exist. Nationwide, only 2.2 per cent of children between two years of age can go to kindergarten, and in Phongsali province in northern Laos, cradle of the Lao revolution, only 0.1 per cent of the children were admitted to kindergartens (Report of the Ministry of Education, 1990, II:2). Throughout the country only eight per cent of children aged between three and five years attend the pre-school system (Ibid.).

C- Women's Places

Times are changing, because men and women participate in shaping the destiny of the country, sharing the same tasks leading to the development of the country. Since 1975, women have been encouraged in this way. The First National Congress of the People's Representatives in 1975 stated: "Women form an important strength for the country. They must strive with their husbands and their children to actively promote production, to construct and to develop economy and the culture in order that the country can become prosperous and progress" (XP, December 5, 1975). To overcome the economic blockade decreed by Thailand, particularly from 1975 to 1976, the new people's power in Laos had to mobilize the

entire population and the administrative machinery to face these unprecedented challenges. Women and men had to work side-by-side to convert their flower gardens into henhouses, their yards into pond. Even the lawns of some ministries were transformed into vegetable gardens. During the first years, especially from 1975 to 1978, most state organisations had an orchard, henhouse, pigpen, or farm. Most of the workforce were workers waiting to be allotted to co-operatives or state farms. This was an heroic period when the entire population of the Lao towns struggled with a spirit of solidarity to cope with the aftermath of the border blockade. As a matter of fact, whether they belonged to the former liberated zones, or to the newly liberated zone, Lao women actively participated in reviving the economy of the country. Many urban women, who were ignorant of rice cultivation, and who had never walked in the mud, volunteered to work and live, temporarily, in centres for the construction of dams, or in state production co-operatives (Chaddock and Russell, 1989:14). They worked side-by-side with sisters from the former liberated zones, who were already well acquainted with manual work, having lived under war conditions, day after day facing unexploded bombs dropped during the war. Many dam projects were carried out thanks to the enthusiastic contributions of Lao women. It seems like only yesterday that women, young or old, married or single, driven by the will to be useful to the country, willingly left their family and their children to go and work for ten to fifteen days on various construction projects: digging a canal near the capital; working on the well-known projects at Nam2 Xuang (Suang river), and Nam2 Hum (Hum river), or at Kao2 'Liao2, north of Vientiane." Many women in Vientiane joined in the construction of roads, dams, hospitals, schools and public buildings.

Beside their own active and direct participation, Lao women also encouraged their husbands and relatives to contribute to the construction of roads, especially numbers nine and 13, which link Laos to coastal Vietnam. The work lasted for many months. When the collectivisation movement was launched in 1977, it constituted a huge challenge to the traditional way of life. The crucial negotiating positions taken by women in this period is shown in the fact that Lao women exercised an influence in convincing peasants to join in. As an official document stated: "the Lao women have responded positively to the appeal of the party to establish agricultural co-operatives. In many places they have encouraged their husbands and their family to join" (Report of the LWU, 1986:9-10). In the industrial and trade sectors, women have recorded successful outputs, and displayed their leadership: as for example the co-operatives of Phon Tobng2, and Phon Sa At, where women set an example for male managers to aspire to. There are as well other joint-ventures in the Vientiane municipality (Ibid. Adams, 1987).

In rural areas, things move desperately slow. Rural women have to shoulder many tasks that have remained unchanged since the days of their great grandparents. These include the back-breaking job of carrying and fetching water, the most strenuous and tedious task in remote areas where walking long distances from home requires one to two hours per day (Ireson C., 1988; 1992; Ireson et al. 1989). According to the study conducted in 1985 by Maroczy, collecting water is women's work performed 98 per cent of the time by women and only 2 per cent by men in Vientiane. Generally, according to this study, women worked two hours more than men per day (Maroczy, 1985b); and little has changed. Since 1975, women shoulder a

greater variety of tasks than ever before, as the editor of the Vannasin magazine, Dara Viravong noted (interview, 3 March, 1987): "Nowadays, a Lao woman works four times more than a man does, while in the old times, she worked only three times more". On a day to day basis, women spend more time in different activities than men and have less time to rest or to sleep. If they have a spare time, most men take a nap in the afternoon, but it is rare to see Lao women indulging themselves. In total, Lao women spend approximately 13 to 18 hours per day working, seven days a week. As the majority of Lao women are merit-makers, they wake up one or two hours earlier (Dickman, 1989:2) than the rest of the family to perform household chores: to husk the day's rice, which takes more than one hour (Ireson C., 1992:9); to prepare food to offer to the monks; and to take care of children going off to school, before they themselves go to work. Women overwork from early dawn to late dusk because they have been educated to be indefatigable. They return from work after 5 p.m. and continue their housework, such as cooking. They stop working at about 9 p.m. or sometimes later if they have to attend meetings, for example, at the village committee, LPRY, LWU, FLTU, LFNC, LPRP, or militia. Some stay up one to three hours after everyone else has gone to sleep to weave (Dickman, 1989:2). Female time allocation for household chores, childcare, and social activities ranges from eight to ten hours a day. It appears that the family endeavours to overcome this problem by redistributing work among the husband and children, particularly female children, who frequently miss school. Women play a role as individuals, as members of a family and household, and as members of a society and community. "The 'new' Lao woman, 'is not only responsible for household maintenance and the traditional agricul-

tural and production tasks (...), she must be involved in village projects and learn to read and write. Clearly without more help or a real reallocation of women's work, Lao women have only been liberated to work harder", stated Ireson C. (1988:17). Laos is still one of the ten poorest countries in the world, so it is not surprising that the situation of urban Lao women, as well as those from rural areas, is as hard as their sisters in other poor countries, such as Bangladesh, Indonesia and Nepal. In a study of countries in the Asia-Pacific region, men were found to work between 40 to 75 hours per week, and women 21 hours more (Ben, 1988; Asia-Pacific, 1989).

Although 60 per cent of women are engaged in agricultural work (Vongsak, 1988; ADB, 1989), the new organisation of the work force into co-operatives (see more Evans, 1990) did not take into account all the additional activities that women have to perform in the family, ranging from cooking, cleaning, washing, housework, and weaving, to caring for children and animals. These household tasks, which are non-remunerated, were not computed into the statistics for work. When jobs were allocated in the co-operatives. Furthermore, for the same task carried out in the co-operatives, men and women were not equally remunerated. Men got 200 work points while women received only 120 for the same task (Maroczy, 1985a:17; on the unfairness of the points system see Evans, 1990:163-4). This situation was recognised by the former president of the LWU, Khampheng Boupha in a personal interview on September 26, 1988. On the question of work points allotted to women, she confirmed that, "The co-operatives gave lower working points to women than to men, the LWU knew it and we proposed to the co-operatives to revise this problem. This unfair count is due to men who

consider females are a weak sex". The same inequality of treatment was found in various co-operatives. In an agricultural co-operative in Champassak province, the organising committee explained without any embarrassment that women were to be credited lower than men. As the only woman among a group of male colleagues paying a visit to this co-operative in 1988, I expressed my surprise at and disagreement with such an injustice 13 years after the change of the regime. The representative of the Youth organisation intervened to stress that, "Women could not dedicate all their strength for co-operative activities, because some are physically very feeble while others are often pregnant". I forcefully objected, but he merely replied by stating, "We are doing wrong and we are inexperienced, and we are going to remedy it". During the discussion, most of the women of the co-operative, sitting nearby, were totally mute. However, inequalities in work points allotted to women and men existed not only in Laos. In China, men received seven to nine work points, while women got six to seven (Whyte, 1982:132), and for Vietnamese women got only ten work points as opposed to men's fourteen (White, 1986:148). In Vietnam some women in co-operatives criticized openly the unfair distribution of work points (ibid.). Women in Laos seemed sensitive to such injustice, but they were often embarrassed to voice their thoughts openly for they are immersed in the traditional custom of politeness to men, who still uphold the old mentality of male superiority. Perhaps, it is due to apathy too. Maroczy (1985b:4) noted this inequality in the distribution of work points, and expressed surprise that, "women didn't find it strange".

As co-operatives were dissolved after the introduction of the "New Economic Management",

the "work points" debate is now obsolete. However, the underlying problem remains the same. The LWU pretended problems did not exist when it reported that, "In our country, Lao women are no longer struggling for their rights against men as in many other places" (Vongsak, 1988:1). A similar view was expressed in Vietnam: when Duong Thi Duyen, director of the Vietnam Women's Union Department of International Affairs, was asked whether there were any differences between men and women deputies in recent debates over economic questions, she replied: "It is not a male/female issue, because everyone agrees on the need to find the best way. The real problem is devising practical measures. The country needs experts, not "women" or "men" " (Hunt, 1987:5).

August 1975 is a month marking an important event in Lao history. It is also a month with historical significance in the political life of the Lao people. Those living in that period will not forget it. It was also the time when Lao women participated fully in the popular uprising in the country, side-by-side with men. For the first time, on August 23rd 1975, a women's representative was included in the Revolutionary Committee of Administration of the People of the Vientiane Municipality. This Committee was composed of one woman and seven men. Article 32 (chapter 8) of the Prime Minister's Decree No 419/PC, 5 June 1975, endorsed on October 5 1975, by the PGNU, related to the democratic liberties of the Lao people. It noted: "All citizens, without distinction of ethnic minorities, sex, social status and class, faith, rich or poor, whatever the level of their education, profession, the duration of their settlement, if over eighteen they have the right to vote and to be elected in different organs of the state. Those who want to be elected as representatives of Assemblies

of People must be over twenty-one".⁷⁴ The first national election was organised in November 1975 and women were fully involved as members of the electoral committee for the Vientiane Municipality. This municipality was composed of four districts (meuang), and fifteen sub-districts (tassaengs). Of 101 people elected, only 21 were women (XP, 11 November, 1975). The outcome was, however, an advance; nearly fourteen districts elected at least one woman. At the summit, on December 2nd 1975, the National Congress of Representatives of the People, elected by successive local assemblies, chose 45 members against four women for the SPA (XP, 5 December, 1975). Compared to the former regime, a step forward had been taken. In 1958, only one woman, a member of the leftwing or the NLHX, had been elected to the Representative Assembly as against 58 men representing six different political parties (Ngaosyvathn, 1993d). Fifteen years later, in 1974, two women were elected to the Assembly (Phimmasone, 1974:977). Although women had made gains in 1975, the results of the second national election for the current NA, held in March 1989, were unsatisfactory. Women candidates gained five seats while men numbered 74." Between the two national elections, the number of women in the SPA had decreased three by per cent. The third national election took place in 1992 and women won 5 out of 85 seats. So women won a more few seats than in 1989. However, in February 1993, the NA approved the Parliamentary Standing Committees and six sub-committees, and there were no women.

Through efforts in three fields, the liberation of Lao women was promoted. However, some shortcomings were unavoidable in view of the grim reality of scarce financial resources, as well as lack of management.

Ultimately, while impressive progress has been made, many institutional and cultural barriers to equality between the sexes continue to exist, for, as stated a Lao woman, "Policies on women are drawn up by men" (Viravong M., 1987:10).

CONCLUSION

Socialism has not lived up to its promise. The collapse of the communist model in the former USSR, and other Eastern European countries, underlines the change in the development path Laos chose to follow after 1975. Lao women's hopes that the socialist revolution would lead to the improvement of their social situation have yet to be fulfilled. This case study focussed on Lao women's attempts to portray themselves as something other than passive victims awaiting salvation from outside, either through Buddhism or the state. The rapid social and economic change in Laos has put tremendous pressures on the family, and on women in particular. They have been called upon to sustain and reproduce the family, and have done so with a resilience and resourcefulness which commands respect. Male attitudes and male-dominated political structures have prevented women from becoming equal partners in the development of the country. It is not simply the problem of poverty which has been responsible for the paucity of the budget allocated to women's programs. The reasons have more to do than political as well as strategic issues. Women have had to fight to get their demands put on the agenda of the decision-makers, or simply to have their voice heard in political debate.

Obstacles to institute significant change for women is not uncommon. One can only persevere. This is the fate of women in Laos.

This book has tried to open a window on issues that have remained until now deeply bu-

ried in stereotypes and cliches. Women's studies are now of major interest, but much needs to be done. Laos is beginning to open up to research, and we can look forward to more detailed studies of women, particularly those of minority tribes, which form the backbone of Lao people. In another direction, more research is required on the hidden needs of women and the resources that women are endowed with. An immense virgin field is still waiting for willing researchers equipped with comprehensive tool and originating from diverse horizons to enrich the understanding of women of this least known of South-East Asian countries. The wealth of primary materials referred to in this book provides an introductory invitation for further work. Until further research is carried out, this book will remain the only study for those interested on this fascinating country and its people, as well as for students of South-East Asia interested in a comparative approach.

NOTES

1. Hamilton (1930:225); for a similar view, see De Jancigny (1850:487).
2. On the phi meuang (spirits of the city), see Deydier (1954:202-3); Seldenfaden (1958:35); and Pallegoix (1854:50-2).
3. On the pagoda of Si Meuang, see Deydier (1954:90-2); Archambault (1956:841; 1964:61); Abhay (1959c:288-9).
4. That Luang, built in 1566 by King Saisetthathiraj, is the national shrine where official cultural ceremonies are annually performed during the period of the waxing moon of the 12th Lao month, equivalent to the fourth week of November (Abhay, 1956e). According to the new Lao constitution, it is recognized as a national symbol.
5. This tribute comprises a couple of fresh coconuts, bananas, fresh white flowers, candles, joss sticks and money if one wishes. In 1989, the Lao community in Hawaii claimed that Nya Maei Si Meuang (Lady Si Meuang) had become incarnated in a Wang Thian in Hawaii.
6. About "Trance", see Wijeyewardene (1981). In southern Laos, it is also called Maei Lam (Mother of sings), but if it is a man, it is called MO Thian, see Pottier (1973:106). In Luang Prabang, it is called Thil Naingl (Dore, 1987:954). In fact, if the possessor is a woman, the master of the ritual or the person who intercedes is always a man. For more, see Houts (1973b:140-1); Dore (1973:113); for Thailand, see Wijeyewardene (1981); for more on the difference between shamanists and MO Theva:da (celestial spirits), see Condominas (1968); Pottier (1973). About the pattern of northern Thailand spirit possession, see Davis (1973); Turton (1972); Wijeyewardene (1977; 1981).
7. On the shaman's role providing a link with life back in Laos among the Lao resettlement in the United States, see Tanhula (1991).
8. Dore (1973:115,116,119; and 1972:76,80, 83,84,88-89) mentioned a woman of 23 who is a medium and dresses in male clothes four times a day when she is

in a trance brought about by a spirit. Four male spirits are incarnated in her for about two and a half hours in Thailand, see Irvine (1984:320-21). Pottier (1973:106) observes that in Vientiane, "We observed some cases where male mediums received the name of Nang Thiam, the term Nang meaning "lady". In Crête, if the male medium is possessed by a female spirit, he must dress as a female (Bernard, 1985:24).

9. In Africa, particularly with the Bamilike of Western Cameroun, a woman is guardian of the cult of the ancestor, and she is respected and much prestige and authority is meted out to her (Balandier, 1974). For Latin America, such as Sao Paulo (Brazil), see Pressel (1980:107-127); in Porto Alegre (Brazil), Lerch (1980:129-159); in Thailand, Wijeyewardene (1981); Irvine (1984:315-324); for a similar case in China before 1979, see Thireau (1987:571). In Vietnam, most of the Taoist cults are performed by women called Da Dong, who communicate with Thanh Mau (Sacred Mother) (White, 1990). According to a field study conducted by Turton (1972; 1984), the female head of the descent group performs the function of ritual officiant at clan rites.

10. In Porto Alegre (Brazil), female made up 80 to 85 per cent of all mediums (Lerch, 1980:129). Irvine (1984:315) estimated about 84 per cent are female mediums in Northern Thailand.

11. For example, in Thailand, see Wijeyewardene (1981:6).

12. Pottier, (1973:101); Dore (1979:14,19; and 1987:76); Long D.L., (1991). For Thailand, see Wijeyewardene (1981:6).

13. It is also an occasion for the children to perform a rite of Soma 'khalavai, asking for forgiveness and paying respects to the parents; see Nginn (1967b); Channignavong (1974). The ceremony of the New Year in the Twelve Rites and Fourteen Traditions dedicated to seven daughters of the goddess (see also the similar celebration of the Tai Lu in SipSong Panna, China, Zheng Lan, 1983:75). In April, the traditional New Year parade is led by the seven daughters, Nang Saing Khane, of Kapila Brahma; see Nginn (1967b); Viravong S. (1974).

14. For more details on the names of goddesses of the week days, see Viravong S., (1974:7); Channignavong (1974:35,47,48); Gial (1981a:48).

15. Also known as Maei Khao2 (Mother of Rice). See also Deydier (1952:68-70). In Thailand, it is known as Maei Phosob; for more see Hubert (1981); while in Cambodia, it is known as Phrah Pei Sarap, see Poree-Maspero (1962).

16. See Manola (1985:6-7); on the Brou minority. There also exists a female divinity invoked by the peasant priest, see Matras (1973:73); see also on the "Mother of Rice", Zago (1972:96); Archaimbault (1973a); Pottier (1988:3).

17. In Thailand, at the beginning of the rice field work, women proceed to make an appeal to the spirit of the goddess of rice. This ritual ceremony is also practised on the central plain of Thailand, see Rajadon (1961:39); Seidenfaden (1958:94-6). "The spirit cult is presided over by an elderly female of the household as its specialist", noted Kajiwaru (1983:72); for more details, see Hubert (1981). Women proceed to appeal to the spirit of the goddess of rice. Her name varies from one region to one another, such as Nang Phosob, Maei Phosob, Nang Khosob, Thavi Phosob, or Maei Khao2 (Mother of Rice), see Deydier (1952:68-70).

18. For Thailand, see Rajadon (1961:39); Hubert (1981).

19. For Northern Thailand, see also Davis (1973; 1974); Wijeyewardene (1977:19).

20. For the participation of women in Laos pre-1975, see Dore (1972:76). For Thailand, see Irvine, 1984; Moungne, 1984b; in China, Thireau (1987).

21. Archaimbault (1979:63); Viravong S. (1988:10-12).

22. One example is The Little Orphan's Spirit (Kam'pha2 phi noy2) (1973), who was helped by his wife to convince his enemies; Thav2 Hung Thav2 Ceuang (Mr Hung and Mr Ceuang), where their wives led the country with men; and hohng bua' hiao (Lady Bua Hohng, Lady Bua Hiao) (1970), where a female ghost gives a young man the magic arms to kill their enemies; for an analysis see Peltier (1988:344-9); Nang Oraphin (Lady Oraphin) (1970), resuscitates her husband; see also on this story, Peltier (1988:293-4).

23. Pinot (1917:169); Grossin (1933:9); Pruess (1976:56); Dore (1987:235).

24. ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ruled in southern Laos and bore a child by a foreign prince. Archaimbault (1971:25) substantiated the theory that "she condemned herself in a decree which kept alive the memory of her sin, and required every unwed mother in the Kingdom to pay for a buffalo to be sacrificed to the protective spirits. The aborigines who lived in the frontier regions were given the duty of enforcing the decree" (see also Rajah, 1990). In 1987, while visiting some women from the co-operative in Champasak, they said that up to the present,

Nang Phao's decree is still enforced among the ethnic minority Kha2 Suay1. Also, in southern Laos, in the isle of Khong, a woman named Nang Tim (Lady Tim) played an important role. According to old traditions, those who shoot guns, or make explosives, or play gongs or drums should be punished and pay homage to her, through the woman who had been incarnated by the local divinities (Aymerier, 1885:40-1). Deydier (1954:214-7) has noticed in northern Laos that among the Tai ethnic group at war against Vietnam, a woman named Nang Nan (Lady Nan) led the warriors to victory. Twice a year, homage is paid to her with the sacrifice of a buffalo and a castrated pig.

25. Le Boulanger (1931:42); Sasorith (1953:32-3); Rotboun (1983:66); Viphakhotchanakit (1987:20).

26. Jumsai (1971:123); Oger (1972:109); Viravong S. (1964:82).

27. Phongsavadan: Mueang Luang Prabang (1969:9); Phongsavadan: Mueang Luang Prabang (page 82); Sasorith (1959:27); Boun Souk (1972:120).

28. In the mythology of Khun Bulon, there were two social groups of people who got out from the courges. One group had the dark skin, like the colour of a crow and lived on the hill kha2. Inhabitants who had a lighter skin were Tai, the most clever of those who possessed supernatural powers and served at the royal court, prescribed Khun Bulon (Nang Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulon, 1967:25-6).

29. As the founder of Lan Xang recalled during his coronation, "In the country there both rich and poor alike. Everyone must accept his station in life so that we may never have to condemn anyone to death." (Pavie, 1959b:398)

30. Thannasat Buhane or "Code of Vientiane", was gathered by Thao Bounthisen Channaksouvanh and compiled by Sila Viravong under the title 'Khamphi Phrai: Thannasat Buhane' (compilation of ancient law) edited by the Lao Literary Committee, 1963, see also Ngaosyvathn (1975); Raquez (1902).

31. Raquez (1902:405; for more details on the ancient law, pp. 401-48); De Reinach (1911:172-3); Ngaosyvathn (1975:33). The "Code de Vientiane" classified three kinds of penalty: one called khan 'kha kha, a criminal penalty, depended on the social situation of the offender, the second was the flogging penalty (khanti); the fine reparation penalty (khan paeng); the honourable fee (khan somai, Cf. Ngaosyvathn (1975). A similar situation was

found also in Africa as Lowie (1969:392) stated, and the penalty varied according to the social position of the victim.

32. In Thailand, many folk tales were taught to females, such as supasit son yin, suntonpu, kancana son non, see Tungkasavadi (1963:33-34); Saipradit (1979:1-53), and also Tossa, 1992.

33. Classic literature pieces, such as Nyot Khamsone Buhane (1972), Nithang Thav2 Khamsone (1966) convey the message that a wife should respect her husband and honour him and Buddha with flowers and beeswax during the holy days van sin.

34. More general information, Bain (1988:12); Enchang (1989:13). For Thailand, Pichachareun (1979:115-116).

35. See also Levy B.P.(1963:257); Whitaker et al. (1973:49); for Thailand, see Mougne (1984a:2).

36. Such as Nang Seu Inthiyane Sone Luk (1965:33-34); Nithane Thav2 Khamsone (1966:4); Nyot Khamsone Buhane (1972:4th-5th point), and also Peltier (1988:358).

37. วันขึ้น or the holy days are the 8th and 15th of the waxing moon, when the devotee should pay respects; on Thai women, see Pichachareun (1979:146).

38. This cult of husband is performed also among the Hindu women, see Alamgir (1977:34).

39. Massieu (1901:267); Levy B.P.(1963:257). For the Tai of Sipsong Panna, see Enchang (1989:13).

40. Ibid.; Nginn (1956a:893; 1959a:212).

41. For more see Bain (1988:12); Enchang (1989:13). For a similar view in Thailand, Cf. Wongthaj (1982:277-278); Mougne (1984a:3).

42. See also Nginn (1965:41).

43. For Thailand, Cf. Tungkasavadi (1963:91); also, Bhumisak (1975:63); Thitsa (1980:20); Mougne (1984a:2); for the Tai people in Sipsong Panna, see Enchang (1989:13).

44. Menstrual blood is qualified as dangerous and not beneficial for power. On this, see Griswold, and Na Nagara (1972:21-151); Thitsa (1980:22); Mougne (1984a:2-3). A man should not come into contact with menstrual blood, for Thailand, see Wijeyewardene (1977:24). Lao women were forbidden to sleep in the same bed as their husband, during their menstruation (Dore, 1979:12). A tattooed man must take care of the superior part of his body and take care to keep his talisman or amulets far from women's clothes. Generally, women cannot have these amulets of great magic powers which are believed to protect the male wearers, women can only keep some amulets, which can give peace, spirituality or luck. Some talismans must be written on the skin or in another word, tattooed. Only a son can be tattooed, because it was said that women cannot avoid prohibition, if not she will be "foolish" and she can not become a normal human being. A menstruating woman could not stay around the place where the process of dyeing with khang (stick-lake) is being carried out: khang is an insect excrement usually gathered from the trees used to dye silk and cotton thread to get a natural red colour. Otherwise it is believed that the colour will not be tinted in the material (Boumyavong D., 1992:7). See also how a woman, in Thailand, in denying the fact of her own menstruation wants to act as male medium (Irvine, 1984:320-21). Some Lao overseas still ask their wives to wash their clothes separately from female clothes.

45. See Nginn (1951:978; 1956a:893; 1959a:210-213; 1965:41), and Naing Seu Pheum2 Khun Bulon (1967:37).

46. Mougne (1984a:2). For the Tai in Sipsong Panna, see Bain (1988:12); Enchang (1989:13).

47. See also, Naing Seu Pheum2 Khun Bulon (1967:37).

48. Also Nginn (1965:41); Suryadhay (1970:5).

49. Interview, Chamberlain, May 27, 1990 (Bangkok).

50. See also Taupin (1888:38); the festivities in fact have been performed every month, see also Abhay (1949:494).

51. For Laos post-1975, see Stuart-Fox (1986:160-161).

52. ກຸ້ງ means repairing, and ຄຸ້ງ means house or home, reparation to the house to appease the spirits of the house; reparation involved giving an offering of white flowers, areca and betel, beeswax and symbolic money; the

traditional law punished by a fine, the amount of which depended on the seriousness of the offense; for more details see also Taupin (1888:91); Aymonier (1900:139); Picanon (1901:111,112); Massieu (1901:222); Zago (1972:221).

53. Aymonier (1885:178); Taupin (1888:91); Massieu (1901:222); Curtis L.J. (1903:23,24,104); Freeman (1910:23,24); Zago (1972:221).

54. Massieu (1901:222); Zago (1972:221).

55. The Three Cleanlinesses are the bed, the kitchen and hair; The Four Waters are the jar of drinking water, the water for daily needs; mother's milk (because a woman should breast-feed her children it was not possible to get artificial milk to feed them in the under-developed ancient society, and the water of the heart (i.e. having a good heart, charitable towards the husband's people and towards him in hoping to keep him at home); see more details in Mathivorakhoun (1967:27); and also in Thailand, see Banthao Southi Ruang Mong Krung (1984:81-84).

56. See also Peltier (1988:107); such as The King of Toads (Phaya Khankhark) (1970), The King of Elephants (Khatthanam) (1970), The Little Orphan's Spirit (Karl Pha2 Phi Moy2) (1973).

57. Bounlin (ed.) Rains in the Jungle (1973); Deuansavanh, "In the name of the Revolution", in Thao Bounlin (ed.), Rains in the Jungle (1973); on the literature during the period of struggle for independence, see Lafont (1983:77); more comments on the literature in Laos post-1975, Clutterbuck, in pai tam cot nay (Following the letter. Short stories from modern Lao writers), 1991.

58. See Archambault (1967:668-9); Zago (1972:222-223).

59. For more see Aymonier (1900:184-185); article 4 of the civil law of 1932 stipulates that the woman, if she is responsible for the divorce because of adultery, must return khai khu:n2 phi (dowry for the ancestors spirits) to her former husband.

60. See Deydier (1952:57); VongkotRatana (1982:9). Even after resettlement in France, the Lao continue to practise this ritual, Chay (1984:16-18).

61. This ritual is still practised among the Lao resettled in France, Chay (1984:18).

62. Abhay, (1959a:143); Methivorakhoun (1967:30).

63. Methivorakhoun (1967:27); Sago (1972:223,224,228-236).

64. See Phimmasone P. (1974:974). De Reinach (1911:169) noted, "If the son-in-law comes to live with the parents-in-law, the number of dowries are limited, established by tradition (...). The traditions, generally enough observed, wanted that the new husband stay with his parents-in-law and helped them with work as a son until one day, when he has a child, he is free to establish his new home. This very old tradition contributed to reassert the relation of kinship between son-in-law and parents-in-law."

65. For Thailand, see Davis (1973:55; 1984:264); Mougne (1984a:6); on the ethnic minority groups in China: Zhuang, Pouyei, Mao-Man, Mula, Lia; and generally by the Day, see Watchannong (1987:58-65, 71-3, 76-9); Berlie (1990); Prasithrathsint (1990); Zheng Yaoyun (1990); Zhang Yaungin (1990). For the Lao in Ban Lao living in Roi Et province, Northeast of Thailand, see Podhisita (1985:103).

66. Once married, a woman from Lao ethnic minority groups, such as the Hmong, must live with her husband's parents. She must be completely separated from her parents's home. If her husband is absent from home, she must ask her parents-in-law permission, particularly her mother-in-law, before doing anything. If through bad luck, her husband dies, she doesn't have the right to marry again, unless she marries her husband's younger brother, even if he is younger than her. This practice of *lévirat* always existed. If the wife dies, it is her husband, not her parents, who is responsible for the funeral (Lemoine, 1972:166-7). Similarities are found also in some part of Asia in the former USSR., see Aminova (1984:62).

67. Cf. Saisanasy (1964:15); also Phimmasone P. (1974:978). Article 109 of civil law was invoked in the case of many spouses, each spouse inherits the portion normally reserved for the dead in the matrimonial home existing between them.

68. Taupin (1888:91); De Reinach (1900:171-172); Cabaton (1932:60); Manivanna (1969:314).

69. See Hang Oraphin (totalled of 10,000 wives) (1970:16; Peltier, 1988:294); in Bua'Robng Bua' Hiao (60,000) (see also Peltier, 1988:346); in Kalakak

(60,000) (see also Peltier, 1988:276); Khankhark (The King of Toads) (1970:25,36).

70. This fact has been also observed in Thailand,

In the newspapers there are often reports about jealous wives castrating errant husbands. Here is an interesting example of a slightly different tone : in 1976, a story circulated among the Thai that certain chemicals used by the Americans against the Viet Cong were now being utilised by Vietnamese refugees against the Thais. These substances, put into Thai food, had a peculiar kind of polluting effect: it was causing Thai men's penises to shrink! This story illustrates how sexual and political paranoia mirror each other: sexual potency and political power are parallel. Man's "superior" power in the private domain of the bedroom, be it in the home or whorehouse, and his spiritual superiority as sanctioned by Buddhist belief and practice reflect his control over woman in society (Thitsa, 1980:22).

71. Vongsakda, September 26, 1988; Ruang Boupba, September 19, 1988; Cf. Boupba, interview 26, 1988).

72. The Ministry of Agriculture jointly with SUAN (East-West Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa) and the University of Khon kaen, organised a workshop on this matter in July 1990. Also, the government has made efforts to form 15 colleges educating teachers for the ethnic groups.

73. The rice quantity depends on the children's ages. Families receive from nine to 23 kilograms per person per month. If the child is aged between five and ten, he receives 13 kilograms of rice; and if he is from ten to 15 years old, he gets 15 kilograms. Those who are admitted to primary school get 21 kilograms, and those who are at secondary school receive 23 kilograms. The Decree, Number 97 on December 1989, extends the family allowances to adopted children. As Evans (1989b:22) stressed, "before 1988, state employees received approximately 90% of their salaries in a kind of payment system that functioned as - a form a state - controlled consumption. Employees were forced to use coupons (what public servants caustically refer to as their "monthly book money") that could be redeemed only in designated state shops for a limited number of goods (when available) whose low prices were fixed by the government". After 1990, with high inflation, the government allowed family allowances only in money.

74. If their studies are shorter than one year, and performed in the country, students receive 100 per cent of their usual wage plus allowances for their children. If their studies are more than one year, they receive 90 per cent of their wage plus children's allowance. If their studies are conducted in a foreign country, for a shorter period they get 100 per cent of their wage with allowances for each child. If the study is longer than one year and if the woman is single, she does not get her salary but receives a special premium. If she is married, a premium of her official position is allowed to her. If the period of study is more than four years, she would receive only the allowance for her children (Cf. Decree Number 834 of October 22, 1986 of the Planning Committee on the Application of the Premiums for Training and a Decree Number 58 of September 1986 on the System of Allowance for Trainees and Students).

75. In the heart of all Lao in Vientiane at that time, they remember it like it was yesterday.

76. Ratified by the PGNU relating to the election of Councils and eligibility for elections of Assembly of people representatives and the administrative committee at different levels. This was adopted at the 4th ordinary session in 1975 of the Congress of NPCC on October 5, 1975 and of the PGNU. Article one of the decree, officially adopted by the PGNU in its 4th Extraordinary Session held on October 5, 1975, stipulated the same conditions for elections for the Council of People's Representatives and the Administrative Committees at different levels. This has been reconfirmed by article 23 of the new constitution.

77. This under representation explained that among 16 provinces and one municipality, 11 did not have any female candidates, for the results in provincial levels, see Passanon (3, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 13 December, 1988; February 27, 1989).

APPENDIX

Transliteration

1. Consonants

U	B	᠑	'H	᠓᠗	L	᠓	'PH	᠓᠘	W
᠕	P	᠓	H	᠓	M	᠓	PH	᠓	'A
᠘	C	᠓	'KH	᠓᠓	'M	᠓	S	᠕	Y
᠓	D	᠓	KH	᠓	N	᠘	X	᠓	NG
᠓	T	᠓	'R	᠓᠓	'N	᠓	TH	᠓᠓	'NG
᠓	F	᠓᠓	R	᠕	NY	᠓	'TH		
᠓	K	᠗	'L	᠓᠕	'NY	᠓	V		

2. Vowels and Diphthongs

a:	x᠑	a	x᠗	i:	᠓
i	᠓	eu:	᠓	eu	᠓
u:	᠓	u	᠓	e:	᠓᠑
e	᠓᠑	ae:	᠓᠑	ae	᠓᠑
o:	᠓᠑	o	᠓᠑	o:	᠓᠑᠗
᠓	᠓	oe:	᠓᠑	oe	᠓᠑
ia:	᠓᠑᠕	ia	᠓᠑᠕	ua:	᠓᠑᠗
ua	᠓᠑᠗	eua:	᠓᠑᠗	eua	᠓᠑᠗
ai	᠓᠑	ao	᠓᠑᠗	am	᠓᠑᠗
ay	᠓᠑᠕	ae	᠓᠑᠗	an	᠓᠑᠕
ane	᠓᠑᠕	a:ng	᠓᠑᠗	ang	᠓᠑᠗
ohng	᠓᠑᠗	ong	᠓᠑᠗	uay	᠓᠑᠗᠕
ao	᠓᠑᠗	uam	᠓᠑᠗᠕	um	᠓᠑᠕
				om	᠓᠑᠕

en ເຂັມ uang ຂວງ a:m ຂາມ
 ok ອີກ ak ຊັກ iam ຂຽມ ian ຂຽມ
 uy ຊຸຍ eu:k ຊັກ one ຂອມ ib ຊິບ
 an ຂາມ ob ຊິບ ung ອຸງ ork ຂອກ
 it ຊິດ ak ຊັກ uaeng ແຂວງ eb ແຍບ
 ohng ຂອງ ong ຊິງ ab ຂາບ ing ຊິງ
 in ຊິມ eu:k ຊັກ eng ເຂງ ome ຂອມ
 om ຊິມ un ຊຸມ euang ເຊືອງ oht ຂອດ
 ark ຂາກ uang ຂວງ iao ຂົວ ot ຊິດ
 ok ຊັກ av ຂາວ iang ຂົງ uan ຂວນ
 oen ເຂັມ

I only used two tonal accents x1 and x2

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JOURNAL of CONTEMPORARY ASIA

KITH AND KIN POLITICS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAOS AND THAILAND

Mayoury & Pheulphenh NGOASYVATHN

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Mayoury Ngoasyvathn



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March 1993

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GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY



REMEMBRANCES OF A LAO WOMAN
DEVOTED TO CONSTRUCTING A
NATION: KHAMPHENG BOUPHA

ຊີວິດແລະການເຄື່ອນໄຫວ

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Mayoury Ngaosyvathn

ທ່ານ ນາງ ຄຳແພງ ບຸບຜາ

ເລຂາທິການສຳນັກ

ຍົນທີ່ໂຮງພິມແຫ່ງຊາດ, ສປປ ລາວ
ພຶດສະພາ 1993

by the State Enterprise of the Lao PDR
November 1993.

Biographical Note/ຄຳອະທິບາຍ

Dr. Mayoury was in 1975 appointed Counsellor of the Royal Supreme Court of Laos. At the same time, she lectured at the Royal Institute of Law and Administration, and the School of International Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1984-1986). She was deputy-director for the Ministry of Justice from 1976 to 1978, and deputy-director for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1979 to 1986. Since then, she devoted herself to do research on South East Asian history, or on ethno-sociology, as well as on gender issues. In 1988, she was awarded a grant from the Swedish International Development Agency in Stockholm (SIDA), and from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York. She was a Fulbright, senior scholar based at Harvard University (U.S.A.), and the University of Hawaii (1988-1989). From 1989 to 1990, she was a visiting fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore) and then a Research Fellow at Griffith University (Australia).

She delivered several papers at many professional international conferences, and her works have been published. These include: The Lao in Australia: Perspectives on Settlement Experiences issued by Griffith University, 1993 (Australia); Remembrances of a Lao Woman Devote to Constructing a Nation: Khampheng Boupha, 1993 (State Printing Enterprise, Lao PDR) Migrants, Crime and the Law: The Cambodian, the Lao and the Vietnamese Experience (forthcoming). On the Lao-Thai history, she has co-authored many articles and books with her husband, Dr. Phouiphanh Ngasayvathn, such as Chao Anou, 1767-1829: Pasaon lao lao Asakhe (luang kao panha nai) (Chao Anou, 1767-1829: The Lao People and Southeast Asia) (Ol Story, New Meaning), Vientiane, Samnakphisannai S.P.P.Lao, 1988; Kith and Kin Politics: The Relationship Between Laos and Thailand (Manila: Journal of Southeast-Asia, 1993); Chronicle of Our Imperial Court's Behavior Towards the Affairs of the Country of Ten Thousand Elephants (Tokyo: Center for Study of East Asian Culture for the Unesco); A Present of the Past Fifty Years (1778-1828) of Diplomacy and Warfare Among Mainland Southeast Asian Politics. Politics Nemesis in Modern Laos, Thailand and Vietnam (New York: Cornell University' Southeast Asian Program), and co-editor with Dr. Kannon Breasalea, on Studies on Lao History and Historiography (forthcoming).

ກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຂຽນ / About the author

ດຣ. ນະບຸຣິເຕຣີ້າສີວິດທົງ ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບປະສົບຢາເອກະລັກ, ເຄີຍ
ໄດ້ ເປັນທີ່ປຶກສາສານສູງສຸດແຫ່ງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ. ຜ່ານມາເຄີຍ ໄດ້
ເປັນ ສາດສະດາຈານສອນກົດໝາຍທີ່ປາຣີແລະທີ່ລາວ ພ້ອມທັງສອນ ກົດ
ໝາຍກົງສູນການຕ່າງປະເທດຂອງ ສປປ ລາວ. ຜູ້ກ່ຽວເຄີຍເປັນຮອງຫົວ
ໜ້າກົມຜູ້ສືບຕໍ່ (ກະຊວງຍຸຕິທຳ) ແລະຮອງຫົວໜ້າກົມກົງສູນ (ກະຊວງ
ການ ຕ່າງປະເທດ). ຜູ້ກ່ຽວພ້ອມດ້ວຍສາມີໄດ້ຂໍອະນຸຍາດພິກະເລື້ອຍຄັ້ງໃຫ້
ແກ່ການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາກ່ຽວກັບປະຫວັດສາດອາຊີອາຄະເນ, ກ່ຽວກັບເພດ (ຍິງ-
ຊາຍ) ຫາງດ້ານສັງຄົມວິທະຍາກໍ່ຄືກ່ຽວກັບຊາວອິນດູຈີນທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ປະ
ເທດທີ່ສາມ. ຜົນງານການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາບາງຢ່າງໄດ້ຖືກພິມເຊັ່ນບາງປຶ້ມທີ່ຮ່ວມ
ກັບ ດຣ. ເຢຍຟິນເຊັ່ນປຶ້ມ ເຈົ້າອະນຸ 1767-1829 ປະຊາຊົນລາວແລະ
ອາຊີອາຄະເນ (ເລື່ອງເກົ່າ, ບັນຫາໃໝ່), ສຳນັກພິມຈຳຫນ່າຍ ສປປ
ລາວ (1988); ການເລື່ອງລະຫວ່າງບ້ານພິເລື່ອງນ້ອງໂທ-ລາວທີ່ແສນ
ຮັກແສນແກ້ມ (ຈະອອກຈຳຫນ່າຍໃນປີ 1993 ທີ່ປະເທດຟີລິບປິນ);
ປຶ້ມ ການຄຸ້ມຄອງແລະວິກິດການການເລື່ອງ. ເອກະສານເຈົ້າຈັກກະພັດ
ຫວຽດນາມວ່າດ້ວຍການພົວພັນຂອງຫວຽດນາມກັບ ປະເທດສິບພັນຊ້າງ
(ຈະອອກຈຳຫນ່າຍທີ່ປະເທດຍີ່ປຸ່ນ ໃນປີ 1994). ນອກນັ້ນນະບຸຣິເຕຣີ້າຍັງ
ໄດ້ພິມປຶ້ມກ່ຽວກັບ ສັດສະນະແລະປະສົບການກ່ຽວກັບການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານ
ຂອງຄົນລາວທີ່ປະເທດອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍ, ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ກຣິບຟິດ,
ອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍ 1993; ກຳລັງຈະອອກຈຳຫນ່າຍໃນປີ 1994 ແມ່ນປຶ້ມ
ກ່ຽວກັບ ສັດສະນະແລະປະສົບການກ່ຽວກັບກົດໝາຍອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍຂອງ
ຊາວອິນດູຈີນ; ປຶ້ມທີ່ເພສາລາວໄດ້ພິມອອກຈຳຫນ່າຍແລ້ວຄື ຊີວິດແລະ
ການເຄື່ອນໄຫວຂອງທ່ານນາງຄຳແນງບຸບຜາ (ໂຮງພິມລັດວິສາຫະກິດຈຳ
ຫນ່າຍ ສປປລາວ 1993).