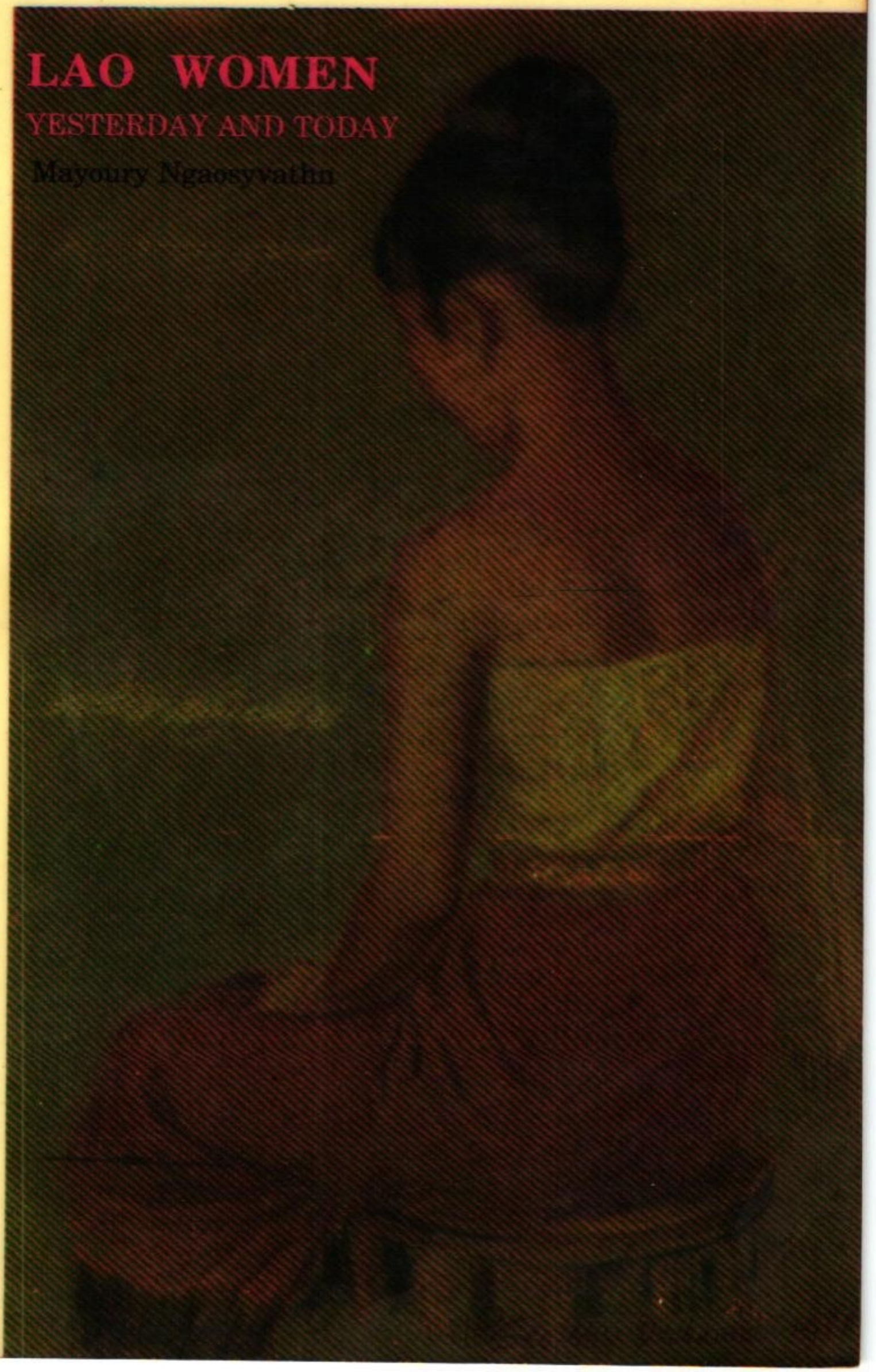
ผู้ ยิง ลาว
ใน อะดีด และ ปะ จุ บัน

ມະยุริ

ເหงี้าสีวัดทน์

LAO WOMEN
YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn



lingual Publication

ກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຂຽນ/About the author

ດຣ. ມະຍຸຣີ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌, ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບປຣິນຍາເອກແລ້ວ, ເຄີຍໄດ້ເປັນທີ່ປຶກສາສານສູງສຸດແຫ່ງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ. ຜ່ານມາເຄີຍໄດ້ເປັນສາດສະດາຈານສອນກົດຫມາຍທີ່ນະຄອນຫລວງປາຣີແລະທີ່ປະເທດລາວພ້ອມທັງສອນກົດຫມາຍກົງສູນທີ່ໂຮງຮຽນການພິວພັນການຕ່າງປະເທດແລະໂຮງຮຽນກົດຫມາຍຊັ້ນສູງທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ. ຜູ້ກ່ຽວເຄີຍເປັນຮອງຫົວຫນ້າກົມ ຜູ້ທີ່ຫນຶ່ງ (ກະຊວງຍຸຕິທຳ ແລະ ຮອງຫົວຫນ້າ ກົມກົງສູນ (ກະຊວງການຕ່າງປະເທດ). ຜູ້ກ່ຽວພ້ອມດ້ວຍສາມີໄດ້ຂໍອະນຸຍາດພັກເພື່ອ ອຸທິດໃຫ້ແກ່ ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າກ່ຽວກັບປະຫວັດສາດອາຊີອາຄະເນ, ເພດ[ຍິງ-ຊາຍ],ສົງຄົມສາດ ກໍ່ຄືກ່ຽວ ກັບ ຊາວອິນດູຈີນທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ. ຜົນງານການຄົ້ນຄວ້າບາງຢ່າງໄດ້ຖືກພິມເຊັ່ນບາງປຶ້ມທີ່ຮ່ວມກັບດຣ. ເຜີຍພັນເປັນຕົ້ນປຶ້ມ *ເຈົ້າອະນຸ 1767-1829 ປະຊາຊົນລາວແລະອາຊີອາຄະເນ (ເລື້ອງເກົ່າ, ບັນຫາໃຫ່ມ)*,ສຳນັກພິມຈຳຫນ່າຍ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ (1988);*ການເມືອງບ້ານພີ່ເມືອງນ້ອງໄທ-ລາວ ທີ່ແສນຮັກແສນແຄ້ນ*,ພິມຈຳຫນ່າຍແລ້ວທີ່ປະເທດຝຣັ່ງປີ 1994; *ການຄຸ້ມຄອງ ແລະ ວິທີການ ການເມືອງ. ເອກະສານເຈົ້າຈັກກະພັດຫວຽດນາມວ່າດ້ວຍ ການພົວພັນຂອງຫວຽດນາມກັບປະເທດພັນຊ້າງ* (ຈະອອກພິມຈຳຫນ່າຍທີ່ປະເທດຍີ່ປຸ່ນໃນອີກບໍ່ຄົນ).ນອກຈາກນັ້ນມະຍຸຣີເອງຍັງໄດ້ພິມປຶ້ມກ່ຽວກັບ*ທັດສະນະແລະປະສົບການກ່ຽວກັບການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຂອງຄົນລາວ ທີ່ປະເທດ ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍ*, ມະຫາ ວິທະຍາໄລ ກຣິບຝິດ (ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍ 1993); *ຊີວິດແລະການເຄື່ອນໄຫວຂອງທ່ານນາງຄຳແພງບຸບຜາ* (ພາສາ ລາວ ແລະອັງກິດ, ໂຮງພິມລັດວິສາຫະກິດຈຳຫນ່າຍ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ); ກຳລັງຈະພິມແມ່ນປຶ້ມກ່ຽວກັບ *ທັດສະນະແລະປະສົບການກ່ຽວກັບກົດຫມາຍ ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍຂອງ ຊາວອິນດູຈີນ*.

ຮູບພາບຫນ້າປົກປະກອບໃຫ້ໂດຍທ່ານກະໂລດແວ້ງຊ້ວ
The cover picture is given by Mr. Claude Vincent.

ผู้ยิงลาว
ในอะดีตและปะจุบัน

มะยุรี เหว้ำสิวัดหม์

LAO WOMEN
YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn

Bilingual publication

ผู้ยิงลาว
ในอะดีตและปะจุบัน

* มะยุลี เทวีฯสิวัฒน์

ສຸຍິງລາວ
ໃນອະດີດແລະປະຈຸບັນ

ມະຍຸຣີ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌

ທະບຽນອະນຸຍາດພິມ: ຫນ ເລກທີ່ 666/ພ.ຫ.ປ./27121994
ກະຊວງວັດທະນະທຳ

ພິມຄັ້ງທີ່ 2 ເດືອນ ກຸມພາ 1995
ຈຳນວນ 1200 ເຫລັ້ມ

ພິມທີ່ ໂຮງພິມລັດວິສາຫະກິດແຫ່ງ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ

ລິຂະສິດຂອງປຶ້ມນີ້ເປັນກຳມະສິດຂອງມະຍຸຣີເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌
ຕໍ່ໄປຈະຕົກເປັນ ຂອງ ດຣ. ເຜີຍພັນ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌,
ຍຸຣະພັນ, ອະນຸຣະພັນ, ໂບຣະພັນ ແລະສຸຣິຍະພັນ.

ເປັນ ສອງ ພາສາ

ຂໍອຸທິດປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ແດ່ພໍ່ແມ່, ສາມີ ແລະ ລູກໆ, ແດ່
ຊາວລາວທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ກໍຄືຢູ່ທີ່ທຸກຫົນທຸກແຫ່ງ.

ຄຳຂອບໃຈ

ນັບແຕ່ ປີ 1988 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ, ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າໄດ້ເລີ້ມຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ກ່ຽວກັບ ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ໂດຍໄດ້ເກັບກຳຂໍ້ມູນແລະເອກກະສານຕ່າງໆຢ່າງ ເປັນ ລະບົບແລ້ວໄດ້ລົງມືຂຽນ. ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຖືໂອກາດນີ້ ສະແດງ ຄວາມ ຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ທ່ານ ດຣ.ບອກເຊ ຈອນກຣິນ Dr. Borje Ljunggren, ທ່ານ ທອກວານ ອາແກດເຊີນ Mr. Torval Akesson (ທັງສອງ ໄດ້ສຳເລັດຝົນຢ່າງສະງ່າງາມໃນການເປັນ ອຸປະທູດຂອງ ປະເທດສະວີເດນ ປະຈຳ ຢູ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ) ແລະ ອົງການ ຊີດາ SIDA ຂອງປະເທດສະວີເດນ; ທ່ານອຸປະທູດຂອງ ປະເທດ ສະວີເດນ ປະຈຳຢູ່ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ ຜູ້ໃຫ່ມ ຄື ທ່ານຣິນ ກາກມານ (Rolf Carlman) ພ້ອມດ້ວຍ ທ່ານ ນາງອຸນລາໂຊ ແຣນເຊີນ (Ulla Johansson) ທີ່ເຄີຍຮັບຜິດຊອບໂຄງການ ສຶກສາກ່ຽວກັບເພດຂອງ ອົງການຊີດາ ແລະ ທ່ານນາງ ມະນີວອນ ວິຣະວົງ (Manivone Viravong) ທີ່ ປະຈຸບັນ ຮັບ ຜິດຊອບ ໂຄງການດັ່ງກ່າວຂອງອົງການຊີດາ; ດຣ. ຕູບີ ອາລິດເຊ ວົກ ມານ Dr. Toby Alice Walkman; ດຣ. ເມຣີ ມັກໂດ ແນນ Dr. Mary McDonell ແລະ ເວົ້າໂດຍທົ່ວໄປກໍຄື ສະ ພາຄົ້ນຄວ້າວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມທີ່ນິວຢອກ The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) (New York) ທີ່ ທັງ ຫມົດໄດ້ເຄີຍຊ່ວຍໃຫ້ທຶນສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງເພື່ອການຄົ້ນຄວ້າດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ ດຣ. ມາກຊີອາກຣາມ Dr. Marcia Grant ແລະໂດຍສະເພາະທ່ານໂທມາສ ອາມສ Thomas Vally;ທ່ານເດວິດ ອາດາມ Mr. David Adams

ที่ໄດ້ ຊ່ວຍປະກອບສ່ວນຢ່າງເປັນຫມາກຜົນໃຫ້ແກ່ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າຂອງ ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ໃນ ເວລາທີ່ຢູ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລຮາກເວີກ Harvard University ໂດຍສະເພາະທີ່ຮາດກຣິບ Radcliff College ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຈັດກອງປະຊຸມຫລາຍຄັ້ງກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫາເພດຍິງ-ຊາຍ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ຂໍຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລຮ່າວາຍ Hawaii ໂດຍ ສະເພາະ East-West-Center, ເປັນຕົ້ນ ດຣ. ປີເຕີ ເຊມິດສ Dr. Peter Xenos ແລະ ດຣ. ເຄນນອນ ເບຣຊີນ Dr. KennonBreazeale; ສະຖາບັນອາຊີອາຄະເນທີ່ສີງ ກະໂປແລະມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລ ກຣິບຟິດ Griffith University (Australia) ທີ່ທັງຫມົດໄດ້ໃຫ້ໂອກາດແກ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າສໍາເລັດ ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຂອບໃຈພິເສດຕໍ່ ດຣ. ວາຊຽກ ກາຣິມ ຊາຣາມ Dr. Wazir Karim Jahan ສາດສະດາຈານທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລມາເລເຊຍແລະ ດຣ.ໂອໂຕເມ Dr. Otome Hutheesing ທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລມາເລເຊຍ. ທັງສອງ ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານແລະກວດພາສາອັງກິດສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງຂອງ ພາກ I;ຕໍ່ນາງ ເມກຣາໂກ Ms. Meg Rakow ທີ່ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລບຣິຕິສໂກລຶມເບຍການາດາ British Columbia University, Canada, ທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານແລະ ກວດພາສາອັງກິດສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງຂອງພາກ II; ນາງ ຊິນດີ ສະຕິວ ວາກ Ms. Cindy Stewart ແລະ ດຣ. ແຟຣງໂຟຣດສ Dr.Frank Frost, ທັງສອງມາຈາກມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລກຣິບຟິດ Griffith University (Australia)ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍອ່ານແລະກວດສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງຂອງພາກ II. ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ປັນຫນີ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ ດຣ. ມາກຕິນສະຕຸຍອາກຟິກສ Dr. Martin

Stuart-Fox, ສາດສະດາຈານມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລດວິນສະແລນ, ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍກວດອ່ານຄືນເກືອບຫມົດປຶ້ມເປັນພາສາອັ້ງ ກິດແລະຫັ້ງໄດ້ຂຽນຄຳນຳເພື່ອສະບັບພາສາອັ້ງກິດໃຫ້ອີກດ້ວຍ.

ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຂອບໃຈທ່ານກອງມະນີປານມະໄລທອງແລະທ່ານ ລິດຖີສີວົງທີ່ສຳນັກປະຊາຊົນທີ່ໄດ້ຊ່ວຍກວດແກ້ແລະໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນ ອັນມີ ຄ່າໃຫ້ແກ່ສະບັບເປັນພາສາລາວ.

ຂ້າ ພະເຈົ້າຂໍຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນຢ່າງເລິກເຊິ່ງຕໍ່ ທ່ານສີຊະນະສີສານທີ່ ໄດ້ອ່ານແລະຂຽນຄຳນຳແລະຫັ້ງໃຫ້ກຳລັ້ງໃຈຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ໄດ້ພິມ

ອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າບໍ່ອາດລືມແມ່ນທ່ານຫຸມພັນລັດຕະນະວົງ ຫົວຫນ້າ ສະຖາບັນຄົ້ນຄວ້າວັດທະນະທຳແລະສັ້ງຄົມພ້ອມດ້ວຍເພື່ອນ ຮ່ວມງານໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນອັນມີຄ່າແລະຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ໃບສະເຫນີ.

ຄຳຂອບໃຈຂອງຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຝາກສິ່ງຜ່ານປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ເຖິງເພື່ອນ ແລະເພື່ອນ ບັນດິດນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າແລະສາດສະດາຈານທີ່ປະເທດລາວ, ສິງກະໂປ, ສະວີເດນ, ຝຣັ່ງເສດ, ອາເມຣິກາ, ອັ້ງກິດ, ອົດ ສະເຕຣເຣຍແລະການາດາທີ່ໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມສະຫນັບສະຫນູນໃຫ້ກຳລັ້ງ ໃຈແລະຊຸກຍູ້ເປັນການສ່ວນຕົວຢ່າງບໍ່ຍໍ້ຫໍ້ແລະຊ່ວຍແນະນຳຢ່າງມີຄ່າ ຊຶ່ງມັນໄດ້ເພີ້ມໃຫ້ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ຮ່ຳມີຮຶ້ນຕື່ມ. ຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຄວາມກະ ລຸນ່າແຜ່ເມດຕາມອບປຶດຄົ້ນຄວ້າສ່ວນຕົວຂອງຕົນທີ່ຍັ້ງບໍ່ທັນໄດ້ພິມເຜີຍ ແຜ່ອອກເທື່ອແລະຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນເປັນຢ່າງສູ້ງມາ ນະທີ່ນີ້ດ້ວຍ.

ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ຈະ ບໍ່ ສາມາດສຳເລັດຖ້າຂາດການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຢ່າງ

ເອົາໃຈໃສ່ແລະຢ່າງຕັ້ງຫນ້າຂອງ ດຣ.ເຜີຍພັນແລະລູກໆ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າຂໍສົ່ງ ຄວາມຮູ້ບຸນຄຸນອັນລົ້ນເຫລືອແດ່ ດຣ.ເຜີຍພັນແລະ ລູກໆ ທີ່ໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນແບກຫາບຊ່ວຍໃຫ້ການຄົ້ນຄວ້ານີ້ໄດ້ຜ່ານຜ່າ ຕໍ່ອຸປະສັກນາໆ ປະການໂດຍໄດ້ໃຫ້ກຳລັງໃຈແລະຫັງເປັນຜູ້ໃຫ້ຄຳຊີ້ ແນະອັນປະເສີດໃຫ້ແກ່ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້.

ທ້ວງຫນົດ ຂອງ ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າເພື່ອປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ແມ່ນພາກສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງມະໂນທຳຂອງຂ້າພະເຈົ້າທີ່ໄດ້ເຕີບໃຫ່ຍແລະໃນທີ່ນີ້ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າ ເປັນຫນີ້ບຸນຄຸນຕໍ່ການປະສົບປະການແລະຕໍ່ການວິໃຈຄົ້ນຄວ້າກັບຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວເອງທີ່ປະເທດລາວ ກໍຄືທີ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ ທີ່ຕະລອດສະຕະວັດທີ່ 20-21 ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຕໍ່ສູ ຢ່າງຍາວນານແລະລະອຽດລະອໍ້ຮ່ວເພື່ອຈະກຳ ນົດໄດ້ບົດບາດຂອງຕົນເອງໃນສັງຄົມລາວກໍຄືໃນສັງຄົມຂອງປະເທດ ທີ່ສາມທີ່ຕົນໄດ້ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃຫ່ມ.

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ເປັນທີ່ ຮູ້ກັນວ່າຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມມະນຸດໄດ້ມີໄລຍະທີ່ສັງຄົມໄດ້ຢູ່ໃນ ລະບອບ ມານດາສິດທີ່ລາດຫມາຍຄວາມວ່າແມ່ຫລືແມ່ຍິງເປັນໃຫ່ຍ ແລະເປັນ ຜູ້ປົກຄອງຄອບຄົວ. ໃນໄລຍະນີ້ອາດກ່າວໄດ້ວ່າສິດທຸກ ຢ່າງແມ່ນຂຶ້ນ ນຳແມ່ຍິງ. ແຕ່ຕໍ່ມາລະບອບນັ້ນກໍໄດ້ເຊື່ອມແລະຫັນ ໄປສູ່ລະບອບ ປິດາທີ່ລາດຫມາຍຄວາມວ່າຜູ້ປົກຄອງຄອບຄົວເປັນຜູ້ ຊາຍແລະສິດ ທຸກຢ່າງແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບຜູ້ຊາຍ. ຕັ້ງແຕ່ນັ້ນມາແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ ຢູ່ໃນຖານະທີ່ ຕ່ຳຕ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ. ພວກເຂົາໄດ້ຖືກຜູກມັດດ້ວຍຮີດຄອງ ປະເພນີຕ່າງໆນາໆ. ນອກຈາກນັ້ນໃນຫລາຍປະເທດພວກເຂົາຍັງ ຖືກກີດຫມາຍ ຂວາງ ບ້ານເມືອງຕັດສິດສະເຫມີພາບກັບເພດຊາຍ. ພວກເຂົາຖືກດູຖູກວ່າເປັນເພດທີ່ອ່ອນແອຊື່ງໃນຄວາມເປັນຈິງແລ້ວ ພວກເຂົາເປັນກຳລັງອັນມະຫາສານໃນການສ້າງປະເທດ.

ຢູ່ໃນປະເທດລາວ ໃນສະໄຫມກ່ອນໆສະພາບຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວ ກໍ່ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງແຕກຕ່າງກັບ ແມ່ຍິງໃນປະເທດຕ່າງໆ. ແຕ່ນັບຕັ້ງແຕ່ປີ 1945 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາຖານະ ຂອງແມ່ຍິງໃນສັງຄົມລາວໄດ້ເລີ່ມຕົ້ນມີ ການປ່ຽນແປງພວກແມ່ ຍິງລາວເປັນຈຳນວນນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍໄດ້ເຂົ້າ ຮ່ວມໃນການຕໍ່ຕ້ານ ຝຣັ່ງ, ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມໃນການກູ້ຊາດຕ້ານອາເມຣິ ກາແລະນັບຕັ້ງແຕ່ປີ 1975ເປັນຕົ້ນມາໄດ້ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມໃນການປົກປັກ ຮັກສາແລະສ້າງສາ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ. ຖານະຂອງພວກເຂົາໃນສັງ ຄົມໄດ້ຮັບການເຊີດຊູຂຶ້ນ.

ເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ເຫັນສະພາບຄວາມເປັນຈິງຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວໃນອະ ດີດແລະໃນປະຈຸບັນ, ດຣ. ມະຍຸຣີ ເຫງົ້າສີວັດທນ໌ໄດ້ໃຊ້ຄວາມອຸດ

ສາຫະ , ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມບໍ່ຫນ້ອຍແລະ ເປັນ ເວລາ ເທົ່ງພໍສົມຄວນ ເພື່ອ ເກັບກຳ ຂໍ້ ມູນ ແລະ ຂຽນ ອອກ ເປັນ ປຶ້ ມ .

ຂ້າ ພະ ເຈົ້າ ຄິດ ວ່າ ປຶ້ ມ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ລາວ : ໃນ ອະ ດີດ ແລະ ປະ ຈຸ ບັນ ຈະ ເປັນ ປະ ໂຫຍ ດ ແກ່ ທ່ານ ຜູ້ ອ່ານ ທີ່ ສົນ ໃຈ ໃນ ເລື່ ອງ ແມ່ ຍິງ ລາວ ເວົ້ າ ສະ ເພາະ ແລະ ເວົ້ າ ລວມ ກໍ ຄື ແມ່ ຍິງ ໃນ ອາ ຊີ ອາ ຄະ ເນ .

3 ກັນ ຍາ 1993

ສີ ຊະ ນະ ສິ ສານ

ອະ ດີດ ປະ ທານ ຄະ ນະ ກຳ ມະ ການ ວິ ທະ ຍາ ສາດ ສັ ງ ຄົ ມ ແຫ່ ງ ຊາ ດ , ປະ ທານ ຄະ ນະ ຮັ ບ ຜິ ດ ຊອ ບ ສ້ າ ງ ຫໍ ພິ ພິ ດ ຕະ ພັ ນ ໄທ ສ ອ ນ ພົ ມ ວິ ຫານ

ຄຳຜາລົບ

ການຂາດເຂີນທາງດ້ານຂໍ້ມູນແລະການສຶກສາກ່ຽວກັບປະເທດ ລາວ ເວົ້າທົ່ວໄປແລະເວົ້າສະເພາະກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ ມີການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ. ໃນບໍ່ຄົນມານີ້ນໄດ້ມີບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຕ່າງປະເທດ ແລະລາວໄດ້ຂຽນບາງປຶດຄວາມແຕ່ບໍ່ມີປຶ້ມກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫານີ້. ການ ຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ໄດ້ດຳເນີນດ້ວຍການເກັບກຳຂໍ້ມູນອັນລະເລັກລະນ້ອຍສະ ສົມມາໄດ້ຫລາຍປີແລ້ວໂດຍຜ່ານການເກັບກຳຢູ່ ຕາມຫໍສະມຸດຂອງ ມະຫາ ວິທະຍາໄລຕ່າງໆທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດແລະ ໂດຍສົມທົບກັບການ ລົງເກັບ ກ່ຽວ ເອົາ ຄຳບອກເລົ່າຈາກປາກຍິງ-ຊາຍທີ່ຊົນນະບົດ, ສະຫະ ກອນ ກະເສດ, ວິສາຫະກິດ, ໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍຄືຊົນນະບົດ ແລະນຳຊາວລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ. ຄວາມຈິງ ມີ ວ່າ ການຄົ້ນ ຄວ້າເພື່ອປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ໄດ້ດຳເນີນໄປຢ່າງເຫລືອວິໄສທີ່ບໍ່ອາດ ສາມາດຈະກວມໄປຫມົດທຸກເຜົ່າຊົນລາວດັ່ງນັ້ນປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ຫນັກແຕ່ເຜົ່າລາວລຸ່ມ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫາກເປັນໄປໄດ້ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ໃຊ້ຄວາມ ພະຍາຍາມ ຢ່າງສຸດຂີດເອົາເຜົ່າອື່ນເຂົ້າປະກອບນຳເປັນບາງຄັ້ງ ບາງຄາວ. ຄວາມ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກໃນການທີ່ຈະເອົາເຜົ່າອື່ນໆປະກອບ ເຂົ້າໃນປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ເຫລືອວິໄສທີ່ມັນບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບການແລ່ນ ຄ້ວ ນຳ ຈັບເອົາສາຍຮຸ້ງກິນນ້ຳໃຫ້ໄດ້ຫມົດທຸກສາຍທຸກແສງສີເຂົ້າ ຮ່ວມເປັນສາຍຫນຶ່ງສາຍດຽວກັນ. ປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ປະກອບດ້ວຍ 2 ພາກ ທີ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງສັງຄົມເກົ່າໄດ້ຄອບງຳປະຊາຊົນລາວເວົ້າລວມແລະ ເວົ້າສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງເຖິງແມ່ນຈະໄດ້ແບກຫາບຊ່ວຍສັງຄົມເທົ່າໃດກໍ ດີແລະໄດ້ອຸທິດແດ່ ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມທີ່ລະບອບໃຫມ່ ໄດ້ປະຕິບັດຕໍ່ ເພດຍິງມາແຕ່ 1975 ໃນສະພາບສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມຂອງຮົດຄອງວັດ ທະນະທຳຍັງຫນັກຫນວງຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງກໍຄືການທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຈະມີຄວາມຫວັງແນວ ໃດເພື່ອສ້າງອະນາຄົດຂອງຕົນເອງ.

ແຕ່ວ່າເວລາບໍ່ທັນ ສຸກງອມເພື່ອຈະຖອດຖອນບົດຮຽນຂອງສ້ວ ຄົນທີ່ນອນມາໄດ້ຫລາຍ ສະຕະວັດແລ້ວເຖິງແມ່ນຈະຄ່ອຍໆເປີດປະ ຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວກໍດີ.

ເພື່ອສະດວກຫາງ ດ້ານເຕັກນິກຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ໃຊ້ເອກະສານອ້າງ ອີງໃນສະບັບພາສາລາວ ໂດຍໄດ້ບົ່ງຊີ້ເປັນພາສາລາວແລະສາກົນ ໃສ່ເປັນຄັ້ງທຳອິດ ໃນປຶ້ມ ແລ້ວຕໍ່ໆໄປຖ້າຫາກເປັນຊື່ດຽວກັນທີ່ໄດ້ ອ້າງແລ້ວ ຈະບົ່ງເປັນຊື່ພາ ສາສາກົນເລີຍ. ນອກນັ້ນບາງບ່ອນທີ່ ເວົ້າໃນສະບັບ ພາສາລາວ ອາດຈະບໍ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າໃນສະບັບພາສາສາ ກົນເພາະສະບັບພາສາສາກົນ ໄດ້ຮຽບຮຽງສ້າເລັດກ່ອນສະບັບພາ ສາລາວຫລືກ່ອນການຈະໄດ້ຕົກ ລົງພິມທີ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ແລະສະ ບັບພາສາລາວໄດ້ມີການປັບປຸງຕື່ມຫລັງຈາກທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ມີຂໍ້ມູນເພີ້ມ ຕື່ມກັບທີ່. ຍ້ອນການຂາດເວລາ ເອກະສານອ້າງອີງທີ່ເປັນພາສາ ສາກົນຈຶ່ງມີບາງບ່ອນບໍ່ໄດ້ແປມາເປັນລາວ. ເພື່ອສະດວກຜູ້ຂຽນຂໍ ແຈ້ງວ່າເອກະສານອ້າງອີງທີ່ເປັນພາສາສາກົນຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງສະບັບພາ ສາ ສາກົນໂດຍກົງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງເອກະສານອ້າງອີງເປັນພາ ສາ ສາກົນເປັນ ເຄົ້າ ແຕ່ເອົາສະບັບທີ່ເປັນພາສາລາວເປັນສ້າ ຄັນສະເພາະສະບັບພາສາ ລາວ.

ມະຍຸຣີ ເທງ້ຳສີວັດທນ໌

"ພວກເຮົາບໍ່ໄດ້ເກີດເປັນເພດຍິງແຕ່ພວກເຮົາ
ຫາກກາຍເປັນເພດຍິງ"

ສິມອນເດີໂບວ໊ວ Simone De Beauvoir
ໃນປຶ້ມ ເພດທີ່ສອງ, The Second Sex

ພາກ I. ລະບອບການເມືອງທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດສະເຫມີພາບ

"ຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງຣາຊີນີ", ຄວາມເວົ້າອັນນີ້ແມ່ນນິກ ທ່ອງທ່ຽວທີ່ມາຈາກປະເທດຈີນຄົງຈະຫມາຍເຖິງເຂດທີ່ລວມເຖິງ ລາວໃນປະຈຸບັນ (ອີກສະໄປ Rispaud, 1961; ໃຣຊີໃນ Hoshino 1986). ອາດຈະເປັນໄປໄດ້ຄືບາງນິກຄົ້ນຄວ້າທີ່ ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າໃນເບື້ອງຕົ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຄົງຈະເປັນຜູ້ປົກຄອງຫລາຍກ່ວາຈະ ແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ປົກຄອງ.

ແຕ່ ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດນໍ້າຫນັກຂອງປະຫວັດສາດໄດ້ປ່ຽນສະພາບ ການດັ່ງກ່າວຢ່າງກະທັນຫັນເພາະຖືກບັນຊາໂດຍສາສະຫນາພາມ ແລະພຸດ. ສາສະຫນາພຸດທີ່ເປັນສາສະຫນາໃຫຍ່ໄດ້ຖືກນໍາ ເຂົ້າ ມາໃນລ້ານຊ້າງເປັນຄັ້ງທໍາອິດໃນສະຕະວັດທີ່ 11 ແລະໄດ້ ມີ ຄວາມເຂັ້ມແຂງໃນສະຕະວັດທີ່ 14. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງຖືກຫາ ວ່າ ເປັນຜູ້ສະແຫວງອໍານາດໂດຍສະເພາະໃນກໍລະນີຂອງນາງ ແກ້ວ ພິມພາຊຶ່ງຮູ້ກັນທົ່ວໄປອີກຊື່ຫນຶ່ງວ່ານາງ "ມະຫາເທວີ". ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາຖືກກ່າວຫາຢ່າງຮຸນແຮງຈາກຕໍານານໃນສະ ຕະ ວັດ ທີ່ສາສະຫນາພຸດໄດ້ຖືກປະກາດເປັນສາສະຫນາຫາງການ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນ ມາສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນຖືກຄອບງໍາ. ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງກາຍເປັນ "ພົນ ລະເມືອງຊັ້ນສອງ" ຂອງສັງຄົມແລ້ວ, ການຍຶດຄອງອໍານາດຂອງ ຜູ້ຊາຍແມ່ນສົມບູນ.

1/ ຫວນຄືນເຖິງອະດີດ: ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດຊອບຕໍ່ປະຕະຜີ ຂອງຄາຊະອາມາຈັກແລະຈັກກະວານ

ກ- ຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕຳນານການເກີດ

ເຫມືອນດັ່ງປະຊາຊົນໃນຫລາຍປະເທດ, ປະຊາຊົນລາວບັນ ດາເຜົ່າແມ່ນມາຈາກ ຫລາຍວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະ ໄດ້ຮັດກອດເອົາ ສອງ ລະບົບ ເຊື່ອຖື ທີ່ສຳຄັນຄືສາສະຫນາພຸດແລະຜີສາງຕ່າງໆ. ບົດບາດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນການເຊື່ອຖືແມ່ນມີຄວາມສຳຄັນທີ່ສຸດເພື່ອປະ ສານກັບໂລກຕາບໍ່ເຫັນແລະໂລກມະນຸດ. ຕຳນານກໍຄືເຫນ ນິຍາຍ ຂອງລາວກ່ຽວກັບການເກີດຂອງໂລກໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນຜູ້ ທຳອິດທີ່ເກີດໃນດິນແດນລາວ, ບຸກຄົນໃດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງ ຫາກ ທຳ ຮ້າຍເຖິງຊີວິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນຈະໄດ້ຮັບເຄາະແລະຈະ ຖືກລົ້ມລະລາຍໃນອາມາຈັກ" (ໂວທູຕິນ Vo Thu Tinh 1970 ຫນ້າ 11).

ພາຍຫລັງ ທີ່ໄດ້ມີມະນຸດມາຈຸຕິສູ່ໂລກແລ້ວ, ແມ່ຍ່າງ່າມຊົ່ງ ເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນ ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າຍ່າເຍ, ເປັນບັນພະສະຕຣີຂອງປວງ ຊົນລາວບັນດາເຜົ່າທີ່ໄດ້ສະລະຊີວິດກັບປູ່ເຍຕັດຕົ້ນເຄືອເຂົ້າກາດ ທີ່ເຮັດໃຫ້ຟ້າແລະດິນຕິດຕໍ່ກັນເພາະຕາມການເລົ່າຂານກັນມາວ່າ ຍ້ອນບໍ່ເຫັນແສງແດດ. ເມື່ອຕັດຕົ້ນໄມ້ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ອອກ ແລ້ວມະ ນຸດຈຶ່ງໄດ້ພົບແສງແດດອີກໃຫ່ມ. ປູ່ເຍແລະຍ່າເຍຈຶ່ງຖືກ ຕົ້ນໄມ້ ນັ້ນທັບຕາຍ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາຫຸກໆປີ, ກ່ອນປີ 1975, ໃນໂອ ກາດ ບຸນປີໃຫມ່ທີ່ຫລວງພະບາງໄດ້ມີພິທີຈັດຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອລະລຶກເຖິງ ປູ່ເຍ ແລະຍ່າເຍ. ຈົນເທົ່າທຸກວັນນີ້ ເພື່ອລະລຶກ ເຖິງປູ່ເຍ ຍ່າເຍ, ຄົນລາວສ່ວນຫລວງຫລາຍແລະເວົ້າໂດຍສະເພາະ ທີ່ ຫລວງພະ ບາງ, ກ່ອນ ຈະກິນເຂົ້າ ມັກຈະເວົ້າວ່າ "ມາເຍ, ກິນເຍ".

ຕຳນານຫຍໍ້ກ່ຽວກັບການສ້າງຕັ້ງເມືອງລາວ ໄດ້ອ້າງເຖິງ ການເສຍສະລະຂອງມະນຸດຊຶ່ງແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ພາຍຫລັງຕາຍໄປແລ້ວ ໄດ້ກາຍເປັນ ຜີປົກປັກຮັກສາເມືອງ. ຜີປົກປັກຮັກສາເມືອງມີຊື່ທີ່ ຮູ້ກັນວ່າຜີເມືອງ ຫລືມະເຫສັກ. ການເຊື່ອຖືຜີ ເມືອງບໍ່ມີແຕ່ໃນ ລາວເທົ່ານັ້ນຫາກເຫມືອນດັ່ງ ເດວິດ Davis (1984b ໜ້າ 273) ໄດ້ຍັ້ງຍືນວ່າ ພິທີກຳຜີເມືອງແມ່ນຮູບການທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງ ການເຊື່ອຖືໃນເອເຊຍອາຄະເນ.

ຂອບເຂດໜ້າທີ່ປົກປັກຮັກສາຂອງຜີເມືອງບໍ່ກວມພຽງແຕ່ໝູ່ ບ້ານເທົ່ານັ້ນແຕ່ຫາກຍັງກວມໄປໝົດໃຂງເຂດທີ່ຂຶ້ນກັບເມືອງອີກ. ທີ່ວຽງຈັນໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຊື່ວ່າສາວສີ. ຕາມການບອກເລົ່າແລະ ເຊື່ອຖືກັນມາຂອງຊາວວຽງຈັນໃນເວລາທີ່ເຈົ້າໄຊເສດຖາທິລາດ ຍ້າຍນະຄອນຫລວງລ້ານຊ້າງໄປວຽງຈັນໃນປີ 1564 ວ່າໃນເວ ລາເຮັດພິທີກຳຈະຝັງຫລັກເມືອງໄດ້ມີສາວສີຖືພາໄດ້ຫລາຍເດືອນ ເມື່ອຖືກຄົນຈິດຈິ່ງໄດ້ ສະລະຊີວິດຕົນເອງໂຕນລົງຂຸມເພື່ອຝັງຕົນ ເອງໄປກັບຫລັກເມືອງ. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາໄດ້ສ້າງວັດທີ່ນັ້ນແລະໄດ້ເອົາ ຊື່ສາວສີເປັນຊື່ວັດມີຊື່ວ່າວັດສີເມືອງຈົນເທົ່າທຸກວັນນີ້. ຊາວວຽ ຈັນໄດ້ເຍີ້ນສາວສີວ່າຍາແມ່ສີເມືອງ. ທຸກໆປີກ່ອນຈະມີບຸນນະມັດ ສະການທີ່ຫາດຫລວງ ຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ມີພິທີກຳເຮັດບຸນຢູ່ທີ່ວັດສີເມືອງ ກ່ອນ. ຄົນລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມໄດ້ຮ້ອງຂໍໃຫ້ພໍ່ແມ່ພີ່ ນ້ອງທີ່ລາວໄປບະຂໍໃຫ້ຍາແມ່ສີເມືອງ ຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂບັນຫາທີ່ພົວພັນ ກັບການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃຫ່ມຂອງເຂົາເຈົ້າ.

ຫລວງພະບາງເປັນນະຄອນຫລວງເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງຣາຊະອານາ ຈັກລາວ, ໄດ້ມີຜີເມືອງປົກປັກຮັກສາເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນກັບວຽງຈັນແຕ່ມີ ຊື່ວ່າສາວຫມັ້ນ ຕາມການບອກເລົ່າທາງພື້ນຖານຊຶ່ງແມ່ນເດດີເອ Deydier (1954 ໜ້າ 187) ເປັນຜູ້ບັນທຶກໄວ້ວ່າໄດ້ມີຍິງ

ໜຸ່ມຜູ້ໜຶ່ງຊື່ສາວໜັ້ນແຕ່ງຕົວດ້ວຍເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງງາມ ເອ້ດ້ວຍດອກໄມ້ສີແດງເຫມັບທີ່ ຊຶ່ງເປັນສີທີ່ເຊື່ອກັນວ່າມີອຳນາດດຶງດູດຄົ້ນເອົາຄວາມສົນໃຈຈາກຜີ ແລ້ວກໍໂຕນລົງຂຸມແລ້ວໜັກເສົາກໍທັບຜູ້ກ່ຽວຕາຍ. ໜັກເສົານັ້ນກໍຖືກເອີ້ນວ່າໜັກໜັ້ນ.

ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າບາງຄົນ ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍກ່ຽວກັບການເສຍສະລະຊີວິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຖືພາວ່າແມ່ນ "ພິທີກຳຂອງການຄາດຕະກຳ" (ອາງແຊມໂບນ Archaimbault, 1973a ໜ້າ 124). ການສົງເກດ ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນຄ້າຍຄືກັບການສົງເກດຂອງຊາມແບກແລງ Chamberlain ທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ມີໂອກາດສົນທະນາ ບາງກອກໃນວັນທີ 27 ພຶດສະພາ 1990 ຊຶ່ງຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນ ວ່າແມ່ນການສະລະຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ນານ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ກໍໄດ້ພົບພໍ້ໃນທ້ານອງດຽວກັນທີ່ທາງຕະເວັນອອກສຽງເໜືອຂອງປະເທດໄທ (ມຸ ເຊີ ເນ Mougne 1984a).

ຂ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນນາງຫຽມ

ໃນຊີວິດປະຈຳວັນ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເຮັດໜ້າທີ່ຕິດຕໍ່ກັບຄົນທີ່ຕາຍແລ້ວ ແລະ ຄົນທີ່ຍັງມີຊີວິດແມ່ນມີຊື່ວ່ານາງຫຽມຫລືແມ່ຫຽມ. ບົດບາດຂອງນາງຫຽມແມ່ນຊ່ວຍຕິດຕໍ່ກັບຄົນທີ່ຕາຍໄປແລ້ວຫລືເອີ້ນຜີບ້ານຜີເມືອງມາຖາມກ່ຽວກັບອະນາຄົດຫລືການປູກຝັງ ຕ່າງ ໆ. ທຸກວັນນີ້ປະຊາຊົນທີ່ເຊື່ອຖືຄວາມສັກສິດຂອງນາງຫຽມຈະໄປຫານາງຫຽມເພື່ອໃຫ້ຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂບັນຫາທີ່ເຂົ້າພົບພໍ້ໃນຊີວິດປະ ຈຳວັນຊຶ່ງອາດຈະແມ່ນລູກຕາຍຕົກນ້ຳ ກໍຈະໄປຫານາງຫຽມ ເພື່ອໃຫ້ຊ່ວຍບອກວ່າບ່ອນໃດທີ່ອາດຈະໄດ້ພົບຊາກສົບທີ່ກະແສນ້ຳອາດພັດເອົາໄປແລະໃນເວລາໃດແລະດ້ວຍເຫດຜົນອັນໃດລູກຈຶ່ງຈົມນ້ຳຕາຍ. ບາງຄັ້ງເຂົາເຈົ້າໄປຫານາງຫຽມ ເພື່ອຢາກຮູ້ວ່າ ໃຜເປັນຜູ້ລັກ

ເອົາສາຍຄໍຄໍາໃນຄອບຄົວຂອງເຂົາຫລືຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຢາກຈະລົງທຶນ ເຮັດການຄ້າແລ້ວ ຈະໄປຫານາງຫຽມເພື່ອຢາກຮູ້ວ່າການຫຈີ່ຈະ ລົງທຶນຈະໄດ້ຮັບຜົນແນວໃດ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ບຸກຄົນໃດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງທີ່ໄປ ຫານາງຫຽມແມ່ນຈະມີຮ້ອຍພັນຄໍາຖາມ ຊຶ່ງ ນາງຫຽມອາດ ຈະ ຖືກເຊີນ ໃຫ້ຄວາມ ກະຈ່າງແຈ້ງ. ຄົນລາວ ໂດຍສະເພາະ ຜູ້ ຍິງເປັນຄົນທີ່ອ່ຽງໄປໃນການເຊື່ອງົມງວາຍຢູ່ແລ້ວ ຈຶ່ງມີຈໍານວນ ຫລາຍ ໄປຫາ ນາງຫຽມເພາະຈຸດປະສົງຕົ້ນຕໍແມ່ນເພື່ອຊອກຫາ ທຶນທາງໃຫ້ຄອບຄົວມີຄວາມອຸດົມສົມບູນ. ເນື່ອງຈາກມີການເຊື່ອ ຖືກັນ ຫລາຍ ບົດບາດຂອງນາງຫຽມນັບມື້ນັບມີຄວາມສໍາຄັນ ແກ່ ສັງຄົມ ກໍຄື ຫມູ່ບ້ານແລະຍາມນີ້ຍິ່ງກວ່າຍາມໃດຫມົດທີ່ຜູ ເຊື່ອຖື ຕອ້ງການ ນາງ ຫຽມເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແກ້ໃຂ ບັນຫາຄອບຄົວຜົວເມຍ, ລູກເຕົ້າກໍຄືເສດຖະກິດຂອງຕົນ ແລະ ຂອງຄອບຄົວທີ່ກໍາລັງຢູ່ໃນ ລະຍະສັບສົນແລະຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ.

ເວລາຈະເຮັດພິທີກໍາຖ້ານາງຫຽມຈະຖືກຫຽມໂດຍຜີຜູ້ຊາຍ, ນາງຫຽມຈະນຸ່ງຫົ່ມເປັນຜູ້ຊາຍ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຖືກເລືອກຫລື ເຫັນດີຈາກຜີບ້ານຜີເມືອງໃຫ້ເປັນ "ມ້າຂີ່" ມັກຈະເປັນຍິງໜຸ່ມ ແລະ ມີ ຄວາມງາມ (ປວດຕີເອ Pottier 1973; ໂດເຣ Dore 1979; 1987;ທີ່ປະເທດໄທຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງວິໄຊເຢວາກເດ Wijeyewarde 1981).

ນັບແຕ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໃຫ່ມມາ, ລັດຖະບານ ບໍ່ສົ່ງເສີມປະ ຊາຊົນເຊື່ອຖືງົມງວາຍແຕ່ຍິ່ງປະຊາຊົນ ທຸກຍາກເທົ່າໃດຍິ່ງຕ້ອງ ການເຊື່ອຖືງົມງວາຍເພື່ອ ເອົາເປັນບ່ອນອີງໃຫ້ໄດ້ມີຄວາມຫວັງ ຕໍ່ສູ້ດີ້ນລົນກັບຊີວິດປະຈໍາວັນ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມັນສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນອີກ ວ່າບໍ່ວ່າແຕ່ນາງຫຽມເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ຜູ້ເຊື່ອຖືມັກເອີ້ນຫາໃຫ້ຊ່ວຍແມ້ແຕ່ ຍາແມ່ສີເມືອງເອງ ກໍຖືກເອີ້ນຫາຊຶ່ງໃນໄລຍະຫ້າອິດ ຂອງການ ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໃຫ່ມຫລາຍໆຄົນໃນຕົວເມືອງວຽງຈັນໄດ້ເຫັນວ່າ

ທີ່ ວັດສີເມືອງ ເກືອບບໍ່ມີຜູ້ຄົນເອົາດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນໄປບູຊາໂດຍ ສະເພາະໃນຊຸ່ມປີທຳອິດຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໃຫ່ມ .ນັບແຕ່ປີ 1989 (ຕາມທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນ ໄດ້ຖາມບາງຮ້ານ ຂາຍດອກໄມ້) ແລະ ມາ ທຸກວັນນີ້ໃນໂຂງເຂດວັດສີເມືອງແມ່ນ ອຸດົມສົມບູນ ໄປດ້ວຍ ຮ້ານຂາຍດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນແລະເຄື່ອງ ແກ້ບະ ທຸກຢ່າງທີ່ຜູ້ເຊື່ອຖື -ຊຶ່ງສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ຍິງ- ຕ້ອງການຊື້ .ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມັນແມ່ນ ສິ່ງໃຫ່ມ .

ຄ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນນາງເທວະດາ

ບາງປະເທດທີ່ໃກ້ຄຽງ ກັບລາວທີ່ຖືສາສະຫນາພຸດຈະມີການ ສະລອງປີໃຫ່ມໃນເດືອນເມສາແລະຈະແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຊື່ວ່ານາງສົງ ຂານທີ່ຈະເປັນຜູ້ນຳພາພິທີສະລອງ .ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຈະເປັນນາງ ສົງຂານ ຈະຕ້ອງຖືກ ເລືອກເອົາໃນບັນດາຜູ້ທີ ງາມ ໃນ ນະຄອນຫລວງ ຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ . ເມື່ອ ເຖິງ ເລີກງາມຍາມດີ ແລ້ວ ນາງສົງຂານ ຈະນຸ່ງເຄື່ອງປະດັບປະດາ ຢ່າງງົດງາມທີ່ສຸດແລ້ວ ຈະ ຖືກແຫ່ອ້ອມຕົວເມືອງ ເພື່ອຂັບໄລ່ສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ດີ ອອກຈາກເມືອງ ພ້ອມທັງເອົາໂຊກລາບມາສູ່ບ້ານສູ່ເມືອງ .

ນອກນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍັງມີບົດບາດສຳຄັນໃຫ້ສົງຄົມໃນແຕ່ລະວັນຂອງ ມະນຸດໃນ ດ້ານກະສິກຳ . ປະຊາຊົນລາວນັກບູຊາ ແລະ ກິນເຂົ້າ ຫນຽວ . ການກິນເຂົ້າໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ ປະຊາຊົນລາວມີການເຊື່ອວ່າ ເຂົ້າມີຂວັນຊຶ່ງຮູ້ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່ານາງເທວະດາເຂົ້າ . ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີພິທີກຳເອີ້ນນາງເທວະດາເຂົ້າຊຶ່ງຈະມີການເອີ້ນຊື່ທີ່ແຕກ ຕ່າງກັນໄປແຕ່ລະທ້ອງຖິ່ນເຊັ່ນ ນາງໂພສົບ , ແມ່ໂພສົບ ,ເທວີ ໂພສົບຫລືເອີ້ນແບບສັ້ນໆແມ່ເຂົ້າ . ພິທີດັ່ງກ່າວຈັດຂຶ້ນເພື່ອແນ່ໃສ່

ເຮັດໃຫ້ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນດີທາງດ້ານ ການເກັບກ່ຽວແລະເພື່ອຫລີກເວັ້ນ ບໍ່ໃຫ້ໄພທຳມະຊາດມາຮາວີ ເຂົ້າກໍຄືເຄື່ອງປູກຝັງ. ພິທີກຳຂວັນ ເຂົ້າມີຄວາມສຳຄັນເຊັ່ນກັນສຳຫລັບລາວສູງແລະລາວເທີງ.

ງ- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ຖືກເຄົາລົບບູຊາ

ເພື່ອຕ້ານ ລະບຽບທາງການທີ່ເຊື່ອມຊຶມໃນປັນຍາກາດຂອງ ລະບົບ ມານດາທິລາດ, ນິທານຫລາຍເລື່ອງໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມສຳຄັນ ແກ່ບົດບາດຜູ້ຍິງໃນການປົກຄອງປະເທດ. ໂດຍອີງຕາມການເລົ່າ ຂານ ໃນການເຮັດພິທີກຳກອບກູ້ເອົາເມືອງຈຳປາຢູ່ທາງພາກໃຕ້ ຂອງລາວ ໄດ້ມີນາງສີດາລູກສາວຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດຈຳປາຊຶ່ງເປັນຜູ້ ສ້າງວັດພູແລະໄດ້ອາສາສະມັກຕາຍແທນພໍ່. ແຕ່ນາງສີດາໄດ້ຖືກ ເຈົ້າຕ່າງແດນຊ່ວຍຊີວິດເອົາໄວ້ແລ້ວກໍໄດ້ແຕ່ງດອງເອົາເປັນມະ ເຫສີ (Archaimbault 1961a ໜ້າ 523).

ນິທານ<u>ນາງຕັນ</u>ໄຕແມ່ນ ນິທານລາວທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄ້າຍ ຄືນິທານ <u>ໜຶ່ງໃນພັນຣາຕຣີ</u> ທີ່ຂຽນ ໃນສະໄຫມສະຕະວັດ ທີ່ 16 ໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງການເສຍສະລະ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງເພື່ອ ຜູ້ຍິງຫມົດ ທ່ວເມືອງທີ່ຖືກເຈົ້າຊີວິດເອົາໄປຂ້າເທື່ອລະຄົນ. ແຕ່ ຍ້ອນຄວາມສະລາດຂອງນາງຕັນໄຕ ນາງຈຶ່ງໄດ້ ເອົາຊີວິດລອດ ແລະຫມາຍເຖິງການສິ້ນສຸດຂອງການຂ້າຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດ.

ຜູ້ຍິງກໍໄດ້ມີໂອກາດ ໃຊ້ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງຕົນ ໃນເວລາທີ່ ບ້ານເມືອງສະຫງົບກໍຄືໃນຍາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ. ວັນນະຄະດີເອກຂອງ ລາວເຊັ່ນສິນໄຊຂຽນໃນສະຕະວັດທີ່ 17 ໂດຍປາງ ຄຳໄດ້ເລົ່າ ວ່າໃນ ເວລາ ທີ່ພໍ່ຂອງ<u>ສິນໄຊ</u>ບວດເປັນພະແມ່ນແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ ບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງ ແທນ (ແປນ ຕີເອ Peltier 1988). ນິທານເລື່ອງ<u>ຂຸນຈຸນາງອົ້ວ</u> (1970) ໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນ

ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ບໍລິຫານປະເທດຂອງຕົນພາຍຫລັງທີ່ຜົວໄດ້ຕາຍ ແລ້ວ (Dore 1987 ຫນ້າ 798-800). ວັນນະຄະດີລາວທີ່ຍອດຍ້ຽມອີກເລື່ອງ ຫນຶ່ງຄື ມະຫາກາບຫ້າວຮຸ່ງຫ້າວເຈືອງ (ສີລາ, 1988)ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງນາງງ້ອມເປັນຫົວຫນ້າແມ່ທັບແລະ ໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນບັ້ນລືບອັນສໍາຄັນ ປົກປັກຮັກສາເມືອງແລະແມ່ນາງງ້ອມ ຊື່ວ່ານາງເມັ້ງໄດ້ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງ ເປັນເຈົ້າບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງ. ຖ້າຫາກວ່ານິຫານຕ່າງໆຂອງລາວ ທີ່ກ່າວເຖິງສັງຄົມໃນໄລຍະກ່ອນໆທີ່ສາສະຫນາພຸດ ຈະແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ຊຶ່ງ ແມ່ນສັງຄົມທີ່ຍັງເຊື່ອຖື ຜີສາງນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍັງມີບົດບາດສໍາຄັນຫລາຍເຊັ່ນ ໃນມະຫາກາບຫ້າວຮຸ່ງຫ້າວເຈືອງໄດ້ອຸທິດເຖິງວິລະ ກໍາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນການ ເປັນ ຜູ້ບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງ, ເປັນນັກລົບທີ່ເກັ່ງກ້າແລະ ເປັນຜູ້ປົກປັກຮັກສາປະເທດຄຽງບ່າຄຽງໄຫລ່ກັບ ເພດຊາຍ.

2/ <u>ຜູ້ຊາຍກຳອຳນາດແຕ່ຜູ້ດຽວ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ມືດມົນ</u>

> ທຸກສາສະໜາແຕ່ງຂຶ້ນ ແລະ ເຄ່ັ່ງຄັດໂດຍຜູ້ຊາຍ,
> ທຸກສາສະໜາເນັ້ນເຖິງການຄວບຄຸມຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍຜ່ານກົດໝາຍ "ເຫວະດາ",
> ທຸກສາສະໜາຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ, ການປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງບິນເສັ້ນທາງສາສະໜາ ແມ່ນຕາມຄວາມຈິງເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ໄຝ່ຝັນ,
> ທຸກສາສະໜາຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ຈະບໍ່ສາມາດເປັນເສັ້ນທາງເພື່ອນຳພາຜູ້ຍິງໄປສູ່ການປົດປ່ອຍ...
> (ອາຊາ Asha, 1987 ໜ້າ 11,225).

ກ- ສາສະໜາພຸດບໍ່ໃຫ້ໂອກາດຜູ້ຍິງສະເໝີພາບ

ຈຸດນີ້ແມ່ນເປັນບັນຫາທ່ົວໄປຂອງໂລກຊຶ່ງຈະຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍໃຊ້ພາສາຄວາມເວ້ົາສາສະໜາ, ຢູ່ລາວກໍຄືຢູ່ປະເທດອື່ນໆທີ່ຖືສາສະໜາເຫລະວະດາ ບັນຫາໄດ້ຖືກຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນໃນເມ່ືອຜູ້ຍິງຖືກຈຳກັດບ່ໍໃຫ້ດຳລົງຊີວິດຢູ່ວັດທ້ັງໆ ທ່ີ ເປັນຜູ້ຄ້ຳສາສະໜາໃຫ້ຍືນຍົງຄົງຕົວ.

ໂດຍມີການຈຳແນກຜູ້ຍິງ, ສາສະໜາພຸດ ໄດ້ເອົາແຜ່ເຂ້ົ້າມາລາວແລ້ວແຍກຜູ້ຍິງເປັນພວກຢຸ່ນອກ ແລະຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນພວກຢູ່ໃນ ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈ່ິງມີແຕ່ ຜູ້ຊາຍເທ່ົານັ້ນ ທ່ີຈະບວດເປັນພະໄດ້. ພໍ່ແມ່ສ່ວນຫລາຍປາຖະໜາວ່າໃນຊີວິດຄ້ັງໜ່ຶງຂໍໃຫ້ຕົນໄດ້ເຮັດກອງບວດໃຫ້ລູກ. ເໝ ືອນດັ່ງທຸກປະເທດ ທ່ີຈະຖືສາສະໜາ ອິດສະລາມ ຫລ ືສາສະໜາພຸດ, ກ ົງຝຸຍ ຫລ ືຄຣິດສະຕຽນ ກ ໍຕາມ, ສ ່ວນຫລາຍຜູ້ຍິງຈະຖືກໃຫ້ຢູ່ຫ່າງຈາກວ ົງຄະນະສ ົງ.

ຜູ້ຍິງຈະບວດ ແລະ ນຸ່ງຜ້າໄດ້ແຕ່ເປັນແມ່ຂາວ, ແຕ່ບໍ່ມີຖານະຄືພະ ແລະ ບໍ່ຖືສິນເຄົ່ງຄັດຄືພະ. ແຕ່ວັນນະຄະຄີລາວເຊັ່ນນິທານກຳພ້າຜີນ້ອຍໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນບໍ່ເກີດແຫ່ງອຳນາດອັນສັກສິດແລະມັນສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງທ່າທີທີ່ຕ້ານການຜູກຂາດຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດ.

ຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ຂາວມີລະບົບ ແຕກຕ່າງກັນກັບຂອງພະ ເພາະພະຖື ວ່າຕົນເອງເປັນລູກສິດຂອງພະເຈົ້າ. ສ່ວນແມ່ຂາວຖືກຖືວ່າເປັນ "ຄົນໃຊ້" ຂອງວັດ. ທາງດ້ານສາສະໜາແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ ແມ່ຂາວ ບໍ່ໄດ້ບຸນຖ້າທຽບໃສ່ພະ, ແຕ່ອາດຈະໄດ້ແຕ່ພຽງຄວາມສະບາຍໃຈ.

ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຖືກປະຕິເສດບໍ່ໃຫ້ເຂົ້າໃນວົງຄະນະສົງ ແລ້ວ ການພັກ ເຊົາ ກໍຄື ການດຳລົງຊີວິດຂອງແມ່ຂາວ, ແມ່ນຖ້າພໍເປັນໄດ້, ແມ່ນຢູ່ນອກວັດ. ໜ້າທີ່ ຂອງແມ່ຂາວມີລັກສະນະຄືກັນກັບໜ້າທີ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍທົ່ວໆໄປຄື ມີໜ້າທີ່ ບົວລະບັດວຽກຄົວເຮືອນຊານ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນແມ່ຂາວຈຶ່ງມີໜ້າທີ່ ຮັບຜິດຊອບຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບຂອງຄົວຫລືສວນຂອງວັດ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະຖືກຖືຕາມທີ່ກ່າວມານັ້ນກໍຕາມແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຄ້ຳສາສະໜາ. ແຕ່ເຖິງແນວນັ້ນກໍດີ, ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຖືກຖືເປັນ "ພົນລະເມືອງ ຊັ້ນທີ່ສອງ" ຂອງສາສະໜາທີ່ແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງຂຶ້ນ ແລະເພື່ອ ຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່າ ນັ້ນ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງໃນນາມເປັນເພດຕ່ຳ, ໃນນາມເປັນເມຍຫລືເປັນແມ່ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ອຸທິດເຫື່ອແຮງແລະຈິດໃຈຂອງຕົນເພື່ອການຍົນຍົງຄົງຕົວຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດແລະຫວັງຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ຈິດໃຈ ຂອງ ຕົນເອງ ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບປະກັນວ່າຊາດໜ້າຂໍໃຫ້ຕົນໄດ້ເປັນດີກ່ວາເກົ່າ.

๒- ນິກປະຫວັດສາດແລະນິກກິດຫມາຍໃນສັງຄົມບູຮານບໍ່ໃຫ້ ຄວາມສໍາຄັນແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ໄດ້ຮັບຊື່ ສຽງວ່າເປັນຜູ້ກ້ຽວບ່າວເກັ່ງ ແຕ່ຫາກບໍ່ ຄ່ອຍຖືກບັນທຶກໃນປະຫວັດສາດລາວວ່າເປັນຜູ້ມີບົດບາດທາງ ການ ເມືອງ.

ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຖືກປົດເຂັ່ຍຢ່າງອັດຕະໂນມັດອອກ ຈາກບັນລັງ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ໃນກົດມົນທຽນບານວ່າ ຜູ້ຈະ ສືບທອດບັນລັງຈະ ຕ້ອງ ແມ່ນຈາກພໍ່ ມາເຖິງລູກຜູ້ຊາຍ. ບັນຍັດ ຂອງ ຊຸນບູລົມ ໄດ້ ບົ່ງໄວ້ວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະ ສືບ ທອດ ລູກ ຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຫລານຊາຍ ຈະ ສືບທອດ ຫລານຊາຍ (ກະຕ່າຍ 1956 ຫນ້າ 717-719; Vo Thu Tinh 1970 ຫນ້າ 11). ຕໍານານ ລາວກໍໄດ້ບັນທຶກການປະຕິບັດກົດດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຕາມລະບຽບແລ້ວ, ມະເຫສີຈະບໍ່ມີສິດບໍລິຫານປະເທດ, ແຕ່ ໃນຕົວຈິງ, ໃນຖານະທີ່ເປັນເມຍເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ແລະເປັນແມ່ຂອງອົງ ມົງກຸດຣາຊະກຸມມານ ກໍ່ຄືເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ໃນອະນາຄົດ, ຜູ້ຍິງສາມາດ ຈະເຂົ້າຮ່ວມພິທີຕ່າງໆໃນຣາຊະວັງ (ເລວີ Levy 1956a ຫນ້າ 746-747) ຫລືສາມາດບໍລິຫານບ້ານເມືອງຕາງ ໃນເວລາເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດບໍ່ຢູ່ ເຊັ່ນ ກໍລະນີເມຍເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມໃນສະຕະວັດທີ 14. ຫນຶ່ງ ໃນຫລາຍມະເຫສີທີ່ມີຊື່ບົ່ງໃນຕໍານານຄືນາງແກ້ວ ເກັ້ງຍາ, ລູກ ສາວເຈົ້າຊີວິດຂະເຫມນທີ່ເປັນມະເຫສີຂອງເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມໄດ້ເປັນ ຜູ້ ນໍາເອົາສາສະຫນາພຸດຈາກປະເທດຂະເຫມນ ເຂົ້າມາແຜ່ໃນລາວ, ທັງໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນການສ້າງວັດແກ້ວ. ຫລັງຈາກຂຶ້ນບັນລັງໄດ້ ຫນຶ່ງປີແລ້ວ ເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມ ກໍ່ໄດ້ອອກຈາກ ຣາຊະອານາຈັກ, ແລ້ວ ໃຫ້ມະເຫສີ ແກ້ວເກັ້ງຍາເປັນຜູ້ບໍລິຫານແທນ (ສີລາ 1957).

ນອກນັ້ນຝີນວານຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄດ້ບັນທຶກເຊັ່ນກັນ, ຕົວຢ່າງໃນ ສະຕະວັດທີ 14, ມີສິລາຈາລຶກ ຊື່ຖໍ້າ ນາງ ອົ່ງ ທີ່ຖືກຄົ້ນພົບ ທີ່ ຫລວງພະບາງ (ໂຮຊິໂນ Hoshino 1986,ແຟກລຸສ Ferlus 1988) ໄດ້ ເປັນ ຫລັກ ຖານ ໃຫ້ ຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບ ພາສາໄທ-ລາວ (Ferlus 1988). ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ ບໍ່ແມ່ນທຳມະດາເມື່ອຫວນຄືນ ເຖິງດ້ານການເມືອງ ແລະສັງຄົມ ຂອງ ປະເທດລາວ ທີ່ເປັນປະ ເທດນ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ. ມະຫາເທວີອົກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ທີ່ ປະຫວັດສາດ ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ເຖິງແມ່ນ ແມ່ຂອງເຈົ້າໄຊເສດຖາທິລາດ (1373-1415) ຊຶ່ງ ໄດ້ປົກຄອງເມືອງ ຊຽງໃຫມ່ (ທາງພາກເຫນືອ ຂອງປະເທດໄທ) ແລະໄດ້ນຳພາ ການເມືອງລາວ ດ້ວຍໄຫວພິບຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ໃນ ປຶ້ມ ປະຫວັດສາດອາຊີອາຄະເນ (ໂຮ Hall 1976 ຫນ້າ 262).

ຕໍ່ມາໄດ້ມີເຈົ້າຄຳອ່ອນຫລືເຈົ້າຝົມດຳ(ຈາຣຸວັນ 1987 ຫນ້າ 13, 27, 39, 100) ໄດ້ ກອບກູ້ເອົາປະຊາຊົນພວມທີ ຊຽງ ຂວາງ ທີ່ຖືກບັງຄັບຈາກສະຫຍາມພາຍຫລັງທີ່ອຽງຈັນຖືກເຜົາຜານ ໃນປີ 1827 (ມະຍຸຣີ ແລະເຜີຍພັນ 1988). ໃນທ້າຍ ສະຕະ ວັດທີ 19, ມີເຈົ້າຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງເຊື້ອສາຍເຈົ້າຊຽງຂວາງໄດ້ຕໍ່ສູ້ເຊັ່ນ ດຽວກັນ, ແຕ່ເທື່ອນີ້ແມ່ນຕ້ານພວກຫໍ້ທີ່ມາຈາກພາກໃຕ້ ຂອງປະ ເທດຈີນ.

ໃນທ້າຍສະຕະວັດທີ 17, ນາງ ອຸສາ ໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງ ເມືອງ ຍະໂສທອນ ແລະ ນາງ ສີຊະນີ, ເມືອງຫນອງຄາຍ (ແຕ່ກ່ອນ ຂຶ້ນກັບເຂດລາວ). ທ້າວສອງ ເປັນລູກສາວຂອງເຈົ້າອຸບົນ ຊຶ່ງ ແອໂມນີເອ Aymonier (1885 ຫນ້າ 156)ໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້ ວ່າ ທ້າວສອງ ເປັນເຊື້ອສາຍ ຊາວວຽງຂອງລາວ.

ພາກໃຕ້ຂອງລາວແມ່ນ ມີຄວາມຫະນົງທີ່ມີຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນ ບໍລິ

ຫານ ບ້ານເມືອງເຊ່ຶ່ນ ນາງ ເພົາ (1638-1688) ແລະ ຕໍ່ ມາ ນາງ ແພງ (1688-1708).

ແຕ່ພິເສດ ທີ່ອອກຈາກ ລະບຽບການ ຫລື ອາດແມ່ນ ການ ສົມຮູ້ຮ່ວມຄິດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເພື່ອໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງເສຍຄຸນຄ່າ ທີ່ຢາກໄປຫຍຸ້ງ ກ່ຽວໃນ "ເຂດແດນທີ່ຫວງຫ້າມ" ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງການຈະຄວບຄຸມ ຊຶ່ງແມ່ນກໍລະນີທີ່ບໍ່ສາມາດເຂົ້າໃຈໃນດ້ານບຸກຄະລິກພ້ອມທັງ ປະ ຫວັດສາດເອງກໍ່ບໍ່ຈະແຈ້ງກ່ຽວກັບນາງແກ້ວພິມພາ. ນາງ ແກ້ວ ພິມພາເປັນຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ດຽວທີ່ບໍລິຫານປະເທດໃນລະຍະເກືອບ 10 ປີ (1428-1438) ແລະໄດ້ຖືກປະນາມວ່າເປັນຜູ້ຂ້າ 7 ກະ ສັດ ລາວ. ຊີວະປະຫວັດຂອງນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາບໍ່ ຈະແຈ້ງ. ນັກປະ ຫວັດສາດຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງມີຄຳເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວເປັນຜູ້ດຽວກັນກັບ "ນະ ຫາເທວີ". ນັກປະຫວັດສາດບາງຄົນວ່ານາງແກ້ວພິມພາເປັນລູກ ຂອງ ສາມແສນໄທ ຊຶ່ງພົ້ວສາວະດານ ຫລວງພະບາງເອງກໍໄດ້ ຂຽນໄວ້. ບາງຄຳເຫັນວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ເປັນ ນ້ອງສາວ ຂອງສາມ ແສນໄທ ແລະ ຕຳນານ ຂຸນບູລົມ (1968) ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ເປັນເມຍ ຂອງສາມແສນໄທ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ບາງຄົນໃຫ້ ທັດສະ ນະວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວ ເປັນເມຍຟ້າງຸ່ມ ແລ້ວ ສາມແສນໄທເອົາເມຍ ຂອງພໍ່ມາເປັນເມຍຕົນ (Dore 1987). ການທີ່ເວົ້າບໍ່ຫນັກ ແຫນ້ນ ຂອງຕຳນານລາວ ໄດ້ເພີ່ມທະວີຄວາມມືດມົນເຖິງຄວາມ ເປັນຈິງວ່າ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ແມ່ນໃຜ, ມາ ຈາກໃສ, ແລະ ດ້ວຍເຫດໃດ ຈຶ່ງຂ້າເຊ່ືອກະສັດ ລາວໄດ້ເຖິງ 7 ອົງໂດຍບໍ່ມີ ບັນຫາ ແລະ ເປັນຫຍັງເມື່ອ ອາຍຸ ໄດ້ເຖິງ 95 ປີ ແລ້ວ ຫລື ເວົ້າອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງກໍ່ຄືຜູ້ກ່ຽວເປັນຫຍັງໄດ້ຄອງອຳນາດ ຈົນເກືອບ 10 ປີແລ້ວ ຈຶ່ງຖືກໃສ່ໂທດ. ບາງນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ລາວ ລວມ ທັງຕ່າງປະເທດໄດ້ຕີຄວາມຫມາຍໄປໂດຍບໍ່ຮູ້ເຖິງວັນ ເດືອນ ປີ ເກີດອັນແທ້ຈິງ, ພໍ່ແມ່ທີ່ແທ້ຈິງ, ຊື່ທີ່ແທ້ຈິງ, ສັນຊາດທີ່ແທ້ ຈິງ

ຂອງນາງແກ້ວພິມພາດ້ວງທີ່ກ່າວມາຂ້າງເທິງນັ້ນ ເພາະ ບາງນັກ ຄົ້ນຄວ້າໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນວ່າຜູ້ກ່ຽວແມ່ນເຈົ້າຍິງ ຂອງປະ ເທດ ສະ ຫຍາມ (ໂອເຊ Oger 1972 ໜ້າ 112). ທ້ວງໜົດນີ້ ໄດ້ ປະກອບສ່ວນ ໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່ານາງແກ້ວພິມພາອາດຈະແມ່ນການ ປັ້ນ ແຕ່ງຂຶ້ນໂດຍນັກປາດ ຫລືຜູ້ແກ່ຮຽນເພື່ອຜົນປະໂຫຍດສະ ເພາະ ນາງແກ້ວພິມພາມີຕົວຕົນແທ້ ຫລືວ່າແມ່ນພຽງຊື່ທີ່ເປັນປົດສະໜາ ເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ແຕ່ເວົ້າລວມແລ້ວແມ່ນແລະມັກພົບເລື້ອຍໆທີ່ຜູ້ ບັນທຶກ ຕຳນານລາວມັກບໍ່ບົ່ງຊີ້ຂອງຜູ້ຂຽນຫລືຜູ້ບັນທຶກແລະອາດເພີ້ມ ຕື່ມ ໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະຍຸກສະໄໝ. ແຕ່ໜັງສືຂຸນບູລົມສະບັບມະຫາເທບ ຫລວງເອງໄດ້ ເນັ້ນວ່າ ຜູ້ ຂຽນ ຫລື ຜູ້ ລິດຈະນາ ອາດ ຈະ ເພີ່ມຕື່ມຫລືດັດແປງໄດ້ ຊຶ່ງອາດຈະຂຶ້ນນຳເຫດການທີ່ເຂົ້າ ເຈົ້າ ເຫັນເໝາະແລະ ຮັບຮູ້ໃນເວລາ ນັ້ນ (ຄຳແພງ ເພັດຕະວົງ 1990 ໜ້າ 49). ດ້ວງນັ້ນປະຫວັດສາດປັ້ນກ່ຽວກັບ ນາງແກ້ວ ພິມພາອາດມີການເພີ່ມເຕີມດັດແປງໄປຕາມ ທີ່ຜູ້ບັນທຶກໃນເວລາ ນັ້ນຢາກຈະດັດແປງ. ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດກໍ່ດີ ນັກປະຫວັດສາດສ່ວນ ຫລາຍໄດ້ຂຽນແບບດຽວກັນວ່າ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ເປັນມະເຫ ສີທີ່ "ຮ້ີໂຫດສາມານ" ຖືກໂຫດປະຫານ "ຫ໋ວໝຸ້ນຫີນຕົນຈຸ່ມນ້ຳ ຈົນເທົ່າຕາຍ". ໃນເອເຊຍກໍ່ໄດ້ມີ ບາງມະເຫສີ ທີ່ຖືກປະນາມ ວ່າ "ໂຫດຮ້າຍປ່າເຖື່ອນ" ເຊັ່ນທີ່ປະເທດຂະເໝນ ມີມະເຫສີ ໜຶ່ງ ຊື່ ອັງແມ (Ang Mey) ໄດ້ ບໍລິຫານ ປະເທດ ໃນປີ 1834. ນອກນັ້ນ ຍັງມີພະນາງ ຈຸສີ ຂອງ ປະເທດຈີນ. ສາດ ສະດາຈານ ປ.ບ.ລາຟົງ Lafont ໄດ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມກະຈ່າງແຈ້ງ ກັບຜູ້ຂຽນທີ່ປາຣີ ໃນວັນທີ 27 ພຶດສະພາ 1988 ວ່າ "ມັນແມ່ນ ເຫດການ ອັນໜຶ່ງຂອງແນວຄວາມ ຄິດຂອງຄົນເອເຊຍ ໃນ ສະ ໄໝນບູຮານ ທີ່ມັກຈະຂຽນລົງໃນ ຕຳນານ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ກຳອຳ ນາດ ມັກຖືກຂຽນວ່າເປັນຄົນ "ໂຫດຮ້າຍປ່າເຖື່ອນ". ອັນນີ້ປາກົດ ວ່າ ແມ່ນກົດ ຂອງການເມືອງ ເອເຊຍ". ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນ ອີກ

ເທື່ອຫນຶ່ງວ່າ ນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ຈີນ ຂຽນກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງ ແມ່ນ ຈະ ຂຽນ ມັກບໍ່ບັນທຶກຂຽນໄປຕາມສະພາບຕົວຈິງ. ຕຳນານມັກຈະ ບໍ່ ເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມພິລະອາດຫານຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ເມື່ອເປັນດັ່ງນັ້ນອາດຈະ ເຂົ້າໃຈໄດ້ວ່າຕຳນານລາວກໍ່ອາດບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບຕຳນານຂອງຈີນທີ່ ອາດບໍ່ເວົ້າໄດ້ຫມົດຄວາມຈິງ.

ເຖິງຈະມີເຫດຜົນແນວໃດກໍ່ຕາມ ແຕ່ສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ຈະແຈ້ງ ໃນສະ ໄຫມ ນາງ ແກ້ວພິມພາ ນັ້ນ ແມ່ນຕັ້ງແຕ່ນັ້ນມາ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຖືກແຍກ ອອກ ຈາກເວທີການເມືອງ ໂດຍສະເພາະ ຕັ້ງແຕ່ປະເທດລາວ ໄດ້ຮັດກອດເອົາສາສະຫນາພຸດ ແລະ ຍິ່ງໄປກ່ວານັ້ນ ນັບແຕ່ໃນ ສະໄຫມ ທີ່ ປະເທດລາວໄດ້ຖືກ ສະຫຍາມ ແລະ ຝຣັ່ງປົກຄອງ ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ.

ດັ່ງດຽວກັນກັບສັງຄົມບູຮານອື່ນໆ, ປະເທດລາວກໍມີລະບົບຊົນ ຊັ້ນແຕ່ເປັນລະບົບທີ່ບໍ່ແຂງກະດ້າງຫາກແຕ່ວ່າສັງຄົມ ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສະ ເຫມີພາບ. ການແບ່ງຊັ້ນ ວັນນະກໍໄດ້ບົ່ງຈະແຈ້ງໃນ ປະມວນກົດ ຫມາຍແລະໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຍົກສູງພະສົງຊຶ່ງເປັນຊັ້ນສູງຂອງສັງ ຄົມແລະຫັງເປັນຜູ້ຖ່າຍທອດວິຊາຄວາມຮູ້ໃຫ້ແກ່ປວງຊົນໃນເວລາທີ່ ທາງອຳນາດລັດບໍ່ທັນຂະຫຍາຍຕາຫນ່າງການສຶກສາ.

ສາສະຫນາພຸດໄດ້ແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ແລະ ວິທີຕີລາຄາຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ຖືກຂຽນອອກເຜີຍແຜ່. ການເຜີຍແຜ່ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເຂົ້າໄປໃນ ບັນດາຊັ້ນຄົນຕ່າງ ໆ ໃນສັງຄົມແລະ ກ່ອນອື່ນແມ່ນ ໃນພວກ ຊົນ ຊັ້ນນຳ ທີ່ຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງ ລະບົບກົດຫມາຍ. ໃນສະໄຫມບູ ຮານ ລາວໄດ້ມີກົດຫມາຍເປັນຄັ້ງທຳອິດຊຶ່ງເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນວ່າ <u>ກົດ ຫມາຍທຳມະສາດຂຸນບູລົມ</u> ຊຶ່ງ ມີອາຍຸຢ່າງນ້ອຍ 700 ປີ ກ່ອນເຈົ້າ ຟ້າງຸ່ມຈະ ຂຶ້ນຄອງ ປະເທດລ້ານຊ້າງ (ແຝງ 1981) <u>ກົດຫມາຍທຳມະສາດຂຸນບູລົມ</u> ບໍ່ໄດ້ຈັດ ເປັນມາຕາຫລືບໍ່ໄດ້

ຈັດການກະທຳຜິດໄປຕາມສິນທ້າ ຂອງສາສະໜາພຸດແລະບໍ່ໄດ້ບົ່ງ ການລົງໂທດພະສົງ ທີ່ກະທຳຜິດ (ມະຍຸຣີ 1993c). ແຕ່ວ່າຄຳ ວ່າມິດສາຈາມແລະປາມາໄດ້ເອົາມາໃຊ້ເວົ້າໃນ ກົດໝາຍ ເປັນ ບາງຄັ້ງບາງຄາວ. <u>ກົດໝາຍ ຂຸນບູລົມ</u> ໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ໜັກອະທິ ບາຍເມຍ 8 ຈຳພວກຫລື 12 ຈຳພວກ, ຄ່າດອງ, ມູນມໍລະດົກ ແລະລະດັບການໃສ່ໂທດຕ່າງໆ ແລະ ການ ຂຽນ ແບບງ່າຍໆຊຶ່ງ <u>ກົດໝາຍຂອງເມັ້ງຣາຍ</u> ຖືວ່າເປັນກົດໝາຍເຄົ້າຂອງລ້ານນາ ອາດຈະໄດ້ຮັບອິດທິພົນຂອງ<u>ກົດໝາຍຂຸນບູລົມ</u> (ມະຍຸຣີ 1993) <u>ກົດໝາຍຂຸນບູລົມ</u> ຈົບແບບງ່າຍ ໆ ເຊັ່ນ "ອັນນີ້ ບູຮານເຄົ້າ ຂຸນບູລົມ ສອນສັ່ງມາແລ້ວຕັ້ງເປັນກົດຣະບຽບໄວ້ປະຖົມເຄົ້າສືບ ມາເຈົ້າເອີຍ" (<u>ໜັງສືພິມຂຸນບູລົມຣາຊາທິລາດ</u> 1967 ໜ້າ 147). ຕໍ່ມາກົດໝາຍໄດ້ມີການພັດທະນາຂຶ້ນ. ພາຍໄຕ້ການບໍລິ ຫານປະເທດຂອງໂພທິສາລາດ (1530-1559) ໄດ້ມີກົດໝາຍ ເຊັ່ນ <u>ຄຳພີສ້ອຍສາຍຄຳ</u> (ສາລິດ 1992b) ຊຶ່ງຈະ ເນັ້ນ ເຖິງວິໄນສົງພ້ອມກັບການທີ່ພິກຂຸຕ້ອງອາບັດປະຣາຊິກ ແລະ ເວົ້າ ເຖິງປະເພດໂທດແຕ່ ຂັ້ນໄຫມ, ຂັ້ນຕີ, ຂັ້ນຄ່າຄໍ, ຂັ້ນສົມມາຫລື ຂັ້ນແປງ. ນອກນັ້ນ ກໍມີ<u>ຄຳພີມູລະຕັ້ນໄຕ</u> (ສາລິດ 1992b) ຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນຕາມຊື່ ແລະ ເປັນການລຽບລຽງນິຫານທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄະຕິ ຄວາມຫລາຍກ່ວາແມ່ນປະມວນກົດໝາຍ.

ໃນປີ 1660 ໄດ້ມີ ກົດໝາຍທຳມະສາດບູຮານໃນສະໄໝ ສຸຣິຍະວົງສາ (1637-1694) ແລະ ບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າເຂົ້າໃຈ ວ່າ ແມ່ນ "ກົດໝາຍອຽງຈັນ". ສະບັບເຄົ້າຂອງກົດໝາຍທຳ ມະສາດບູຮານ ແມ່ນຂຽນເປັນໂຕທຳ ໃສ່ໃບລານ. ການຈັດແບ່ງ ແມ່ນໄປຕາມຄຳສັ່ງສອນຂອງພະເຈົ້າ, ໝາຍວ່າບໍ່ໃຫ້ຂ້າ (45 ມາຕາ), ບໍ່ ໃຫ້ ລັກ (70 ມາຕາ), ບໍ່ໃຫ້ເຮັດ ມິດສາຈາມ (77 ມາຕາ), ບໍ່ໃຫ້ຕົວະ (30 ມາຕາ) ແລະບໍ່ໃຫ້ດື່ມ ຂອງ ເມົາ (7 ມາຕາ). ບັນດາສິນ 5 ນີ້ເປັນຫົວຂໍ້ໃນ<u>ພະທຳມະ</u>

<u>ສາດ</u>ກົດ<u>ໝາຍ</u><u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u>. ເວົ້າ ທ່ວ ໄປແລ້ວ <u>ພະທຳມະ</u>
<u>ສາດ</u>ກົດ<u>ໝາຍ</u><u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u> ໄດ້ ກ່າວເຖິງລະບຽບມາລະຍາດທີ່
ແກະອອກຈາກປຶ້ມ ຂອງ ຄຳພີສາສະໜາພຸດແລະ ຕົວຢ່າງທີ່ຍົກ
ຂຶ້ນໃນປຶ້ມແມ່ນມີເຄົ້າ ມາ ຈາກ ອິນເດຍ. <u>ພະທຳມະສາດ</u>
<u>ກົດ</u>ໝາຍ<u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u> ດັ່ງກ່າວນັ້ນ ແມ່ນກົດໝາຍທີ່ມີລັກສະນະ
ອີງໃສ່ສາສະໜາເປັນ ຕົ້ນຕໍ (ຮອກສະເລ Huxley 1993
ໜ້າ 43) ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ປະເທດລ້ານຊ້າງໄດ້ຖືກສະຖາປະນາຂຶ້ນ.
ຈົນເຖິງໄລຍະທີ່ປະເທດລາວກາຍເປັນເມືອງຂຶ້ນຂອງຝຣັ່ງໃນປີ
1893 ໝາຍເຖິງວ່າ ເກືອບ 540 ປີ ຈາກນັ້ນ (1353-
1893) ຈົນເຖິງປີ 1908 ຫລັງຈາກທີ່ປະເທດລາວຖືກປົກຄອງ
ໂດຍຝຣັ່ງເປັນເວລາ 15 ປີແລ້ວຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີປະມວນກົດໝາຍແໜ
<u>ພະທຳມະສາດ</u><u>ກົດ</u>ໝາຍ<u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u>. ເຖິງປານນັ້ນ<u>ພະທຳມະ</u>
<u>ສາດ ກົດ</u>ໝາຍ<u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u> ຍັງ ຍືນ ຍົງຄົງຕົວຢູ່ໃນຫລາຍເຂດ
ຂອງປະເທດລາວ.<u>ພະທຳມະສ</u>າ<u>ດ ກົດ</u>ໝາຍ<u>ບູ</u><u>ຮານ</u>ໄດ້ສ່ອງ
ແສງໃຫ້ເຫັນ ເຖິງການຈຳແນກເພດແລະຄຸນຄ່າຂອງຄົນໃນສັງຄົມ
ຢ່າງຈະແຈ້ງ.

ການບໍ່ສະ ເໝີພາບ ທາງດ້ານສັງຄົມ ໄດ້ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນເຖິງ
ຄວາມບໍ່ສະເໝີ ພາບໃນການລົງໂທດ. ການໃສ່ໂທດຈະຈັດ ໄປ
ຕາມຖານະສັງຄົມ ຂອງຜູ້ໄດ້ຮັບເຄາະ ແລະ ຜູ້ກະທຳຜິດ. ການ
ກະທຳຜິດອັນດຽວ ກັນ ຊຶ່ງກະທຳໂດຍຜູ້ທີ່ມີຖານະສັງຄົມແຕກຕ່າງ
ກັນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ກໍ່ຈະໄດ້ຮັບໂທດແຕກຕ່າງ. ຣາແກ
Raquez (1902 ໜ້າ 404-405) ໃຫ້ຂໍ້ສັງເກດວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ
ເປັນຊັບສົມບັດ ທີ່ຫວງແໜ, ຫວງແໜຈົນວ່າການໂອ້ລົມ ຢ່າງ
ເສລີທຳມະດາ ກໍ່ຈະຖືກ ໃສ່ໂທດ. ເນື່ອງຈາກຖືກຖືເປັນເພດທີ່
ອ່ອນແອແລະເປັນ ຂອງທີ່ "ຕ້ອງຫ້າມ" ແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງຖືກປົກປັກ
ຮັກສາຢ່າງເຂັ້ມງວດ ຈາກ ຮີດຄອງ ແລະ ກົດໝາຍ. ໂປນດ

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

ຄ່ຽງຄູ່ກັບຂະບວນທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງ ຮັບຜິດຊອບຕໍ່ຊະຕາກໍາຂອງຕົນ ເອງທີ່ສະແດງອອກໃນທ່າທີໃນການດໍາລົງຊີວິດ, ການ "ປ້ອງກັນ" ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ບົ່ງໃນ "ກົດຫມາຍອຽງຈັນ" ຄົງຈະຫມົດສະໄຫມເພາະມັນ ຄົງຈະບໍ່ເຫມາະ ສົມທີ່ຈະລົງໂທດຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ຈັບມືຖືແຂນຍິງຄົນຮັກໃນ ເມື່ອຊາວຫນຸ່ມໄດ້ ຫລິ້ນກິນຝ້ອນລໍາຕື່ມເຫລົ້າແບບວັດທະນະທໍາຕະ ເວັນຕົກ ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ຄ່ອຍໆ ຕໍ່ສູ້ເອົາສິດກ່ຽວກັບຊັບສົມແລະຄຸ້ມຄອງ ໄປຕາມທີ່ຕົນ ຕ້ອງການ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະໃນກົດຫມາຍລົງວັນທີ 2 ສິງຫາ 1965 ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ວ່າຊັບສົມ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງຈະເປັນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ສາມາດຊົມໃຊ້ຢ່າງເສລີແລະສາມາດ ໃຫ້ ລູກສືບຫອດຕໍ່ໄປ ໂດຍບໍ່ຕ້ອງການຄວາມເຫັນດີຈາກຜູ້ເປັນຜົວ.

ຂໍ້ກໍານົດ ລົງ ວັນທີ 1 ມັງກອນ 1944 ຂອງຝຣັ່ງທີ່ມາປົກ ຄອງລາວໄດ້ບັງຄັບ ໃຫ້ທຸກຄົນຕ້ອງໃຊ້ນາມສະກຸນ. ກ່ອນ ຊຸມ ປີ 1940 ນາມສະກຸນ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ໃຊ້ກັນໃນລາວ. ແຕ່ ຫລັງ ຈາກ 1944 ຄົນລາວ ທຸກຄົນ ຕ້ອງເອົານາມສະກຸນໃຊ້ເພີ້ມກັບຊື່ແລະ ນາມສະກຸນຈະຖືກ ບົ່ງຕາມສາຍ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຄືສາຍຂອງພໍ່ (ຫຍຸຍ 1956c). ໂດຍ ອີງ ຕາມຂໍ້ກໍານົດດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວ ຕ້ອງເອົາສະກຸນຜົວ ໃສ່ກັບຊື່ຂອງຕົນ. ແຕ່ກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວຂອງ ລະບອບໃຫ່ມແມ່ນໄດ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຫລັງ ຈາກແຕ່ງດອງ ແລ້ວມີສິດຮັກສານາມສະກຸນເດີມຂອງຕົນ.

ຫລັງຈາກ 1975 ລະບອບໃຫມ່ໄດ້ລົບລ້າງທຸກຂໍ້ກໍາຫນົດກົດ

ຫມາຍເກົ່າ. ພາຍຫລັງໄດ້ຫົດສະວັດຫນຶ່ງແລ້ວສິດລະຫວ່າງເພດ ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບປະກັນໂດຍກົດຫມາຍໃຫ່ມຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຫລາຍສະບັບໄດ້ຖືກຮັບ ຮອງແລະມີຜົນບັງຄັບເຊັ່ນກົດຫມາຍລັດຖະ ທໍາມະນູນ, ກົດຫມາຍ ອາຍາ, ກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວຊຶ່ງໄດ້ບົ່ງແຈ້ງລະ ບົບ ຜົວເມຍ ດຽວ. ໂດຍມຸ້ງຫວັງຈະປົກປັກຮັກສາຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບຂອງສັງຄົມ ສ.ປ. ປ.ລາວຈຶ່ງມີກົດຫມາຍສ້າງຕັ້ງສານປະຊາຊົນ. ໂຄງຮ່າງການຈັດ ຕັ້ງ ສານ ປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ຢ່າງລະອຽດໃນກົດຫມາຍລັດຖະທໍາ ມະນູນແລະກົດຫມາຍການຈັດຕັ້ງສານຂັ້ນຕ່າງໆ. ໂຄງຮ່າງສານຍຸ ຕິທໍາປະກອບດ້ວຍສານແລະໄອຍະການ. ສານປະຊາຊົນປະ ກອບ ດ້ວຍສານສູງສຸດ, ສານຂັ້ນແຂວງ, ກໍາແພງ,ເມືອງແລະທະຫານ ອົງການໄອຍະການມີຂັ້ນຕ່າງໆ ຕາມ ລັກສະນະ ຄ້າຍການຈັດຕັ້ງ ຂອງສານ. ຫນ້າທີ່ຂອງສານກໍຄືຂອງໄອຍະການ ແມ່ນ ປົກປັກຮັກ ສາ ຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບລ້ຽບລ້ອຍຂອງສັງຄົມ. ນອກ ນັ້ນ ແຕ່ ປີ 1990ກໍໄດ້ມີລະບຽບກ່ຽວກັບທະນາຍຄວາມຊຶ່ງເອກະຊົນກໍສາມາດ ສະເຫນີຕົ້ງຕ້ອງການທະນາຍ.

ຄ- ສັງຄົມບູຮານຖືຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ

ຄໍາບູຮານ "ແມ່ຍິງອຽນຄືໄຟບໍ່ຮອບ"

ແນວຄິດ ທີ່ໃຫ້ ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຂຶ້ນ ກັບຜູ້ຊາຍ ແມ່ນໄດ້ຖືກສ້າງຂຶ້ນ ເປັນກົດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມປະ ຕິບັດ ຕາມໂດຍສະເພາະໃນລັກສະນະບົດທີ່ ຂຽນອອກເຊັ່ນ <u>ຮີດສິບສອງ ຄອງສິບສີ່</u>ແລະເປັນວັນນະ ຄະດີ ທີ່ຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ການພົວພັນ ລະຫວ່າງ ຍິງ-ຊາຍແລະໂດຍສະເພາະ ສ້າງທ່າອຽງຜົນປະໂຫຍດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ໃນສະໄຫມບູຮານ, ນັກປາດສາດ ສະດາຈານລ້ວນແຕ່ ແມ່ນ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ແຕ່ງຜູ້ຂຽນ ນິທານ, ເທບນິຍາຍ, ກາບກອນໄວ້ ສະເພາະເພື່ອສອນມວນຊົນແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະສອນຜູ້ຍິງໃຫ້ເຫັນ ເຖິງບົດບາດ ຂອງຕົນໃນການເສຍ ສະຫລະຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອສັງຄົມ ແລະ ຄອບຄົວ. ຫນັງສືທີ່ຮູ້ກັນດີ ທົ່ວ ໄປ ແມ່ນ<u>ຫນັງສືພົ້ນຊຸນບູ ລົມຣາຊາທິລາດ</u> (1967) ຫລື <u>ຫນັງສືອິນທິຍາມສອນ ລູກ</u> (1965), <u>ນິທານ ຫ້າວ ຄຳ ສອນ</u>(1966), <u>ຍອດ ຄຳສອນບູຮານ</u> (1972). ຫັ້ງ ຫມົດ ຈະເວົ້າ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດທີ່ອ່ອນແອ, ມີກິລິຍາ ອ່ອນນ້ອມ, ຮູ້ຈັກບົວ ລະບັດ ເຮືອນຊານ ບ້ານຊ່ອງດີ, ຮູ້ຈັກຕຳຫູກສາວ ໄຫມ ແລະ ອຸທິດຕົນ ເພື່ອ ສາສະຫນາ. ແຕ່ນິທານ ຫລື ຫນັງສືທີ່ ຂຽນໃນສະໄຫມລ່າ ເມືອງຂຶ້ນ ນັ້ນ ມີ ຊື່ ວ່າ <u>ນາງ ພາວະດີ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຕົວຢ່າງ</u> ຂຽນ ໂດຍ ປ.ສ.ງິ່ນ (1967a)ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ບຸກຄະລິກ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍໄຝ່ຝັນ ເອົາເປັນ ເມຍ (ຣາໂກ Rakow 1990 1991). ລວມຄວາມແລ້ວສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ວັນນະຄະດີລາວຈະແຕ່ງ ຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອແນໃສ່ສັ່ງສອນ ມວນຊົນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ຜູ້ຍິງໃຫ້ເອົາ ແບບຢ່າງ ແລະ ປະພຶດໄປຕາມ.

ສິ່ງ ຫນຶ່ງ ທີ່ເປັນຫນ້າ ສົນໃຈ ແມ່ນ ການຫ້າມຈັບຫົວຜູ້ຊາຍ, ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ ແລະໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຫົວຂອງຜົວ. ຫົວແມ່ນບ່ອນສູງ ເພາະຖືວ່າ ແມ່ນ ບ່ອນ ທີ່ຂວັນອາໄສຢູ່. ຫົວແລະຝົມຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ ສັກກາລະບູຊາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຖືກຫ້າມບໍ່ໃຫ້ຈັບບາຍ ຫລື ແຕະຕ້ອງ.

ອີງຕາມ ຮີດຄອງປະເພນີ ບູຮານລາວແລ້ວ, ເມື່ອເວລາຈະ ນອນຕຽງ ດຽວກັບຜົວ, ຫົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງໃຫ້ຢູ່ໃນທ່າທີ່ຕ່ຳກ່ວາ ຫົວຂອງຜົວ. ນອກນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຕ້ອງນອນທາງຊ້າຍຂອງຜົວເພື່ອຜົວ ຈະໄດ້ "ກຽມພ້ອມ" ຖ້າມີໄພ ອັນຕະລາຍແລ້ວ ຈະໄດ້ທັນຄວ້າ

ເອົາຫອກ ດາບ ທັນທີ ທັນ ໃດ ຂ້າສັດຕູ (ອິນແປງ 1970 ໜ້າ 5). ແຕ່ເຫດຜົນດັ່ງກ່າວຄົງຈະບໍ່ໜັກແໜ້ນ.

ນອກ ຈາກ ນີ້ນ ຂ້າງຊ້າຍ ແລະ ທາງຕ່ຳຖືວ່າ ແມ່ນຂອງຕ່ຳ ຊຶ່ງກົງກັນຂ້າມກັບຂ້າງຂວາແລະທາງເທິງຖືວ່າແມ່ນຂອງສູງ. ດ້ວຍ ເຫດຜົນດຽວກັນ, ເວລາ ນອນກັບ ຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຕ້ອງຢູ່ທາງ ເບື້ອງລຸ່ມ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ອັນນີ້ ແມ່ນ ກິດປົນດ້ອຍ ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ ມັກຈະ ຍຶດໜັ້ນ ສະເໜີ.

ເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນ ຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງນັ່ງ ທາງຊ້າຍ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລະ ຍ່າງຕາມຫລັງ ຜູ້ຊາຍ. ປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຊາຍສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ມັກຈະຍ່າງອອກ ໜ້າເມຍ.

ເມື່ອ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຄື "ພະເຈົ້າ" ອົງທີ່ສອງ, ເສື້ອຜ້າຜູ້ຍິງຖືວ່າ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ເປື້ອນແລະເປັນຂອງບໍ່ດີ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຕ້ອງບໍ່ປະປົນກັບຂອງຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ເຄື່ອງຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງຊັກລ້າງຕ່າງຫາກ. ບາງຄົນລາວຢູ່ ປະ ເທດ ທີ່ 3 ຍັງ ໃຫ້ເມຍເຮັດແບບນັ້ນ. ໃນວັນນະຄະດີເຊັ່ນ ມະຫາກາບທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ (ສີລາ 1988) ຍັນຄາຖາ ຈະໜົດຄວາມຄົງຫລືຄວາມສັກສິດຖ້າຫາກວ່າ ຖືກ ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງຂອງ ຜູ້ ຍິງ (Ferlus 1979 ໜ້າ 352). ຄວາມເຊື່ອຂອງ ດັ່ງກ່າວໃນເທບນິຍາຍໄທ,ໂດຍຫວັງຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ສັດຕູໝົດອຳນາດ ຈາມມາເຫວີໄດ້ໃຊ້ສິ້ນນຸ່ງປົນເລືອດລະດູເພື່ອເປັນອາວຸດຕ້ານສັດຕູ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ເປັນລະດູຈະບໍ່ໃຫ້ຢູ່ໃກ້ບ່ອນຍ້ອມຜ້າດ້ວຍຊ້ຳ. ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ແລະຕາມການເຊື່ອຖືວ່າຜ້າອາດຍ້ອມຈະບໍ່ເປັນສີ ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການຖ້າ ຫາກຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຍ້ອມນັ້ນມີລະດູ (ດວງເດືອນ 1992).

1. ຜູ້ຍິງຫາບແບກຫລາຍພັນທະ

"ຜູ້ຍິງເບິ່ງລູກເຕ້າຫນີ້ງເຂົ້າເປ່າໄຟຄົວຄົບຄົວກິນເຮັດຫູກ ເຮັດຝ້າຍ" (ຫູມພັນ 1991 ຫນ້າ 5)

ນິທານຕ່າງໆເຊັ່ນ<u>ຫນ້າສີອິນທະຍານສອນລູກ</u> (1965) ຫລື <u>ລີສີລີມສອນລູກຍິງ</u> (1969)ໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ເຖິງການປະ ພຶດ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. <u>ຫນ້າສີພື້ນຂຸນບູລິມຣາຊາທິລາດ</u> (1967 ຫນ້າ 36-40) ໄດ້ບັນທຶກວ່າຫລ້ງຈາກສົ່ງລູກຊາຍ ຫົ້ງເຈັດອົ້ງກ່ອນຈະ ໄປບໍລິການເມືອງຕ່າງໆແລ້ວຂຸນບູລິມໄດ້ສັ່ງລູກໄພ້ໄວ້:

ຢ່າໄດ້ ລວນ ຄຳສອນພຣະ ບາດ ອົ້ງເປັນເຈົ້າພໍ່ເນີ. ຍາມເມື່ອຕື່ນແຕ່ເຊົ້າ ລຸກ ກ່ອນ ພູມີ ເມື່ອໃດນາງຈົ່ງ ບົວລະບັດຄອງ ແຕ່ງ ແປງ ປຸນໄວ້ມີຫົ້ງໂພສະນາເຂົ້າ ອາຫານປົ້ງຈີ່ ກໍດີນາງ ຈົ່ງ ຕົກແຕ່ງໄວ້ພາເຂົ້າເຄື່ອງ ສະເວີຍນັ້ນດາຍ (ຢ່າໄດ້ຄາ ເຄີກ ຮ້າງຮາມເຈົ້າພ່າງ ເພົ້າ)ຍາມໃດພຣະສະເວີຍເຂົ້ານ້ຳ ແລ້ວຢ່າຖະລາໄລ ເມື່ອໃດຄັນຫາກບໍຣະບອນນາຍກໍ່ຈົ່ງກິນລຸນເຈົ້າເຫດວ່າ ບຸນເຮືອງໄທ້ ກະສັດຕີຍົກໃຫຍ່ ຈົ່ງ ດາຍ ນາງຢ່າໄດ້ ອວດອ້າງ ສະຫາວແທ້ລີ້ນຄອງພໍ່ເນີ. ອັນວ່າຄຳກິລ້ານ ໃຫ້ເອົາໄປຫານແຈກຢ່າໄດ້ອຳຖີ່ໄວ້ ຕົວແທ້ບໍ່ດີ ພໍ່ແລ້ວ, ອັນວ່າແປງນາງນ້ອຍໂຮງຫລວງ ຫລາຍຫນີ້ນ ກໍດີກໍ່ ຫໍ່ ຕ້ົງຕໍ່ເຈົ້າບຸນກ້ວາງແກ່ນສານພໍ່ ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ ມີຄຳເຂັ້ມໃຫ້ແປງໃຈອັນຊື່ພໍ່ດາຍ ຮັກໃຫ້ລ້ວນຊູ່ຄົນ ແທ້ ກໍຈົ່ງຫຸ້ມພໍ່ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ ຄ້ານຕ່ຳຫູກຫໍ່ໄຫມນັ້ນ ເນີຈົ່ງໃຫ້ມີໄມຕີໄພ່ໄຫຫ້ົງຄ້ານ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ ຟ້ົງ ຄວາມເປ້ືອງຝຸ້ງຄົນສັບຊຸ່ນັ້ນເນີໃຫ້ ເຈົ້າຖາມ ຖີ່ ຄ້ວນ

ເຖິງຮ້າຍ ແລະ ດີ ແທ້ ດາຍ ຄັນ ຫາກ ຮູ້ແຈ້ງແຈ້ງ ເຖິງທີ່ອັນກະທຳ ດັ່ງນັ້ນຄວາມຜິດມີ ພຽງໃດ ໃຫ້ ໄຕ່ ຕອງຕາຖ້ວນຢ່າໄດ້ຫວນຄຳຮ້າຍ ແຮງ ແຖມ ຖົມໃສ່ ຄັນຫາກໂທດບໍ່ຮ້າຍຄວນໃຫ້ສັ່ງ ສອນ ຊອບ ດາຍ ຢ່າ ໄດ້ແຜງຕ້ານ ຈາມາເຊິ່ງຕ່າງ ພະບາດຂ້າເສຍ ແທ້ ບໍ່ນານ ພໍ່ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຂ້ອຍ ຊ່ວງໃຊ້ ຮອງບາດບົວ ລະບັດ ກໍດີ ຈົ່ງໃຫ້ປານີເຂົາ ໂຜດຜາຍຝູງໄຮ້ ເຂົາ ນັ້ນ ທໍ່ຫາກອາໃສຍອັນສົມພານທຸກ ສິ່ງ ຈົ່ງແລ້ວ. ອັນ ວ່າສິ້ນຜ້າເສື້ອເຂົາຫາກໄຮ້ເອົາ ໃຫ້ ທອດທານ ບຸນກໍ່ ຫາກໄດ້ເມືອຫນ້າກໍ່ຮຸ່ງເຮືອງ ພໍ່ ແລ້ວ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ຄຳ ລະຫັດນັ້ນໃນໂຮງພະຍາໃຫຍ່ ກໍ່ດີ ຢ່າໄດ້ເອົາ ອອກ ຕ້ານ ໄປເວົ້ານອກໂຮງນັ້ນເດີ້. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຄວາມນອກ ຄຸ້ມຂ່ວງພຣະຣາຊະວັງຫລວງກໍດີ ຢ່າ ໄດ້ເອົາມາໂຮງ ຮອດຫູພະອົງເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ສົມບັດ ເຈົ້າ ຂອງແພງ ໃຫ້ຈຳຈີ່ ໄວ້ເມີ ຄັນວ່າພະຫາກ ເຕືອນ ໃຫ້ໄດ້ມາແທ້ ທ່ຽວພ້ນ ແທ້ໃດ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງວາຈາ ຖ້ວນ ຄວນຕອງດູ ກ່ອນບໍ່ຄວນທູນຕໍ່ເຈົ້າຢ່າຟ້າວກ່າວຖະແຫລງ (ການນີ້) ຄວນໃຫ້ແລ້ວ ໃນອາດຍາຕົນ (ຊາດທີ) ຄວາມຊາມໃຜ ບໍ່ຫວນຫວນທູນເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງໃຫ້ເລືອກໄວ້ ຝຸງຫມູ່ມີ ຜະຫຍາ ນັ້ນເມີ ອັນວ່າກັນລະຍາມີ ສິ່ນາງໃຫ້ ຈຳໄວ້ ອັນຫນຶ່ງໃຫ້ມີໃຈແຜ່ກ້ວາງ ທ່ຽງສະຫວາດທຳສົນ ພໍ່ເມີ ຈົ່ງໃຫ້ມີໃຈບຸນ ຄ່ຽມຄົມແຄວນຮູ້ ຄວນທີ່ຕົບ ແຕ່ງໄວ້ ຍັງ ແມ່ ສາວ ສະຫນົມ ຍາມຈັກທຳການໃດ ໃຫ້ອີ່ຍິນ ເຂົາ ເຈົ້າ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ມີໃຈລ້ຽວໂລພາ ລັກໂລບ ເອົາເມີໃຫ້ເຈົ້າເສັ່ງສິ່ເຖົ້າຝຸງ ຮູ້ຈົ່ງ ກະທຳ ນັ້ນ ເມີ ຄັນວ່າ ຝຸງເຖົ້າ ມາລາວ່າ ຊອບຄວນ ແລ້ວ. ຄັນວ່າ ໂທດຮ້າຍ ແທ້ຄວນແລ້ວ ຈົ່ງກະທຳແທ້ດາຍ ຢ່າໄດ້ບັກ

ໂທດຮ້າຍພອຍຕູ່ຊາວໄທ ນັ້ນເນີຢ່າໄດ້ຫາຄວາມ ເສີມ ໃສ່ກັນການຮ້າຍ ມີຄວາມແຫ້ທຳນອມຜິດຮີດ ຫລອນວ່າ ໂພຍແລ່ນຕ້ອງ ເຖິງເຈົ້າຊ່ອມອນ ບໍ່ຮູ້ອັນ ຫນຶ່ງອົງຄະ ແກ້ວຝຸ່ງຣາຊເທວີກໍດີ ຢ່າໄດ້ຕິຕຽນເຂົ້າບໍ່ດີ ເມື່ອຫນ້າ ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ທຳການຮ້າຍ ປານາຕິບາດ ແມ່ນວ່າຈຳ ທ່ານຂ້າຝູ່ງນີ້ບໍ່ຄວນ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງສົມບັດເຈົ້າ ຣາຊາພູວະ ນາດກໍດີ (ຫລືຫາກ) ຂອງຜູ້ອື່ນແຫ້ຢ່າໄດ້ ລັກເອົາແຫ້ ດາຍແມ່ນວ່າທີ່ສຣາດລີ້ນຂອງຝາກມາ ຖວາຍ ກໍດີ ຢ່າ ມີໃຈໂລພາໂລບອຳເອົາໄວ້ ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ຢ່າໄດ້ຄິດຫລີ້ນຮູ້ ຄິດຈາກຈອມຝົ່ອ ແຫ້ເນີແມ່ນວ່າ ຝັນ ກາງຄືນກໍ່ຢ່າຍິ້ມ ຄີ້ງ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ຄິດ ລາຍ ລ້ຽວຄິດຈາກຣາ ຊາ ຄວາມໃດມີກໍ່ຈິງຈາມີແຫ້ ຢ່າໄດ້ຈອງຫອງຕ້ານຄຳສລັບ ວອນແວ່ແມ່ນວ່າເຈົ້າບໍ່ລ້ຽວ ຕົນນ້ອຍຍ່ອມວາຍແຫ້ດາຍ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງຢ່າໄດ້ກິນຢາເຫລົ້າ ສຸລາການຖ່ອຍນັ້ນເນີເກງ ຈັກຕ້ອງ ໂທດ ຮ້າຍຕາຍຊ້ຳ ຊາກຕ່າວນັ້ນແລ້ວ. ອັນ ຫນຶ່ງເຖິງ ເມື່ອລະດູຟ້າດ້ວງມາ ປີໃຫມ່ຍາມໃດແລ້ວຈິ່ງ ເຕີ່ນໄພ່ນ້ອຍກະທຳສ້າງໄຮ່ນາ ນັ້ນເນີ. ອັນຫນຶ່ງເຖິງ ເມື່ອຍາມສະຫນຸກຫລີ້ນ ມະໂຫ ສົບຊຶມຊື່ນ ກໍດີເຈົ້າຈິ່ງ ເຕີ່ນໄພ່ນ້ອຍເຂົ້າຫລີ້ນຊື່ນຊຶມ ພໍ່ເນີ.

ການ ສັ່ງສອນໃນ ລັກສະນະຄຽວກັນ ກໍ່ມີໃນກິດ ຫມາຍ ຂອງ ສັກດິນາ ແລະ ປະເພນີຂອງເຜົ່າໄຕໃນສິບສອງພັນ ນາ (ຢູນນານ ປະເທດຈີນ)(ແບນ Bain 1988;ເອງຈັນ Enchang 1989) ຖ້າ ຈະເວົ້າແລ້ວທຸກສິ່ງ ທຸກຢ່າງທີ່ຈະໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງປະພຶດ ແມ່ນປິ່ນອ້ອມ ຮັບໃຊ້ຜົວ. ທຸກ ວັນນີ້ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຍັງສືບຕໍ່ປະຕິບັດ ກິດລະ ບຽບບູຮານ ດັ່ງກ່າວ. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານ ຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ຍົກຕົວຢ່າງທີ່ ຣາວາຍ ຍັງສືບຕໍ່ປະຕິບັດຮີດຄອງດັ່ງກ່າວ (Rakow 1990).

ຫນ້າສີ ພື້ນຂຸນບູລິມຣາຊາທິລາດມີຈຸດປະສົງແນໃສ່ ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ ບັນດາເຊື້ອສາຍຣາຊະວົງຫລວງພະບາງໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ວ່າເພດ ຊາຍ ເປັນ ຜູ້ນໍາໃນຄອບຄົວແລະ ເປັນຜູ້ສືບທອດບັນລັງ ຊຶ່ງມັນກົງກັນຂ້າມ ກັບລະບົບມານດາທິລາດ.

2. ມາລະຍາດຕໍ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ

ເນໂລກທີ່ສີວິໄລ, ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະເປັນຜູ້ສະແດງ ມາລະຍາດໃຫ້ ກຽດແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ, ແຕ່ໃນສັງຄົມແຕ່ກ່ອນຂອງລາວສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ແມ່ນຕໍ່າຫລືຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນພຽງ "ຂ້າທາດຜູ້ພັກດີ" (ຣັຕ ນາ 1975 ຫນ້າ 123) ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນ.

ໃນເມື່ອ ກ່ອນ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄຕ ລວມທັງຢູ່ທີ່ສິບສອງພັນນາ, ແລະ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ, ຕ້ອງມີມາລະຍາດ ຕໍ່ຜົວເຫມືອນກັບ ຕໍ່ນາຍເຫນືອຫົວ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຈະຕ້ອງເວົ້ານໍາຜົວດ້ວຍສຽງອັນອ່ອນໂຍນ ແລະ ຈະຕ້ອງຍົ້ມສະເຫມີກ່ອນຈຶ່ງເວົ້ານໍາຜົວແລະ ຈະບໍ່ມີສິດ ຕັດຄວາມ ເວົ້າຂອງຜົວ (ອິນແປງ 1970 ຫນ້າ 5). ວັນນະຄະດີລາວເຊັ່ນ ຍອດຄໍາສອນບູຮານ (1972), ຫນ້າສີອິນທິຍານສອນລູກ (1965), ນິທານຫ້າວຄໍາສອນ (1966) ຊີ້ໃຫ້ເຫັນເມຍທີ່ ດີນັ້ນຄວນເຮັດແນວໃດຫລືຜູ້ເປັນເມຍບໍ່ມີສິດເຮັດໃຫ້ຜົວທຸກໃຈໂດຍ ຜິດກັບຜົວຫລືແມ້ແຕ່ຈະສະແດງທ່າທີບໍ່ມັກ ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້. ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຍິງຜູ້ນັ້ນອາດຖືກຜີຮ້າຍມາ ກວນ ຫລື ຕົກນາລົກ ແລະ ອະ ເວຈີ (Peltier 1988 ຫນ້າ 358).

3. ຜົວຄື "ເທວະດາ"

ເມັຽຕ້ອງຕື່ນກ່ອນ, ນອນລຸນ, ກິນເຂົ້າຕ້ອງກິນນໍາຫລັງ,

ແນວໃດແຊບນົວຕ້ອງຍົກໃຫ້ຜົວກິນ, ຍາມວັນສົນມາເມັ້ງ ຕ້ອງເອົາດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນຄາຣະວະຂາບຕົນແລະເອົາຜົມ ເຊັດກາງໃຈຕົນຂອງຜົວ, ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຝ່າຍຜົວນັ້ນ ຈະ ປະກອບກັມອັນທີ່ສ້າງຄວາມເຈັບແຄ້ນໃຫ້ຫລາຍປານ ໃດ ກໍດີ (ຣັຕນາ 1975 ໜ້າ 18).

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ທີ່ມີຜົວແລ້ວກໍດີ ຜູ້ຍິງໃນສັງຄົມ ທີ່ເຊື່ອຖືສາ ສະ ໜາພຸດໄດ້ຖືກ ສັ່ງສອນຈາກ ສາສະໜາ ວ່າໄດ້ມີຜົວໃນຊາດນີ້ ຍ້ອນຄວາມ ຜູກພັນມາແຕ່ຊາດກ່ອນ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງຕ້ອງເຄົາລົບໃຫ້ ກຽດ ຜົວເໝືອນ "ເທວະດາ". ຂໍ້ 6 ແລະ 7 ຂອງ <u>ຮີດ ສິບສອງ ຄອງສິບສີ່</u> ຊຶ່ງເປັນປຶ້ມຄູ່ມືໃນສະໄໝກ່ອນໄດ້ບົ່ງ ໄວ້ວ່າກ່ອນຈະເຂົ້ານອນຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງລ້າງຕີນໃຫ້ຜົວ. ເວລາວັນສົນ ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງເອົາດອກໄມ້ທູບທຽນສົມມາຄາລະວະຜົວ ແລະພໍ່ແມ່ຜົວ.

ການບູຊາຜົວດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ບັນທຶກໂດຍນັກທ່ອງທ່ຽວຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ໄດ້ ຢ້ຽມຢາມຫລວງພະບາງໃນປີ 1896 ວ່າ ການສົມມາຄາ ລະວະຜົວຕີໃນວັນສົນຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງໄດ້ຄູ້ເຂ່ົາແລ້ວຂໍໂທດຕໍ່ການກະທຳ ທີ່ປະຕິບັດຜ່ານມາ. ຜູ້ຍິງເຄົາລົບປະເພນີດັ່ງກ່າວຫລາຍຊຶ່ງນັບສະ ແດງ ໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງລັກສະ ນະບອກນອນສອນງ່າຍຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງລາວ (ມັດຊີເອ Massieu 1901 ໜ້າ 267). ໃນລະຍະສຸດທ້າຍ ຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ,ອະດີດລັດຖະມົນຕີກະຊວງຍຸດຕິທຳລາວ ໄດ້ບັນທຶກການ ປະພຶດ ກັນວ່າ "ທຸກ ໆ ຄືນ, ກ່ອນຈະໄປ ນອນ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ຕ້ອງຄາ ລະວະຜົວຕົນໂດຍການນົບຕີນຜົວ, ເພື່ອຂໍອະ ໄພ ຜົວໃນການ ປະພຶດບໍ່ດີຂອງຕົນຜ່ານມາ" (ອົນແປງ 1970 ໜ້າ 5). ໃນບັນດາເຜົ່າໄຕທີ່ສິບສອງພັນນາ, ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກອົບ ລົມເຊັ່ນກັນ "ເມື່ອເຄືອນໄດ້ເອື້ອນໄປຢູ່ເຫິງປາຍໄມ້ ແລ້ວໜົດ ຄອບຄົວໄດ້ຜົກຜ່ອນ ຢ່າງສະຫງົບ, ແລ້ວຕໍ່ມາເມຍໄດ້ຍ່າງຫວຽນ ໆ ໄປຕີນຕຽງໂດຍບໍ່ໃຫ້ຜົມຂອງຕົນຕົກເຮ່ຍ, ແລ້ວກົ້ມລົງສາມຄັ້ງ

ທີ່ຕີນຜີ. ຫມອນນອນກໍຕອ້ງໃຫ້ລຶກລົງ ຕ່ຳກ່ວາຂອງຜີວສີ່ນິ້ວແລະ ບໍ່ໃຫ້ເອົາຫົວຂອງຕີນນອນສູງກ່ວາຫົວຜີວ (Bain 1988 ຫນ້າ 12).

4. ຜີວ "ກິນ ສາມ ຄຳກ່ອນ"

ຄວາມ ບໍ່ ສະເຫມີພາບ ລະຫວ່າງ ຍິງຊາຍ ໃນສັງຄົມບູຮານ ລາວ ແມ່ນ ຈະພົບໄດ້ ໃນທຸກແງ່ມຸມ ຂອງຊີວິດ ລວມທັງການກິນຢູ່ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຖືກ ອົບຣົມສັ່ງສອນບໍ່ໃຫ້ກິນຈົນກ່ວາ ຜີວຈະກິນກ່ອນ ສາມ ຄຳ. ທ່ານ ປ.ສ.ວິ່ນ ໄດ້ ບັນທຶກຂຽນໄວ້ໃນປຶ້ມ <u>ຄວາມສຸພາບ ແລະຂະນົບທຳນຽມລາວ</u> (1965) ເຊັ່ນກັນ. ສະພາບດັ່ງ ກ່າວບໍ່ ແມ່ນແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງລາວໄດ້ພົບພໍ້ແລະປະຕິບັດຫາກຜູ້ຍິງສະຫຍາມ ແລະໄຕທີ່ສິບສອງພັນນາກໍ່ໄດ້ຄຽຖ້າຜູ້ຊາຍກິນເຂົ້າໄດ້ສາມຄຳກ່ອນ ຕົນເອງຈຶ່ງຈະເລີ່ມກິນໄດ້. ວັນນະຄະດີລາວເຊັ່ນ<u>ນິທານຫ້າວຄຳ ສອນ</u>(1966) ໄດ້ສິດສອນໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງປ່ອຍໃຫ້ຜີວກິນເຂົ້າກ່ອນ ຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍສາມຄຳຕົນເອງຈຶ່ງຈະເລີ່ມລົງມື ກິນໄດ້. ຮີດຄອງປະ ເພນີລາວ ບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ຫ້າມບໍ່ໃຫ້ ຜູ້ຍິງກິນເຂົ້າກ່ອນຜີວ ຫາກແຕ່ກົດ ລະບຽບຂອງເຊື້ອພະວົງ ທີ່ຫລວງ ພະບາງ ໄດ້ບົ່ງ ໄວ້ ໃນ ປຶ້ມ <u>ໂລກາວິນາດ</u> ໄດ້ຫ້າມຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ ໃຫ້ກິນ ຮ່ວມໂຕະແລະຫ້າມຜູ້ ເປັນເມຍບໍ່ໃຫ້ກິນຮ່ວມໂຕະ ກັບຜີວ. ເຊື້ອພະວົງແລະເສນາອາ ຫມາດ ຈະຫ້າມ ບໍ່ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ ກິນຮ່ວມພາເຂົ້າ ກັບເຈົ້າຊີວິດ, ລັດ ຖະມົນຕີ, ຂ້າລາຊການ ຂັ້ນຜູ້ໃຫຍ່ຖືວ່າ ອຳ ນາດຈະຫມິດຄວາມ ສັກສິດ.

ກົດລະບຽບ ບູຮານດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຖືກສັງເກດໂດຍ ຈອນ ອິມບຣີ (John Embree) ນັກເຜົ່າພັນວິທະຍາ ທີ່ຢ້ຽມຢາມລາວ ໃນປີ

1949 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ:

> ທ່ານທີ່ປຶກສາຝຣັ່ງປະຈຳຢູ່ລາວມີເມຍເປັນຄົນລາວ ແລະ ໄດ້ລູກນຳກັນ, ແຕ່ໃນຖານະເປັນແມ່ເຮືອນເມຍບໍ່ໄດ້ເຂົ້າ ຮ່ວມ ນຳ, ບໍ່ໄດ້ກິນເຂົ້າຕອນຮັບນຳໃນຕອນແລງ. ທັງ ນີ້ ອາດ ຈະຍ້ອນວ່າ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວບໍ່ ປາຖະຫນາ, ແຕ່ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ເວລາ ທ່ານ ທີ່ປຶກສາ ຈັດກິນເຂົ້າແລງກໍ ຈະມີ ແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ ເຮັດ ວຽກທາງການ ຊຶ່ງເປັນທັງຜູ້ມາຢ້ຽມ ແລະ ຄົນມາແຕ່ທ້ອງ ຖິ່ນ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວອາດຈະມີຄົນຮັບໃຊ້ ທີ່ ດີຈຶ່ງບໍ່ຕ້ອງການປະປົນ ຊີວິດສ່ວນຕົວກັບຊີວິດທາງການ ແຕ່ ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍ່ດີ ມັນກໍເປັນຫນ້າສົນໃຈ ທີ່ໃນເວລາ ທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າພັກຢູ່ນຳນັ້ນໃນຖານະທີ່ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າເປັນແຂກ ບ້ານຂ້າພະເຈົ້າກໍບໍ່ເຄີຍເຫັນຜູ້ກ່ຽວແນະນຳເມຍ ໃຫ້ຂ້າ ພະເຈົ້າຮູ້ຈັກເລີຍ (ອີມບຣີ Embree 1949 ຫນ້າ 151).

ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວກໍ່ອອກຫ່າງ ຈາກກຸ່ມເພດຊາຍ.

> ຜ ຍິງລາວມັກເອົາໂຕອອກຫ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍໃນການຮ່ວມ ໂຕະອາຫານ, ກຸ່ມຜູ້ຍິງຈະຢູ່ຕ່າງຫ່າກພວກເຮົາຕ້ອງ ປ່ຽນແປງ ແຕ່ມື້ນີ້ ໃນທ່າທີດັ່ງກ່າວ ເພາະບ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຕ້ອງຢູ່ລະຫວ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ສອງຄົນ...ບາງຜູ້ ຍິງ ບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບ ອະນຸຍາດ ໃຫ້ ກິນພ້ອມກັບຜົວ. ພວກເຮົາ ຕ້ອງໃຫ້ກຽດຜູ້ຍິງລາວເທົ່າ ກັນກັບ ຕະເວັນຕົກ ໃຫ້ ກຽດຜູ້ຍິງເຂົ້າໂດຍທີ່ໃນທີ່ຊຸມ ນຸມຜູ້ຍິງຈະບໍ່ ນັ່ງ ຟົ້ນ ເຮືອນໃນເວລາທີ່ ຜູ້ຊາຍນັ່ງໂຕະ; ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງນັ່ງສັບ ລະຫວ່າງຜູ້ຊາຍສອງຄົນ;ບ່ອນເປັນກຽດຕ້ອງເອົາໄວ້

ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ; ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງໃຫ້ກຽດຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ບໍ່ຄວນຖືຜູ້ຍິງ ວ່າເປັນເພດທີ່ຕ່ຳກ່ວາຕົນ (Nginn 1965 ໜ້າ 47).

ແຕ່ຄຳເວົ້າອັນທີ່ເປັນຫ່ວງຍ້ວງດ້ວຍ ຂອງ ປ.ສ.ງິ່ນບໍ່ສາມາດຈະປ່ຽນປ້ົນ ຄວາມຊຶນເຄີຍເກົ່າແກ່ນັ້ນໄດ້ແລະນັກຂຽນຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ:

ໃນວົງສັງຄົມກໍບໍ່ສູ້ໃຫ້ຄວາມສຳຄັນແກ່ແມ່ຍິງເທົ່າທີ່ຄວນ. ເຮົາຈະສັງເກດໄດ້ຈາກຄຳທີ່ວ່າເຣື່ອງຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ແມ່ຍິງບໍ່ ມີ ສ່ວນກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ. ເວລາໄປສຖານທີ່ຊຸມນຸມຊຶນ ແມ່ຍິງກໍຈະ ຕ້ອງ ຈູ້ມກັນຢູ່ບ່ອນນຶ່ງ ຜູ້ຊາຍກໍຢູ່ບ່ອນນຶ່ງ ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສາມັກຄີ ເວົ້າ ລົມ ກັນຢ່າງສດວກສບາຍໃນ ລະຫວ່າງສຸພາບບຸຣຸດແລະ ສຸພາບ ສຕຣີ. ບາງເທື່ອກໍ ມີແຕ່ການສັງສັນກັນຣະຫວ່າງ ຜູ້ຊາຍແລ້ວກໍມີແຜນການ ສ້າງ ຄວາມອະພິຣົມຊຶມຊື່ນນຳສຸຣາມາຣີແລະການພນັນ. (ຣັຕນາ 1975 ໜ້າ 120-121).

ພາຍ ຫລັງ 1975, ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ ຢູ່ໃນທີ່ຊຸມນຸມ ຕ່າງໆ ຜູ້ຍິງຍ້ວງກິນຢູ່ສະເພາະ ຜູ້ຍິງ, ຜູ້ຊາຍກໍຢູ່ສະເພາະຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລະ ອັນທີ່ຍ້ວງເຫັນຢູ່ທຸກບ່ອນທຸກຍາມແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງ ຍ້ວງ ພາກັນຢຸ່ແຕ່ໃນເຮືອນຄົວ ແລະ ກິນຢູ່ໃນເຮືອນຄົວ. ບາງບ່ອນກໍເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງນັ່ງພື້ນເຮືອນແລະ ຜູ້ ຊາຍນັ່ງໂຕະ. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວທີ່ຕ້ັງຖິ່ນຖານ ຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ເຫັນມາລະຍາດສັງຄົມຕ່າງປະເທດໃຫ້ກຽດຜູ້ຍິງທັ້ງໃນທ່າທີ, ໃນ ການ ກິນ, ການເວົ້າ, ການປະພຶດນັ້ນແຕ່ບາງ ຄົນຍ້ວງບໍ່ສາມາດ ລົບລ້າງຣີດຄອງເກົ່າຄອບງຳຈຶ່ງຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ປະພຶດແບບເກົ່າມາຫລັງ. ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ພົບທີ່ປາຣີ, ຣາວາຍ, ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍ.

ທີ່ລາວໃນວົງການກິນລ້ຽງກັບຕ່າງປະເທດ, ສ່ວນຫລວງຫລາຍຕ່າງ ປະເທດໂດຍສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງຕາມປົກປະຕິ ຍິງ-ຊາຍລວມກັນສົນທະ ນາ, ແຕ່ຈະມັກພົບພໍ້ຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ກຸ່ມຫນຶ່ງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຢູ່ເປັນອີກກຸ່ມຫນຶ່ງ ສົນທະນາບັນຫາບ້ານເມືອງຫລືແລກປ່ຽນສະພາບການ. ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງ ນອກຈາກຈະຖາມຂ່າວຄາວກັນເຖິງລູກເຕົ້າຫລືຕົ້ນຝ້າ ອາກາດແລ້ວ ເກືອບວ່າບໍ່ມີຫຍັງຈະລົມກັນແລະລໍຖ້າແຕ່ເມື່ອໃດຜູ້ຊາຍ ແລ້ວ ລົມ ແລ້ວຫລືຮອດໂມງຈະກັບກໍ່ຈະກັບບ້ານເທົ່ານັ້ນ.

ເວົ້າລວມແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະແມ່ນເຜົ່າລາວລຸ່ມຫລືເຜົ່າອື່ນໆກໍ່ດີ ເປັນຕົ້ນເຜົ່າລາວສູງໄດ້ຮັບໃຊ້ຜົວ ຢ່າງ ບໍ່ຫຍໍ້ທໍ້. "ສັງຄົມ ຊົນ ເຜົ່າມົ້ງບ້ານແກ້ງສາງໃນເມື່ອກ່ອນກໍ່ດີໃນປັດຈຸບັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປແລ້ວ ເຂົາເຈົ້າເຄີຍຖືບົດບາດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນສິ່ງສັກສິດຕັດສິນທຸກໆວຽກ ງານຂອງຄອບຄົວແລະສັງຄົມ. ສ່ວນບົດບາດຂອງແມ່ຍິງແມ່ນ ຖືກ ມອງຂ້າມຫລືຖືກບົດບັງຫັ້ງຫມົດ" (ຄຳແພງທິບມຸນຕາລີ 1993).

3/ <u>ການຂຸດຮີດຜູ້ຍິງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດແລະວັດທະນະທຳ</u>

ລາວໄດ້ມີຊື່ສຽງວ່າເປັນ "ຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວ ສາວ". ວັດທະນະທຳດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ມີທ່າອຽງສະດວກໃນການ ຍືມເອົາວັດທະນະທຳຂອງທາງນອກໃນສະຕະວັດທີ 19 ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຕະ ວັນຕົກໄດ້ມີຫນ້າ ຢູ່ລາວໂດຍສະເພາະທະຫານຝຣັ່ງທີ່ປະຈຳ ຢູ່ເອ ເຊຍ. ປາກົດ ການຂອງໂສເພນີແລະການບູຊາເງິນພ້ອມທັງສັງຄົມ ບໍລິໂພກໄດ້ຊຸ່ມເຂົ້າ ໃນສັງຄົມລາວ. ຜູ້ຍິງສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ໂດຍສະເພາະ ໃນຊົນນະບົດຍັງຕ້ອງ ຕົກ ຢູ່ໃນຮີດຄອງອັນຫນັກຫນວງຊຶ່ງມັນໄດ້ສະ ແດງອອກແຕ່ ມື້ ກຳເນີດ ເຖິງວັນແຕ່ງງານ. ຍ້ອນການເກີດເປັນ

ເພດຍິງ ຈຶ່ງ ໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງສະແວງຫາບຸນເພື່ອຊີວິດອັນດີໃນຊາດ ຫນ້າ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວ ໄດ້ມີ ຊີວິດທີ່ປະກອບຂຶ້ນຢ່າງເຂັ່ງຂັດໂດຍການມູນ ວຽນຂອງການຜະລິດ ແລະ ການວິວັດທາງສັງຄົມທີ່ລ້ວນແຕ່ປົນອ້ອມ ການ ຜະລິດດັ່ງດຽວກັບຫລາຍໆສັງຄົມໃນຫລາຍປະເທດໄດ້ເປັນມາ ແລ້ວ.

ກ- ການກ້ຽວບ່າວສາວໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ບໍ່ທັນຈະເລີນ

ການກ້ຽວ ບ່າວສາວແມ່ນເປັນຂີດຫມາຍລະຍະຂອງຊີວິດແລະ ມີຈຸດພິເສດສະເພາະທີ່ປະເທດລາວໂດຍໄດ້ເປັນອັນເວົ້າເຖິງຂອງ ນັກທ່ອງທ່ຽວ ຕ່າງປະເທດທີ່ໄດ້ມາຢ້ຽມຢາມລາວ "ຣາຊະອານາ ຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວສາວ".

ການກ້ຽວ ບ່າວສາວແມ່ນການສະແດງຄວາມພໍໃຈແລະຄວາມ ຮັກລະຫວ່າງຜູ້ບ່າວ ແລະ ຜູ້ສາວ (ຫຍຸຍ 1949 ຫນ້າ 491). ນອກຈາກການນັດພົບຢູ່ນອກເຮືອນແລ້ວ, ຮີດຄອງຍັງອະນຸລົມໃຫ້ ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມແລະຍິງສາວທີ່ ອາຍຸເກີນ 16 ປີພົບກັນຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍ. ແຕ່ຖ້າແມ່ນພົບກັນຢູ່ເຮືອນ ຂອງຍິງສາວປະເພນີຈະ ອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມພົບໄດ້ໃນຂອບເຂດຈຳກັດຂອງເຮືອນ. ເວລາຢ້ຽມຢາມ ປະເທດລາວໃນ ທ້າຍ ສະຕະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມານັ້ນ ເຈົ້າຮ້ວຮີດອກເລ ອ້ວ Henri D'ORLEANS (1894) ໄດ້ ບັນທຶກໄວ້ໃນປຶ້ມວ່າ ປະເທດລາວເປັນຣາຊະອານາຈັກແຫ່ງການກ້ຽວບ່າວ ສາວ, ດິນ ແດນປະຫລາດແຫ່ງນີ້ຖືຄວາມຮັກສູງ. ໃນຍາມເດືອນເພັນສິ່ງທີ່ຈະ ພົບເຫັນເປັນປະຈຳຕັ້ງແຕ່ຕະ ເວັນລັບຂອບຟ້າໄປຈົນເຖິງຍ້ອນຄືນ

ແມ່ນກຸ່ມຍິງສາວຈະພາກັນຮ້ອງ ເພັງໄປຕາມຫົນທາງແລ້ວມັກຈະມີ
ກຸ່ມຜູ້ຊາຍຕິດຕາມ ໄປຫ່າງໆ. ໃນບັນດາຍິງສາວເຫລົ່ານີ້ຈະມີຜູ້
ຫນຶ່ງເອົາຄໍາກອນ ມາເວົ້າດ້ວຍ ສຽງ ອັນອ່ອນຊອນ, ບາງຄົນກໍ
ເອົາເພັງມາຂັບປະສານສຽງກັບຊາຍຫນຸ່ມທີ່ຍ່າງຜ່ານກາຍໄປ.

ໃນເມື່ອປະຊາຊົນລາວມີພອນສະ ຫວັນ ທາງ ດ້ານກາບກອນ
ດ້ານຂັບລໍາຫລືແຕ່ງເພັງມັນຈຶ່ງເປັນການສະດວກສໍາຫລັບບ່າວສາວ
ເພື່ອຈະເອົາມາເວົ້າຮ້ອງແລະກ້ຽວກັນ.

ພະຍານອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ພາຍຫລັງໄດ້ຢ້ຽມຢາມຫລວງພະບາງໃນ
ທ້າຍສະຕະວັດທີ 20 ແລ້ວໄດ້ບັນທຶກໄວ້ວ່າ ໃນຍາມເດືອນເພັງ,
ຍິງສາວທີ່ຫລວງພະບາງຈະພາກັນອອກມາຍ່າງຫລິ້ນທຸກໆຄືນເປັນ
ກຸ່ມຕາມຫົນທາງ, ແຂນເຊົ້າເຈົ້າກ້ຽວກັນແລ້ວກໍພາກັນຂັບລໍາເຖິງ
ອະດີດຂອງຄວາມຮັກທາມກາງຣາຕຣີຂອງຫມູ່ດວງດາວ. ເຈົ້າຍິງ
ແລະຍິງສາວສາມັນຊົນ, ເປັນ ຫມູ່ເປັນເພື່ອນຂັບລໍາໄປຈົນຮອດ
2 ຫາ 3 ໂມງເຊົ້າຂອງມື້ໃຫມ່. ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຍິງສາວບໍ່ມັກຫຍັງ
ນອກ ຈາກ ຄວາມ ມ່ວນຊື່ນ, ຂັບລໍາ ແລະເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມຮັກ
(Massieu 1901 ຫນ້າ 210).

ການກ້ຽວພາລາສິຈະມີລັກສະນະ ແຕກຕ່າງໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະ
ທ້ອງຖິ່ນແລະແຕ່ລະເຜົ່າຊົນ. ໂດຍທົ່ວ ໄປແລ້ວ, ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຈະ
ເຕົ້າໂຮມກັນທີ່ລະບຽງເຮືອນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງພາຍໄຕ້ແສງຫຽນຫລືແສງ
ກະບອງຊຶ່ງບາງຄັ້ງພໍ່ແມ່ຂອງຜູ້ສາວກໍ່ ນອນແລ້ວ. ການ ທີ່ຊາຍ
ຫນຸ່ມໄປພົບປະກັບ ຍິງສາວທີ່ບ້ານມັກຈະແມ່ນໃນເວລາທີ່ຍິງສາວ
ກໍາລັງເຂັ້ນຝ້າຍຫລືກໍາລັງຕໍາເຂົ້າເພື່ອ ຄວາມ ຕ້ອງການອັນຈໍາ
ເປັນປະຈໍາວັນສໍາຫລັບຄອບຄົວຫລືກໍາລັງພັນຢາໃສ່ໃບກ້ອຍ ແຫ້ງ
ເພື່ອເຮັດເປັນກອກຢາຖະວາຍໃຫ້ວັດເພື່ອກະກຽມບຸນທາງສາສະ

ຫນາ. ພາຍຫລັງ 1975, ໃນລະຍະຕົ້ນຂອງລະບອບໃຫ່ມການ ງັນບຸນສະຊາຍແລະຝູ້ມເພີ່ອຍບໍ່ຄ່ຍປາກົດ. ແຕ່ປະຈຸບັນທຸກເຫດຜົນ ແມ່ນມີຄຸນຄ່າສໍາຫລັບບຸກຄົນກໍຄືຫມູ່ບ້ານເພື່ອຈະຈັດງານບຸນ.

ປະເທດລາວເປັນປະເທດທີ່ປະຊາຊົນແມ້ແຕ່ໃນຍາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ທາງການເມືອງກໍຄືເສດຖະກິດຍັງສືບຕໍ່ດໍາລົງຊີວິດແບບງ່າຍດາຍທີ່ ມີທັງຄວາມຮັກແລະຄວາມເລີ້ນເລີງ ເຫນືອ ກວ່າອື່ນໃດ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຫຍູຍອະໄພ (1949 ຫນ້າ 492) ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້ວ່າ "ປະເທດ ລາວເປັນປະເທດທີ່ງົດງາມຊຶ່ງຄວາມຮັກແລະຄວາມເລີ້ນເລີງເປັນ ເຈົ້າຊີວິດ". ການດໍາລົງຊີວິດດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງສືບຕໍ່ເຊັ່ນກັນສໍາຫລັບຄົນ ລາວທີ່ຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານຢູ່ປະເທດ ທີ່ ສາມ (ມະຍຸຣີ 1993a). ພາຍ ຫລັງ 1975, ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຊາຍ ຫນຸ່ມ ບໍ່ສາມາດຈະກ້ອພາລາສີກັນ ແບບເປີດເຜີຍ ໂດຍສະເພາະໃນຕົວເມືອງເພາະຖືວ່າຮູບການດັ່ງ ກ່າວແມ່ນ ວັດທະນະທໍາ "ເປ່ອຍເຍ່ອຍ", ຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍໃນລະຍະ ກ່ອນການເປີດປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ.

ປະເພນີລາວກໍຄືທ້ອງຖິ່ນຈະອະນຸລົມການກ້ຽວພາລາສີ, ການ ປາກເວົ້າແລະການນັດຫມາຍເພື່ອກ້ຽວ ກັນໃນຂອບເຂດໃດຫນຶ່ງ. ທັງນີ້ເພື່ອປ້ອງ ກັນເພດ ອ່ອນແອຄືຜູ້ຍິງ. ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມອາດຈະໃຊ້ ຄວາມເວົ້າຫລືທ່າທີຕ່າງໆ ໄດ້ຖ້າຫາກບໍ່ແຕະຕ້ອງເຖິງກຽດສັກສີ ຫລືຈິດໃຈຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຖ້າບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນຊາຍຫນຸ່ມອາດຖືກປັບໃຫມ່ຢ່າງ ເຫມາະສົມຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນກັນ ທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ແປງເຮືອນ" ເພາະຖືວ່າບໍ່ ພຽງແຕ່ແຕະຕ້ອງເຖິງ ກຽດສັກສີຫລືຈິດໃຈຍິງສາວເທົ່ານັ້ນຫາກ ແຕ່ການກະທໍາຫລືການເວົ້າດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງຜິດຜີເຮືອນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງ ຄາລະວະ. ການ "ແປງເຮືອນ" ແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບຄວາມ ຫນັກເບົາ ຂອງການລະເມີດແລະຂຶ້ນກັບຣີດຄອງຂອງ ແຕ່ລະທ້ອງຖິ່ນແລະ ຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ຖ້າຫາກຜູ້ຊາຍ, ໃນເວລາກ້ຽວ ພາລາສີນັ້ນເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງມີທ້ອງແລະຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງຟ້ອງ, ຜູ້ຊາຍມີທາງ

ເລືອກສອງທາງຄືປ່ອຍໃຫ້ຖືກປັບໄໝຫລືຕ້ອງເອົາຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເມຍ.

ຂ- ການແຕ່ງດອງແລະການທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕົກເປັນຜູ້ຮັບເຄາະທີ່ສົມຫາມຂອງລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ

ການ ທີ່ຫນຸ່ມສາວຈະເອົາກັນເປັນຜົວເມຍແມ່ນບັນຫາທີ່ທຸກສັງຄົມໄດ້ເອົາ ໃຈໃສ່ ຢ່າງແທ້ຈິງ. ຄວາມຈິງແລ້ວກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫານີ້ ຜູ້ເຖົ້າຜູ້ແກ່ ຈະ ບໍ່ປະປ່ອຍໃຫ້ເປັນໄປຕາມມີຕາມເກີດ. ພິທີແຕ່ງງານ ຈະໄດ້ຖືກຈັດວາງຢ່າງລະອຽດທີ່ສຸດນັບແຕ່ມື້ເລີ່ມຕົ້ນຈົນຮອດມື້ສຸດທ້າຍຂອງ ງານດັ່ງກ່າວ. ການແຕ່ງດອງແມ່ນຈຸດຫມາຍທີ່ຍິ່ງສາວປາຖະຫນາກໍຄືຄວາມປະສົງອັນແຮງກ້າຂອງພໍ່ແມ່.

1. ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງແລະພິທີແຕ່ງດອງ

ຢູ່ລາວ ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງນອກຈາກອີງໃສ່ຄວາມຮັກມັກແລ້ວ ບາງກໍລະນີຍັງມີການຊອກຮູ້ຕື່ມປະຫວັດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງດັ່ງສຸພາສິດລາວ ໄດ້ ເວົ້າໄວ້ວ່າ "ເບິ່ງຊ້າງໃຫ້ເບິ່ງຫາງ ເບິ່ງນາງໃຫ້ເບິ່ງແມ່ ເບິ່ງ ແທ້ໆໃຫ້ເບິ່ງຮອດ ປູ່ຍ່າ ອາວອາ". ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີຄວາມ ຕ້ອງການວ່າເມຍທີ່ດີ ຕ້ອງປະກອບດ້ວຍ ເຮືອນສາມນ້ຳສີ. ແຕ່ ມາບໍ່ດົນນັ້ນສຸພາສິດຕ່າງ ໆໄດ້ຖືກຈັດເອົາໄປໄວ້ທາງຂ້າງເພາະ ຫນັງສືພິມ<u>ອຽງຈັນໃຫມ່</u> ລົງວັນທີ 26 ພະຈິກ 1986 ໄດ້ ຂຽນບົດ ຫນຶ່ງວ່າ: ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະແຕ່ງດອງກັບຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຮູບຮ່າງງາມ ແຕ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ແຕ່ງ ກິນ ຫລື ຈະແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ບໍ່ມີຮູບຮ່າງງາມ ຫາກຮູ້ຈັກແຕ່ງກິນດີ? ຫນັງສືພິມໄດ້ສະຫລຸບວ່າ ຄວນເລືອກເອົາ ຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ປະກອບດ້ວຍສາມດີ ຄື ເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີ, ເມຍທີ່ດີ ແລະ ແມ່ທີ່ດີ ຂອງລູກ. ໂດຍທົ່ວ ໄປແລ້ວ ການເລືອກຄູ່ຄອງມັກ

ເຮັດໄປຕາມ ຄວາມມັກຮັກຂອງຍິງຊາຍ ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຄວາມເວົ້າວ່າ "ປຸກເຮືອນຕາມໃຈຜູ້ຢູ່ ແຂວນອູ່ຕາມໃຈຜູ້ນອນ".

ເມື່ອມີການ ຕົກລົງ ແລ້ວຫັ້ງ ສອງຝ່າຍຍິງຊາຍ ກໍ່ໄດ້ມີພິທີ ຫມັ້ນ ແລະ ການກຳນົດໄລຍະຫມັ້ນ ແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບການຕົກລົງຂອງ ຫັ້ງສອງຝ່າຍ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫາກ ມີການຮ້າງຫມັ້ນ ຈາກຝ່າຍໃດຝ່າຍ ຫນຶ່ງອາດຖືກປັບໄຫມເພາະອາດເຮັດ ໃຫ້ກະທົບເຖິງ ກຽດສັກສີ ຂອງ ອີກ ຝ່າຍ ຫນຶ່ງຊຶ່ງເຂົ້ມກັນວ່າຮ້າງຂ້ນຫນາກ. ມາຕາ 7 ຂອງກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວ 1989 ໄດ້ໃຫ້ຫົດແທນຄວາມເສຍຫາຍ. ຢູ່ລາວ, ຮີດຄອງແລະກົດຫມາຍເກົ່າໄດ້ມີການໃຫ້ຄ່າດອງຊຶ່ງພໍ່ ແມ່ຝ່າຍຊາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ເອົາໃຫ້ຝ່າຍຍິງ. ແຕ່ກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວ 1989 ບໍ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງເງິນຄ່າດອງເລີຍ.

ເງິນຄ່າດອງຄືຮູບການຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງການ "ແລກປ່ຽນ ຄຸນຄ່າ" ເພາະເມື່ອຜູ້ຊາຍເສຍເງິນຄ່າດອງແລ້ວມັກຈະອົດສະ ແດງການ ຄວບຄຸມ ເຫນືອຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້. ເງິນຄ່າດອງມີສາມລັກ ສະນະທີ່ໄດ້ ສ່ອງແສງໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງວັດທະນະທຳທີ່ປະຊາຊົນລາວ ໄດ້ ເຊື່ອມ ຊຶມ ມີດັ່ງນີ້:

ຄ່າຂຶ້ນຜີ ຈະ ມອບໃຫ້ເພື່ອຄາລະວະຜີເຮືອນ. ໃນສະໄຫມ ກ່ອນ ຄ່າດອງ ແມ່ນຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງເອົາໃຫ້ ແລະ ໄດ້ບົ່ງໄວ້ໃນກົດ ຫມາຍຄອບຄົວແລະ ຈະບໍ່ສົ່ງຄືນ ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າພາຍຫລັງ ມາຈະມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍດີ.

ຄ່າຫມັ້ນ ອາດຈະເປັນປະເພດແຫວນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍມອບໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະຈະກາຍເປັນກຳມະສິດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ຜູ້ດຽວເຖິງແມ່ນພາຍຫລັງ ມາຈະມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍ່ດີ.

ຄ່າດອງ ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ບົ່ງແຈ້ງໄວ້ໃນກົດຫມາຍຫາກ ແຕ່ ຝ່າຍ ຊາຍພໍໃຈເອົາໃຫ້. ຄ່າດອງທີ່ໄດ້ມາອາດຈະເອົາໃຊ້ ຈ່າຍ ເພື່ອ

ລ້ຽງແຂກເຊີນມາໃນງານແຕ່ງດອງ.

ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວຄ່າດອງ ຖືກສອຍໃຊ້ເພື່ອຈຸດປະສົງລ້ຳລວຍຫລືການມີຫນ້າມີຕາ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງຖືກວິຈານໃນວາລະສານ<u>ວັນນະສິນ</u> (ມິຖຸນາ 1988) ວ່າຍ້ອນຄ່າດອງ ຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງເປັນລັກສະນະສິນຄ້າ.

ນອກຈາກນັ້ນບ່າວສາວຍັງຈະຕ້ອງອີງໃສ່ໂຫລາສາດເພື່ອເບິ່ງວ່າ ຫາດຂອງທັງສອງຈະເຂົ້າກັນ ຫລືຂັດກັນແລະເບິ່ງເລີກ ງາມຍາມດີ ກ່ອນຈະຈັດພິທີ. ແຕ່ ວ່າ ພາຍຫລັງ 1975 ເງື່ອນໄຂທີ່ຍິງຊາຍຈະເອົາກັນແມ່ນຍັງອີງໃສ່ຝົນງານປະຕິ ວັດ ເພາະການຈະແຕ່ງດອງກັບພາກສ່ວນທີ່ມາແຕ່ເຂດປົດປ່ອຍໃຫມ່ແລະ ປົດປ່ອຍເກົ່າ ໃນຊຸມປີ 1980 ແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກສົ່ງເສີມ. ຝົນສະທ້ອນໄດ້ ມີບາງຄູ່ພາກັນຂ້າໂຕຕາຍ ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາສະພາບມີການປ່ຽນແປງເພາະສັງຄົມເກີດມີຄົນຮັ່ງມີໃຫມ່ ແລະຊັ້ນຄົນໃຫມ່. ການກຳເນີດຊົນຊັ້ນຮັ່ງມີໃຫມ່ແລະຊັ້ນຄົນໃຫມ່ໄດ້ອຳນວຍມີການກ່ຽວດອງລະຫວ່າງກັນແລະກັນ.

ໃນ ຊຸມປີ 1980 ພິທີແຕ່ງດອງ ແມ່ນຈັດຂຶ້ນແບບກະທັດ ລັດ ໄປຕາມແນວທາງທີ່ຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ມີການປະຢັດ (ຕາເກໂກ Takeko 1992). ດັ່ງນັ້ນໃນງານແຕ່ງດອງ, ໂດຍສະເພາະຂັ້ນພາກສ່ວນທີ່ຢູ່ການຈັດຕັ້ງຈຶ່ງມີແຕ່ພຽງກິນເຂົ້າຫນົມ ແລະນ້ຳຊາ ແລະທຸກຢ່າງ ແມ່ນການຈັດຕັ້ງຊ່ວຍເປັນເຈົ້າການ. ນອກນັ້ນກໍ່ມີການອ່ານໃນອະນຸມັດໃຫ້ເອົາກັນຈາກກົມກອງ ທີ່ຍິງ ຫລື ຊາຍສັງກັດ ແລະຈະຈົບດວ້ຍການໃຫ້ໂອວາດຈາກອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງແລະຕາງຫນ້າຄູ່ຜົວເມຍໃຫມ່ກ່າວໃຫ້ຄຳປະຕິຍານ. ພິທີດັ່ງກ່າວຈະຕິດຕາມດ້ວຍການມັດແຂນບ່າວສາວ ຕາມຮີດຄອງຈາກຍາດມິດແລະເພື່ອນທີ່ຖືກເຊີນມາຮ່ວມ. ແຕ່ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບການຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ມີການປະຢັດ ກໍ່ ມີບາງງານດອງ ທີ່ເຊີນແຂກມາຮ່ວມເປັນສີ່ຮ້ອຍຫລືຫ້າຮ້ອຍຄົນແລະ

ອຸ່ນ ດອງກັນ ເປັນສາມມື້ສາມຄືນ. ການແຕ່ງດອງດັ່ງກ່າວຖືກຕຳ ນິວິຈານ ວ່າເປັນການຟຸ້ມເຟືອຍແລະເປັນການສະ ແດງຄວາມລ້ຳ ລວຍໃນ ຂະນະ ທີ່ປະເທດລາວຍັງເປັນປະເທດທີ່ທຸກຍາກກ່ວາໝູ່ ໃນໂລກ.

ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ແຕ່ງດອງແລ້ວເພື່ອຈະດຳລົງຊີວິດຮ່ວມກັນຄູ່ສົມລົດ ມີທາງເລືອກສາມທາງຊຶ່ງເປັນປະເພນີທີ່ປະຕິບັດກັນມາແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍ ໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ຜູ້ຍິງ. ອັນນີ້ກໍ່ສອດຄ່ອງກັບສຸພາສິດທີ່ວ່າ "ເອົາລູກ ເຂີຍມາລ້ຽງພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າປານໄດ້ເຂົ້າມາໃສ່ເລົ້າໃສ່ເຍຍ" ວິທີ ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຊ່ວຍໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຢູ່ໃກ້ພໍ່ແມ່ຊຶ່ງຖ້າຫາກເປັນລູກສາວຫລ້າ ຢູ່ນຳພໍ່ແມ່ກໍ່ຈະໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ສືບມູນມໍລະດົກ. ນອກນັ້ນບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ໄດ້ອອກຄຳເຫັນວ່າແມ່ນວິທີທີ່ພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າຈະໄດ້ກະກຽມລູກເຂີຍ ໃນການເປັນຫົວໜ້າຄອບຄົວ. ແຕ່ອີກດ້ານໜຶ່ງອາດຈະແມ່ນວິທີທີ່ ຮັບປະກັນໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງມີບາງສິດຂອງຕົນເອງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຕິເມຍ ບໍ່ໄດ້ຕາມອາລົມຂອງຕົນເອງ ໂດຍທີ່ຈະບໍ່ມີການຄຸ້ມກັນຈາກພໍ່ເຖົ້າ ແມ່ເຖົ້າ. ນອກນັ້ນ ພໍ່ເຖົ້າ ແມ່ເຖົ້າຍັງສາມາດຕຳນິ ກໍ່ສ້າງ ລູກ ເຂີຍ ຖ້າຫາກ ຜູ້ກ່ຽວເຮັດຜິດ ແລະຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດຜິດຜົວເປັນຜົວ ບໍ່ ສາມາດຮ້າຍຕີຫາກຕ້ອງໄດ້ຂໍໃຫ້ພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າເປັນຜູ້ສັ່ງສອນ ຕັກ ເຕືອນເຖິງສາມເທື່ອກ່ອນ ແລ້ວ ຜົວເປັນຜົວຈຶ່ງມີສິດສົມບູນສັ່ງສອນ ຜູ້ເປັນເມຍ (Aymonier 1885 ໜ້າ 186).

ນອກຈາກວິທີດັ່ງກ່າວແລ້ວ ຄູ່ ສົມລົດຍັງມີວິທີ ທີ່ສອງເພື່ອຈະ ເລືອກບ່ອນຕັ້ງຕົ້ນ. ວິທີ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງ ໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ວິທີນີ້ແມ່ນປະຕິບັດກັນຫລາຍ ທີ່ ປະເທດຈີນ, ຫວຽດນາມ. ແຕ່ທີ່ລາວໂດຍທົ່ວໄປແລ້ວຖ້າທຽບໃສ່ ວິທີທີ່ໜຶ່ງ ແລ້ວຈະບໍ່ຄ່ອຍມີ ການນິຍົມເທົ່າໃດຊຶ່ງສຸພາສິດລາວເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ເອົາລູກໄພ້ມາຢູ່ນຳ ຍ່າ ປານເອົາຜີຫ່າມາໃສ່ເຮືອນໃສ່ຊານ" ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຄວາມຈິງ

ແລະ ຄວາມບໍ່ເປັນຈິງຈະມີພຽງໃດຢູ່ຫາງເບື້ອງຫລັງຂອງສຸພາສິດ ນີ້ກໍຕາມ ແຕ່ວິທີນີ້ບໍ່ຄ່ອຍປະຕິບັດກັນໃນ ຊົນ ນະບົດເພາະມັນເຮັດ ໃຫ້ຖານະຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຕ່ຳ ຫາກແຕ່ວ່າມີການ ປະຕິບັດກັນ ແຕ່ໃນຕົວ ເມືອງໃຫຍ່ຫລື ໃນຄອບຄົວ "ຕະກຸນໃຫຍ່" ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການ ຢາກ ເສີມຂະຫຍາຍ ອິດທິພົນໂດຍການຜູກພັນຜ່ານການແຕ່ງດອງ ແລະ ວິທີການນີ້ຖືກປະຕິບັດຫລາຍ ໃນແຂວງຫົວພັນ ແລະ ເຜົ່າມົ້ງເປັນ ຕົ້ນເພາະ "ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ໄດ້ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວຈະມີກໍລະນີ ໃດ ເກີດຂຶ້ນກັບ ເຂົາກໍຕາມ, ເຂົາບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດທີ່ຈະກັບຄືນມາ ເປັນ ສະມາ ຊິກຖາວອນຂອງ ຄອບຄົວ (ພໍ່ແມ່ເກີດ) ເຫມືອນ ເດີມ ໂດຍສະ ເພາະເຂົາຈະ ບໍ່ ຮັບອະນຸຍາດກັບມາເກີດລູກມາຂາດລືມຫາຍໃຈ ກໍຄືການກະທຳພິທີສົ່ງຄົນຫາງສາສະຫນາບາງຢ່າງໃນເຮືອນຂອງພໍ່ ແມ່ຕົນອີກ" (ຄຳຊາວ 1992). ນັກ ຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ລາວຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ ຂຽນວ່າ ແຕ່ກ່ອນກໍຄືປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຍິງໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນພໍ່ແມ່ຝົວ ແລະຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະເປັນຫົວ ຫນ້າຄອບຄົວຊຶ່ງມີສິດໄລ່ເມຍອອກຈາກ ເຮືອນຖ້າ ບໍ່ ຕ້ອງການ. ແຕ່ເວລາເລີ່ມເຂົ້າກັນເປັນຝົວເມຍໃຫມ່ ໆ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ອາດ ຈະຢູ່ນຳພໍ່ເຖົ້າແມ່ເຖົ້າ ເພື່ອບໍ່ໃຫ້ມີການເອົາລູກສາວ ອອກ ຫນີຈາກເຮືອນໂດຍກະທັນຫັນ ຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຊ່ວຍພໍ່ແມ່ເພື່ອຄົງຕົວ. ແຕ່ຢ່າງໃດກໍຕາມ ຜູ້ຊາຍຍັງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີສິດສະເຫມີ ທີ່ຈະເລືອກ ເຮືອນຢູ່ (ພູວົງ 1974 ຫນ້າ 974) ແລະຜູ້ຍິງຈຳຕ້ອງຕິດ ຕາມດັ່ງຄຳ ພັງ ເພີຍໄດ້ກ່າວໄວ້ວ່າ "ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຊ້າງຂາຫນ້າ, ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຊ້າງຂາຫລັງ".

ນອກຈາກສອງວິທີດັ່ງກ່າວມາ ນັ້ນ ໃນສັງຄົມລາວຍັງພົບ ວິ ທີການທີ່ກຸ້ມຕົນເອງ. ວິທີການດັ່ງ ກ່າວຊຶ່ງມັກ ຈະແມ່ນກໍລະນີທີ່ ຍິງຫລືຊາຍ ບໍ່ມີພໍ່ແມ່. ຍິງຫລື ຊາຍ ໄດ້ຍ້າຍຈາກບ້ານເດີມໄປ ອາໃສຢູ່ຕົວເມືອງໃຫຍ່. ດັ່ງ ນັ້ນ ພາຍຫລັງຮັກມັກເອົາກັນແລ້ວ ຍິງຊາຍຈະພາກັນ ດຳລົງຊີວິດຕາມລຳພັງ. ວິທີນີ້ຄູ່ຝົວເມຍເປັນ

ເຈົ້າຕົນເອງ ແລະຮັບຜິດ ຊອບຮ່ວມກັນ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍບໍ່ມີບັນຫາ ເພາະຊາຍຍິງ ໄດ້ທົດສອບກັນເອງ ແລະ ຜູ້ຍິງຕົກຢູ່ໄຕ້ອຳນາດ ດຽວຄືຜົວ. ເຖິງຈະແມ່ນວິທີການໃດ ກໍ່ຕາມ ເມື່ອສັງຄົມໄດ້ຂະ ຫຍາຍຕົວຂຶ້ນໄດ້ນຳເອົາການ ປ່ຽນແປງ ເຂົ້າມາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຢູ່ຕົວ ເມືອງໃຫຍ່ຜູ້ຍິງມັກໄປຢູ່ເຮືອນຜູ້ຊາຍຫລາຍ ຂຶ້ນ.

2. ລະບົບເອົາຫລາຍເມຍ

ນອກຈາກວິທີ ຕ່າງໆທີ່ເວົ້າມາຂ້າງເທິງກ່ຽວກັບພິທີແຕ່ງດອງ ເອົາກັນເປັນຜົວເມຍແລ້ວແລ້ວ ໃນສັງຄົມລາວ ກໍ່ຄືທາງກົດໝາຍ ເກົ່າແກ່ໄດ້ມີລະບົບເອົາຫລາຍເມຍ. ເມື່ອການເອົາຫລາຍ ເມຍ ໄດ້ມີຂຶ້ນໃນສັງຄົມຂອງລາວແລ້ວ, ບູຮານຍັງມີສຸພາສິດໜຶ່ງທີ່ຮູ້ຈັກ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປເວົ້າວ່າ: "ຖ້າຢາກທຸກໃຫ້ເປັນ ນາຍ ຄົນ, ຖ້າ ຢາກມີຊີວິດສົນລະວົນໃຫ້ເອົາເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ" ຫລືອີກສຸພາສິດໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ມີລັກສະນະຄ້າຍຄືກັນວ່າ: "ຢາກຍາກໃຫ້ ເປັນນາຍຄົນ, ຢາກ ສາລະວົນໃຫ້ເອົາເມຍນ້ອຍ, ຢາກໃຫ້ຄົນປ້ອຍດ່າໃຫ້ຍິ້ໃສ່ສົນທາງ" ສຸພາສິດແບບຄົດໄລ່ນີ້ໄດ້ຖືກແບ່ງປັນຢ່າງກ້ວາງຂວາງຈາກ ວັດທະ ນະທຳອື່ນໆເຊັ່ນທີ່ປະເທດອາລັບອາບຸດາບີ ໄດ້ເວົ້າຄ້າຍໆກັນວ່າ: "ເມຍຜູ້ ໜຶ່ງ ບັນຫາໜຶ່ງ ສີ່ເມຍສີ່ບັນຫາ".

ເໝືອນ ດັ່ງທຸກສັງຄົມ, ສັງຄົມລາວໃນເມື່ອກ່ອນຜູ້ຊາຍມີສິດ ມີ ເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ. ປະເພນີດັ່ງກ່າວມີເຄົ້າມາຈາກຕ່າງປະເທດ ເໝືອນ ດັ່ງຜູ້ຂຽນຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ: "ກົດໝາຍກ່ຽວກັບການມີ ຫລາຍເມຍໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະ ຄວາມສີວິໄລ ຂອງອິນ ເດຍທີ່ປົ່ນປ່ວນນັ້ນ ໄດ້ຖືກນຳເອົາເຂົ້າມາໃນລາວ ໃນໄລຍະດຽວ ກັນກັບສາສະໜາ ພຸດ" (ພູວົງ 1974 ໜ້າ 976). ແຕ່ຜູ້ທີ່ຮູ

ຈັກຕິໃນດ້ານນີ້ອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ຄື ຊາຍເດັນຟາເດັນ Seidenfaden (1958 ຫນ້າ 92) ມີຄຳເຫັນວ່າ "ການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນແມ່ນເປັນ ຂອງຫຳມະດາສຳຫລັບປະຊາຊົນລາວທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນນັກຮັກສະຊາຍ". ໃນ ສະໄຫມກ່ອນການມີເມຍຜູ້ດຽວຖືກເຍາະເຍີ້ຍຈາກຜູ້ທີ່ ມີຫລາຍເມຍ ດັ່ງທີ່ ເດີມາຣີນີ De Marini ໄດ້ບັນທຶກຂຽນໄວ້ວ່າ:

> ບັນດາເຈົ້ານາຍໃດທີ່ມີເມຍດຽວກໍຖືກເຍາະເຍີ້ຍດ້ວຍສຽງຂັບລຳແລະຄຳເວົ້າສຽດສີຕ່າງໆ. ປະຊາຊົນຊາດນັ້ນແມ່ນອນຈະເປັນ ຜູ້ ໄດ້ຮັບການຍົກຍ້ອງທີ່ສຸດຖ້າຫາກວ່າການດັບກິເຫລດຂອງພວກ ເຂົານັ້ນຖືວ່າເປັນຄຸນສົມບັດອັນຫນຶ່ງ. ແຕ່ກໍບໍ່ເປັນເຊັ່ນ ນັ້ນໄດ້ເລີຍຫາກວ່າມີໃຜເອົາເມຍຈຳນວນຈຳກັດກໍຍ້ອນວ່າເຂົາ ບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໃຂດ້ານເງິນຄຳພຽງພໍທໍ່ນັ້ນ. ອີກປະການຫນຶ່ງນອກຈາກເມຍແລະເມຍນ້ອຍແລ້ວພວກຜູ້ຊາຍຍັງ ພາກັນດັບກິເຫລດຂອງພວກເຂົາຮ່ວມກັບຄົນໃຊ້ເຊິ່ງພວກເຂົາອຸ ທິດໃຫ້ແກ່ຄວາມບ້າຕັນຫາອັນຮ້າຍແຮງແລະບໍ່ມີຂອບ ເຂດ ຂອງ ພວກເຂົາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບຫາງຍຸລົບທີ່ເທີກັນລ້ຽງຝູງ ຫມາຫລືຝູງມ້າເລີຍຊາວລ້ານຊ້າງພາກັນເທີກັນລ້ຽງເມຍເຊິ່ງ ບໍ່ສະເພາະແຕ່ເພື່ອສະຫນອງຕັນຫາຂອງພວກເຂົາທໍ່ນັ້ນແຕ່ຍັງ ເພື່ອຕອບສະຫນອງກັບຄວາມອວດອົ່ງຂອງເຂົາດ້ວຍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ເອງທີ່ຕ່າງຄົນກໍຕ່າງມີຈຳນວນເມຍຫລາຍຫນ້ອຍຕ່າງກັນແລ້ວ ແຕ່ເງື່ອນໃຂຂອງໃຜລາວ...ເປັນທີ່ຍອມຮັບກັນແລ້ວວ່າບໍ່ມີຜູ້ ຊາຍຄົນໃດ ເລີຍຈະພໍໃຈນຳຈຳນວນເມຍຂອງຕົນມີຢູ່ແລະຈະ ຢຸດຕິການຂະຫຍາຍຈຳນວນເມຍຂອງພວກເຂົາໄວ້. ຍິງສາວ ຜູ້ໄດ້ຮັບເຄາະ ຮ້າຍນັ້ນເພີ້ມຈຳນວນຂຶ້ນນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍຖືກຂົ່ງ ຕົວແລະຂາດຄວາມມີສາມີເຕັ້ມສ່ວນ. ໃນຈຳນວນນັ້ນມີຜູ້ດຽວ ທໍ່ນັ້ນທີ່ຖື ວ່າເປັນເມຍທີ່ຖືກຕ້ອງນັ້ນຄືເມຍກົກສ່ວນເມຍຜູ້ອື່ນໆ ນັ້ນເປັນເມຍນ້ອຍ (ຫູມພັນ ຫນ້າ 31-32).

ການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ແມ່ນບໍ່ເກີດແຕ່ວຄວາມເຫລືອງເຫລື້ອມ ທາງ ສັງຄົມແລະສຳຫລັບບາງເຜົ່າຊົນ ແມ່ນເປັນກຳລັງແຮງ ຊຶ່ງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ນັ້ນ ຖືກຖືສັດອອກແຮງງານແລະ ຖ້າມີເມຍຫລາຍເທົ່າໃດ ເມຍ ເປັນ ຜູ້ຜະລິດໃຫ້ຜົວກິນ. ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຣັຕນາແສງສຸຣິໂຍໄດ້ ບັນທຶກໄວ້ໃນປຶ້ມ<u>ສຸຂສັນວັນສຕຣີສາກົລ 8 ມີນາແລະປີສຕຣີສາ ກົລ 1975</u>ວ່າ:

> ມີບາງທ້ອງຖິ່ນເອົາເມຍຫລາຍຄົນແລ້ວແບ່ງໜ້າວຽກໃຫ້ນາງ ເມັຽ ແຕ່ ລະ ຄົນເຮັດໄຮ່ເຮັດນາແລະວຽກໜັກສາລະພັດ, ສ່ວນອາຍາຜົວຍຸ່ງນອນເທົ້າຊະເນີ້ງຢູ່ເທິງຊະແນນ (ຮ້ານ) ຊະແຄງສູບຜິ່ນກັນຊາ ຫລືດື່ມເຫລົ້າພ້ອມກັບກິນຂອງແກ້ມອັນ ໂອຊາຣິດທີ່ນາງ ເມັຽໄດ້ຊອກຫາມາຕົກແຕ່ງໃຫ້. ເມັຽບໍ່ມີ ສິດຈະຂຶ້ນເຮືອນທາງ ໜ້າ, ຕ້ອງຂຶ້ນທາງກອຍ, ທຸກໆວັນ ຕ້ອງຝົດ ປ່ຽນ ກັນ ປະ ຄັບ ປະຄອງບິບນວດບຳຮຸງບຳເຮີ ຄວາມສຸຂໃຫ້ສາມີ. ເວລາໄປ ຄ້າຂາຍກໍໄປຊອກຫາຄວາມ ສຸຂສຳຣານໄປຕາມອຳເພີໃຈດວ້ຍການມີເມັຽນ້ອຍຫ້ອຍເມັຽ ປາຍຫລີນາງບຳເຮີຊ່ວຄູ່ຊ່ວ ຍາມ ສ່ວນເມັຽຢູ່ບ້ານຕ້ອງຂົນ ຂວາຍຫາລ້ຽງຕົວເອງກັບລູກ, ຊ້ຳ ບໍ່ພໍທຸກເຊົ້າຄ່ຳຍັງໄດ້ ພຽນເອົາດອກໄມ້ໄຕ້ວອອນຂໍໃຫ້ຜົວ ໄປ ຮອດມາເຖິງດ້ວຍ ຄວາມປອດໄພ. ບາງຄົນກໍໄປເປັນ ເວລາ ຫລາຍເດືອນບໍ່ ຕ່າວຄືນມາ (ຣັຕນາ 1975 ໜ້າ 119).

ໃນ ປະເທດລາວບູຮານ ຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍໃນຕົວເມືອງ ກໍຄືໃນ ຊົນນະບົດ ມັກມີຊີວິດສະຫງົບ, ເຂົ້າເຈົ້າບໍ່ລ້ຳລວຍ ແລະ ບໍ່ມີຫົນ ທາງເຮັດ ດອງເປັນເທື່ອທີສອງ. ແຕ່ການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນກໍພົບພໍ້ ໃນບາງເຜົ່າຊົນ ເຊັ່ນ ລາວສູງ ຫລືລາວເທິງ. ຕໍ່ບັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວ

ສະມາຊິກຊົນຊາດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ແຈ້ງໃຫ້ຜູ້ຂຽນໃນເດືອນກຸມພາ 1987 ວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ໃນເຜົ່າລາວເທິງ ຊື່ ຂ້າກະຕຸ ແລະ ຕາໂອ້ຍຈະ ມີ ເມຍຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍ 5 ຄົນ.

ທຸກວັນນີ້ບາງທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ແລະ ເຜົ່າຊົນຍັງປະຕິບັດລະບົບຫລາຍ ເມຍ (Inuma 1992). ຍ້ອນ ການມັກຫ່ຽວຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນໄດ້ມີ ເມຍໄວ້ແຕ່ລະບ່ອນເພື່ອຕົນເອງຈະຜ່ານ ການໄປຢູ່ນຳ ແລະ ມັກ ຈະຢູ່ບ່ອນທີ່ມີຕະຫລາດເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ມີ ຜູ້ຕາງ ຫນ້າຂອງຕົນເປັນຕົວ ແທນ ໃຫ້ຕົນແລະ ເປັນຜູ້ເຈລະຈາ ການຄ້າ ຕາງຕົນໃນເວລາບໍ່ ຢູ່ ແລະ ທ້ອງເປັນທີ່ພັກເຊົ່າ.

ນອກຈາກ ເຫດຜົນທີ່ຈະອວດຄວາມຫະນຶງຫາງ ສັງຄົມ ແລະ ກຳລັງແຮງງານແລ້ວ, ເຫດຜົນທາງການເມືອງ ກໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກອ້າງຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອສະສົມເມຍ.

ເພື່ອ "ເຫດ ຜົນທາງການເມືອງ" ຫລາຍປະເທດຈະມີເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບ ເຈົ້າ ຍິງຕ່າງປະເທດ, ເຈົ້າຊີວິດລາວກໍໄດ້ ປະຕິບັດເຊັ່ນກັນ, ເປັນຕົ້ນ ເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມ (1350-1393) ເປັນ ຜູ້ທີ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງອານາຈັກ ລ້ານຊ້າງ ໄດ້ເອົາເຈົ້າຍິງ ຕ່າງປະ ເທດເຊັ່ນປະເທດຂະເຫມນຫລືອະຍຸທະຍາ. ລູກຊາຍ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ສາມແສນໄທ (1393-1415) ໄດ້ມີເມຍຕ່າງປະເທດ ມາຈາກ ເປຣູ, ອະຍຸທະຍາ ແລະ ລ້ານນາ. ສ່ວນ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ວິ ຊຸນ (1501-1520) ໄດ້ແຕ່ງດອງ ກັບເຈົ້າຍິງມາຈາກ ຊຽງໃຫມ່. ເຈົ້າເສດຖາທິລາດ (1559-1571) ໄດ້ ແຕ່ງດອງກັບເຈົ້າຍິງ

ຕ່າງປະເທດ ເຖິງ 8 ຄົນ ແລະ ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ສຸລິຍະວົງສາ (1637-1694) ໄດ້ ແຕ່ງ ດອງ ກັບນ້ອງ ສາວຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດ ສິບສອງ ພັນນາ. ນອກຈາກນີ້ເຈົ້າຊີວິດຕ່າງໆ ຍັງເກັບເອົາລູກ ສາວ ຂອງເສນາ ພ້ອມທັງຜູ້ຍິງມາຈາກ ຄອບຄົວ ທີ່ບໍ່ມີເຊື້ອສາຍ ເຈົ້ານາເປັນສາວສະໜົມ.

ວັນ ນະຄະຄີລາວໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ການ ມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ. ພະ ເອກມັກຈະມີ ເມຍເຖິງ 80.000-84.000. 84.000 ແມ່ນ ເລກທີ່ເປັນສັນຍາລັກແລະເຮັດໃຫ້ຄິດເຖິງຈຳນວນອາຍຸຂອງພະເຈົ້າ ໂຄຕະມະ ທັງ ເປັນຕົວເລກດຽວກັບຈຳນວນຄາຖາໂດຍສະເພາະ ໃນຕຣີປິຕະກະ (Peltier 1988 ໜ້າ 120) ຫລື ໃນນິ ທານ ພູທ້າວ ພູນາງ ແລະໂດຍ ສະເພາະ ສິນໃຈ ພໍ່ ຂອງພະເອກ ມີ ເມຍ ຈຳນວນ 8 ຄົນ ແລະ ເມຍນ້ອຍ ມີເຖິງ 500 ຄົນ. ໜັງສືທ້າວສຸລິວົງ (1968) ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ເຖິງພະ ເອກມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ. ໜັງສືກາລະ ນັບມື້ສ້ອຍ (1968) ໄດ້ ເວົ້າ ເຖິງເມຍສີ່ປະເພດ. ໃນວັນນະຄະຄີລາບາງຢ່າງ ຈະ ເຫັນໄດ້ພາບ ອັນ ເລົ້າໝອງ ຂອງຝົນສະທ້ອນຂອງການທີ່ມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ ເພາະ ຄອບຄົວຖືກ ແຕກຫັກ ແລະ ລູກໆໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບ ຝົນບໍ່ດີຂອງການຕໍ່ສູ້ລະຫວ່າງເມຍໆ ທີ່ເອົາເປັນເອົາຕາຍແລະສຸດ ທ້າຍຖ້າບໍ່ມີການຢ່າຮ້າງກໍແມ່ນເມຍນ້ອຍຫລືເມຍຫລວງຕ້ອງ ຕາຍ ໄປຂ້າງໜຶ່ງເຊັ່ນໃນນິທານເລື່ອງ<u>ຈຳປາສີ່ຕົ້ນ</u> ຫລື <u>ນາງ ສິບສອງ.</u>

3. ຣາກເຫງົ້າຂອງສັງຄົມລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ ແລະການ ຕ່ຳຫນີການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ

ເຖິງ ຜູ ຊາຍ ເປັນຜູ້ສ້າງລະບົບເມຍຫລາຍຄົນຂຶ້ນເພື່ອຜູ້ຊາຍເອງ ແຕ່ບໍ່ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງໜົດທຸກຄົນຈະຈຳເປັນຕ້ອງຕົກເປັນເມຍ ນ້ອຍຕ້ອຍ ເມຍປາຍຕົ້ວ ການກອນໄດ້ຂຽນຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອແນໃສ່ ລະບາຍຄວາມຮູ້

ສຶກດັ່ງກ່າວ ເປັນຕົ້ນ "ຮຽນບໍ່ຂໍເປັນນ້ອຍໃຫ້ເພິ່ນເບິ່ງຕ່ຳ, ຮຽນ ຂໍເປັນຜູ້ສາວເຖົ້າຄ້ຳໂຄກ ຈົນເທົ່າຊີວາວາຍ". ໃນຊີວິດຕົວຈິງ ການຕໍ່ສູ້ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງເພື່ອຮັກສາຄວາມກົມກຽວໃຫ້ເປັນຄອບຄົວທີ່ຫມັ້ນ ຄົງແມ່ນຈະເຮັດທຸກວິທີທາງດັ່ງຄຳພັງເພີຍລາວໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນໃນ ບັນຫານີ້ "ເສຍຄຳເທົ່າຫົວ ບໍ່ຍອມເສຍຜົວໃຫ້ໃຜ". ໃນບົດຂຽນ ທີ່ໃຫ້ບົດຮຽນ ອັນເຈັບແສບຂອງ ການມີຫລາຍເມຍ ຂຽນໂດຍອະ ດີດ ນາຍ ຍົກ ລັດ ຖະມົນຕີຂອງຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວແມ່ນເລື່ອງ ລາວຄັກຫລາຍ, ແມ່ເຖົ້າ ຊຶ່ງເລື້ອງຫຍໍ້ໆທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ເລົ່າວ່າ:

> ຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງມີເມຍສອງຄົນ. ເມຍໃຫຍ່ໃຈຮ້າຍເມື່ອເຫັນ ຜົວຢູ່ຕຽງກັບເມຍນ້ອຍ. ຜູ້ເປັນເມຍໃຫຍ່ກໍຈັບມີດຕັດອັນທີ່ ເຈົ້າຂອງປົ້ນເອົ້ນ "ສິ່ງເອ້ທີ່ງາມທີ່ສຸດ", ແລ້ວເມຍໃຫ່ຍ ກໍໂຍນຖິ້ມໃສ່ເມຍນ້ອຍ, ສ່ວນຜົວກໍ່ຕາຍ. ເມື່ອເລື້ອງຖືກ ເຜີຍແຜ່ອອກແລ້ວຜູ້ຊາຍຫລາຍຄົນຕັດສິນໃຈປະເມຍນ້ອຍ. ການຕາຍຂອງຜູ້ເປັນຜົວຖືວ່າແມ່ນການຄາດຕະກຳທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍ ມີໃນປະເທດລາວເກົ່າແກ່ເພາະຕາມປົກກະຕິຜູ້ຍິງມີແຕ່ຝົ່ງ ຜົວ (ກະຕ່າຍ 1958 ຫນ້າ 61-2).

ເຫດການໃນທຳນອງດຽວກັນໄດ້ເກີດຂຶ້ນອີກທີ່ວຽງຈັນໃນປີ 1977. ຍ້ອນອຳນາດທາງຣີດຄອງ ປະເພນີ, ການມີເມຍຫລາຍຈຶ່ງ ກາຍ ເປັນ ສະຖາບັນທີ່ຖືກກົດຫມາຍອັນຫນຶ່ງ. ເມື່ອປະເທດລາວຖືກປົກ ຄອງໂດຍຝຣັ່ງຫົ້ວໆທີ່ເປັນປະເທດລະບົບຜົວດຽວເມຍດຽວ ກໍ່ຕາມ ແຕ່ຍັງໄດ້ປະລະໃຫ້ປະເທດລາວ ສືບຕໍ່ມີລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍ. ເຖິງ ຢ່າງໃດ ກໍ່ດີການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ແມ່ນສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງໃນຕຳນານຂອງ ການກຳເນີດ ຂອງໂລກຊຶ່ງຂຸນບູລົມໄດ້ມີເມຍສອງຄົນຕິດຕາມມີ ຊື່ ນາງ ຍົມມະພາລາ, ມະເຫສີຝ່າຍຂວາແລະນາງ ອົກແຄງ, ມະ ເຫສີຝ່າຍຊ້າຍ. ພໍ່ຂອງຂຸນບູລົມເອງໄດ້ເວົ້າໃຫ້ຂຸນບູລົມວ່າ: ຖ້າ

ຈະມີສິບພັນນາງກໍ່ບໍ່ໃຫ້ລືມເມຍໃຫຍ່ (<u>ໜັງສືພິມ ຂຸນບູລົມ ຣາ</u>
<u>ຊາທິລາດ</u> 1967 ໜ້າ 14). ດັ່ງນັ້ນໃນຣາຊະວົງ ລາວ
ໄດ້ມີຕົວຢ່າງ ຊຶ່ງຄົນຜູ້ເຖົ້າບູຮານໄດ້ເວົ້າຂານວ່າໃນລະບອບເກົ່າ
ເຈົ້າຊີວິດຫລວງພະບາງ ມີເມຍ ຕ້າຮ້ອຍຄົນ. ຄຸນພໍ່ ເດີ ມາຣີນີ
De Marini (1910 ໜ້າ 163) ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ໃນ ເວລາທີ່
ຢ້ຽມຢາມປະເທດລາວ ໃນຊຸມປີ 1640 ເຈົ້າຊີວິດມີ ເມຍຮ້ອຍ
ກ່ວາຄົນ. ມັດຊີເອີ Massieu (1901 ໜ້າ 240) ຢ້ຽມ
ຢາມຫລວງພະບາງ ໃນໂອກາດທີ່ເຈົ້າ ຊີວິດ ສັກກະລິນ ຣາຊາ
ພິເສດ (1888-1903) ໄດ້ມີໂອກາດລົມກັບແມ່ ຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດ
ທີ່ມີອາຍຸໄດ້ 70 ປີ ແລະໄດ້ເຜີຍຄວາມວ່າພໍ່ຂອງ ເຈົ້າສັກກະລິນ
ມີເມຍ 800 ຄົນເພາະເປັນຄອບຄົວທີ່ໃຫຍ່ຫລວງຈຶ່ງໄດ້ຈັດເວລາ
ທຸກເຊົ້າໃຫ້ແຕ່ລະເມຍແລະລູກໆ ເຂົ້າເຝົ້າ.

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

ຕາມຮີດຄອງ ແລະກົດໝາຍ ເມຍນ້ອຍ ຈະຢູ່ໄຕ້ການຊີ້ແນະ
ຂອງເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງ. ເມຍນ້ອຍຈະບໍ່ຖືກອະນຸຍາດ ໃຫ້ນັ່ງແຖວດຽວ
ກັນກັບ ເມຍໃຫຍ່ ຫລືບໍ່ໃຫ້ໃສ່ເຄື່ອງເອ້ ຫລືນຸ່ງຖື ແບບຮັ່ງມີກວ່າ
ເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງ. ຫລັງຈາກເມຍຜູ້ທີ່ໜຶ່ງຕາຍແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ ເປັນຜົວຈະ
ແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເມຍຊັ້ນທີສອງ ຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ໜຶ່ງແທນໂດຍອີງຕາມ ຂັ້ນອະວຸໂສ.

ໃນພິທີສູ່ຂວັນ ແຕ່ງດອງ ບາງຫມໍພອນສູ່ຂ້ອນ ມັກຈະໃຫ້ພອນ ແກ່ ບ່າວສາວ ແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະມັກຈະອວຍພອນໃຫ້ເຈົ້າບ່າວ "ມັດແຂນດ້ວຍຝ້າຍຂາວທີ່ແຂນຊ້າຍ ຂໍໃຫ້ເຈົ້າມີພັນເມຍ", ຫລື ບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍອາດຈະໄດ້ຍິນສຽງຂອງໂຄສົກຢູ່ບຸນຕ່າງໆເຊັ່ນຢູ່ ທີ່ບຸນ ອອກພັນສາ ໃນວັນທີ 30 ຕຸລາ 1993 ຂອງວິ ຖິນຕີ<u>ຮ່ວມ ຄອນ</u>ທີ່ມີນ້ຳສຽງເຮັດໃຫ້ຄົນທີ່ມາຊຸມແລະຟັງສຽງຮ້ອງ ຂອງ ນັກຮ້ອງຂອງນັກສິນລະປິນມີຄວາມເປັນລະບຽບລຽບລ້ອຍຢ່າງເປັນ ຫນ້າຊຸມເຊີຍ ແຕ່ວ່າພໍໄດ້ເຫລົ້າເບຍ ສອງແກ້ວເປັນຄ່າລາງ ວັນ ຈາກຜູ້ເຫມົາລຳວົງຮອບຫນຶ່ງ, ໂຄສົກ ກໍໄດ້ອວຍພອນທັນທີ່ "ຂໍ ໃຫ້ໄດ້ເມຍນ້ອຍເປັນສອງລ້ອຍ, ສາມລ້ອຍຄົນຜູ້ນເດ!" ການ ມີເມຍ ຫລາຍຄົນ ທີ່ລາວນິຍົມກັນມີແບບມີດງຽບແຕ່ມັກຈະປະຕິບັດ ກັນ ສະ ເພາະໃນບັນດາພວກຊຸມຊັ້ນຮັ່ງມີ ທີ່ຫວັງໄດ້ຜົນປະໂຫຍດ ແລະ ກຳໄລ. ໃນສັງຄົມລາວບູຮານ ເຈົ້ານາຍສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ມັກຈະມີ ເມຍ ຫລາຍໄດ້ ເພາະມີເງິນລອມທ້ວຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ. ກ່ອນປີ 1975 ທີ່ລາວ, ສ່ວນຫລາຍນາຍທະຫານເຈົ້ານາຍພົນລະເຮືອນ ແລະ ພໍ່ຄ້າມັກມີ ເກີ່ອນໃຂຫລາຍ. ບັນຫາ ນີ້ໄດ້ຖືກຂຽນອອກໃນ ຊ່ວງປີ 1960-1970 ໃນ <u>ກ່ຽກິ່ນສາວຄາວຜູ້ຊາຍ</u>.

ໃນຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 ປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມີປະຕິກິລິຍາຕ້ານ ການເປັນ "ເຈົ້າຊູ້" ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ(ຮານເບີກ Halpern1964a ຫນ້າ 41). ໃນເວລານັ້ນຈະໄດ້ຍິນເລື້ອງ ເມຍໃຫຍ່-ນ້ອຍ ຜິດ ຖຽງກັນໃນຮ້ານເຮັດຜົມ ແລະ ໃນຕະຫລາດ. ບາງຜູ້ຍິງຈະໄປ ຫາມາງຫຽມເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໃດໃຫ້ຊ່ວຍນຳເອົາຜົວກັບຄືນແລະບາງ

ຄົນກໍ່ໃຊ້ ຢາສະເນ່ຫລືຄາຖາອາຄົມເພື່ອດຶງເອົາຜົວໄວ້ (ສົມໂອ 1969;ເຟື່ອນໃຈ 1975). ເມື່ອບັນຫາເກີດຂຶ້ນຢ່າງເນື່ອງນິດ ລຽນຕິດລະຫວ່າງເມຍໃຫຍ່-ເມຍນ້ອຍໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍໃນ ວົງ ລາຊະການບໍ່ມັກນິຍົມວິທີເອົາຫລາຍເມຍເພາະຢ້ານຈະເກີດການ ຂັດແຍ້ງທີ່ຈະເປັນຜົນບໍ່ດີໃຫ້ແກ່ຄອບຄົວ.

ແຕ່ແທນທີ່ຈະມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນບາງຜູ້ຊາຍມີເມຍຊ້ອນຄື ບຣານ ຝະມານ Branfman (1970 ໜ້າ 226) ເວົ້າວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ຊົນ ນະບົດໄດ້ຖືກໃຫ້ຍ້າຍໄປຢູ່ຕົວເມືອງໃຫຍ່ເພື່ອເຈົ້ານາຍເອົາໄວ້ໃຊ້ ເປັນເມຍລັບຈົນກວ່າເຈົ້ານາຍດັ່ງກ່າວຈະເບື່ອໜ່າຍ(Branfman 1970 ໜ້າ 226). ຫລາຍມຸມຊຸບຊິບສົງຄົມວ່າພາຍຫລັງ 1975 ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ກັບຄືນມາໃນບາງບ່ອນໃນຮູບການເປັນ ຜູ້ "ຮັບ ໃຊ້".

ຢູ່ລາວໃນຊຸມປີ 1960-1970 ຄະນະລຽບລຽງ ປັບປຸງ ປະ ມວນກົດໝາຍອາຍາມີຫົວນັກກົດໝາຍລາວແລະຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ສະ ເໜີ ຮ່າງກ່ຽວກັບການມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ ຊຶ່ງໃຫ້ເຫດຜົນວ່າບາງຊົນເຜົ່າ ລາວ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນກຽມພ້ອມທີ່ຈະປະລະການມີເມຍຫລາຍ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ປັບ ປຸງແລະດັດແປງຮ່າງປະມວນກົດໝາຍໄດ້ໄກ່ເກ່ຍປະນີປະນອມລະ ບົບ ຜົວດຽວເມຍດຽວແລະລະບົບຫລາຍເມຍໄດ້ປະຊ່ອງວ່າງໃຫ້ຄູ່ ສົມ ລົດໃໝ່ເລືອກເອົາຖ້າຕ້ອງການການແຕ່ງງານພາຍໃຕ້ລະບົບ ຜົວ ດຽວເມຍດຽວ ຄູ່ສົມລົດຫົວສອງພຽງແຕ່ລະບຸໄວ້ໃນໜັງສືຜົວ ເມຍ. ແຕ່ 1975 ການມີເມຍຫລາຍຖືກລົບລ້າງແລະມາຕາ 4 ຂອງກົດໝາຍຄອບຄົວ ຂອງລະບອບໃໝ່ໄດ້ບົ່ງການເອົາກັນເປັນ ຜົວເມຍໃຫ້ປະຕິບັດຕາມ ລະບົບຜົວໜຶ່ງເມຍດຽວ. ໃນພາກປະຕິ ບັດຕົວຈິງລະບົບດັ່ງກ່າວຈະ ຍັງພົບບັນຫາເພາະກົດໝາຍມີຄວາມ ສັກສິດແຕ່ພຽງຜູ້ທີ່ຮູ້ເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ນະໂອກາດນີ້ຜູ້ຂຽນຂໍຂອບໃຈແລະ

ຊຶມເຊີຍທາງສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສຳເລັດໃນການຕໍ່ສູ້ໃຫ້ມີກົດໝາຍລະບຽບຜົວດຽວເມຍດຽວ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີການຮັບປະກັນທາງດ້ານກົດໝາຍບໍ່ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຊາຍມີຫລາຍເມຍແຕ່ເມື່ອປະເທດໄດ້ໄຂປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວໂອກາດດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ມີ "ເມຍລັບ". ກ່ອນການເປີດປະຕູຂອງປະເທດ ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຄອບຄົວໄດ້ອົງໃສ່ມະຫາຊົນຊ່ວຍເປັນຫູເປັນຕາດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງມີປາກົດການທີ່ເມຍໄດ້ເອີ້ນຫາການຈັດຕັ້ງໃຫ້ຊ່ວຍເອົາຜົວໄປ ດັດສ້າງຍ້ອນບັນຫາ "ໄພສັງຄົມ". ແຕ່ 1988 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ ບັນຫາ "ໄພສັງຄົມ" ໄດ້ກັບຄືນມາ ແລະ ຫລາຍຄອບຄົວກຳລັງ ພົບກັບການແຕກແຍກ ເພາະຮູບການໃໝ່ ຂອງເມຍທີ່ສອງໄດ້ກັບປະກົດຂຶ້ນຊຶ່ງຮູ້ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ: "ເມຍເກັບ", "ເມຍເຊົ່າ", "ເມຍບໍລິການ" ແລະສະພາບການ ຊື້ຮ້າງໄດ້ເລີ້ມມີມາແຕ່ປີ 1986 ແລະມີລາຄານັບມື້ນັບສູງເຊັ່ນໃນປີ 1986 ການຊື້ຮ້າງມີລາຄາ 1 ລ້ານກີບແຕ່ໃນປີ 1993 ການ ຊື້ຮ້າງໄດ້ຂຶ້ນເປັນ 3 ແສນບາດ.

ສະພາບດັ່ງ ກ່າວຍັງເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່ສູ້ດ້ວຍຄວາມທໍລະຫົດເພື່ອ ຈະຮັກສາຄວາມກົມກຽວ ໃນຄອບຄົວບໍ່ໃຫ້ແຕກແຫງໄປແລະຫ້ຳຫ້າ ຫາຍຕໍ່ສະພາບການປ່ຽນແປງຂອງສັງຄົມໃໝ່ໂດຍບໍ່ນັ່ງເບິ່ງຊື່ໆຊຶ່ງ ບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງກັບການເວົ້າຕະຫລົກເຣຣາຢູ່ຕາມແຄມຮົ້ວຂອງສັງຄົມທີ່ ສົມທຽບວ່າ "ຜູ້ຊາຍມັກປຽບທຽບຜູ້ຍິງຄືປົນໂຕໃສ່ເຂົ້າກິນຊຶ່ງຖືວ່າ ກັບເຂົ້າແຕ່ລະມື້ໃນປົນໂຕແມ່ນແຕ່ກັບເຂົ້າເກົ່າ. ສ່ວນ ຜູ້ຍິງ ມັກ ປຽບທຽບຜູ້ຊາຍຄືແມວນ້ອຍຫນ້າຮັກແຕ່ສະຫລາດທີ່ຍາງໄປກັບຜູ້ຈູງ ປົນເສັ້ນທາງທີ່ໄປນຳກັນແມວມັກຈະເບິ່ງຫ້ົນງວກໜີ ແຕ່ເມື່ອໄດ້ກິນ ບ່ອນໃດແມວໂຕນັ້ນກໍ່ຈະຢຸດແລະເວລາໃດທີ່ຜູ້ຈູງຫັນຄວາມສົນໃຈໄປ ທາງອື່ນເຊືອກທີ່ຜູກຢູ່ຄໍແມວນັ້ນກໍຫລຸດຈາກມືຜູ້ຈູງໄປ!"

ຄ- ຮູບການຂອງວັດທະນະທຳອັນສັ້ນສະ ໄໝ : ໂສເພນີແລະ ເງິນ

ເຫດການທາງປະຫວັດສາດໄດ້ກະທົບປະ ເທດລາວຢ່າງແຮງ, ປະ ເທດທີ່ປະຊາຊົນໂດຍສະ ເພາະຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກປົກປ້ອງຈາກຮີດຄອງ ປະ ເພນີ. ເຫດການທາງການ ເມືອງໄດ້ ເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມມີຄວາມປັ່ນ ປ່ວນ ເຊິ່ງ ແມ່ນ ຍ້ອນອິດທິພົນຂອງຕ່າງປະ ເທດ. ໃນປີ 1827, ບາງກອກໄດ້ສາ ເລັດ ການຂັບໄລ່ຣາຊະວົງສຸດທ້າຍຂອງລາວທີ່ພະ ຍາຍາມຈະຮັກສາຄວາມ ເປັນລາວ. ໃນປີ 1893, ຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ປົກ ຄອງລາວ ເປັນ ເມືອງຂຶ້ນ ແຕ່ ປີ 1954 ປີ 1975, ສົງຄາມໄດ້ ທຳລາຍສັງຄົມຊຶ່ງລັດຖະບານ ຝ່າຍຂວາວຽງຈັນໂດຍມີອາ ເມຣິກາ ໃຫ້ການສະໜັບສະໜູນ. ອີກ ດ້ານໜຶ່ງກໍ່ແມ່ນຂະບວນຮັກຊາດທີ່ ໄດ້ມີທີ່ໝັ້ນ ຢູ່ໃນ ເຂດປົດປ່ອຍ ແລະ ຖືກຊ່ວຍ ເຫລືອຈາກປະ ເທດ "ສັງຄົມນິຍົມ". ກ່ອນ ປີ 1975, ບາງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າໄດ້ຂຽນກ່ຽວ ກັບສັງຄົມວັດທະນະທຳໄດ້ ເຫັນດີ ຢ່າງລົ້ນປຸ້ນວ່າສັງຄົມສັກດິນາຢູ່ ວຽງຈັນແມ່ນສັງຄົມຕະ ເວັນ ຕົກຊຶ່ງ ເຮັດໃຫ້ ເສຍລັກສະນະບູຮານ ແລະ ຊາດແລະ ເປັນສັງຄົມທີ່ ມີແຕ່ ການ ເຊື່ອຖືງົມງວາຍແລະຈຳ ແນກ. ທຸກແງ່ຂອງ ສັງຄົມລາວ ແມ່ນອີງໃສ່ແຕ່ຄວາມ ເຝິດ ເຝີນ, ການພະນັນ, ການສະແດງ ເຖິງຄວາມຮັ່ງມີ, ການ ເອົາແບບຢ່າງ ຂອງວັດທະນະທຳຕ່າງປະ ເທດ, ການກິນ, ການນຸ່ງຖືແລະການ ນິຍົມ ເງິນ. ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວ ໄດ້ ເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມລາວປັ່ນປ່ວນໂດຍ ສະ ເພາະໃນຕົວ ເມືອງໃຫຍ່. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງ ໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ "ເພື່ອແລກປ່ຽນ ເອົາອັນໃດອັນໜຶ່ງ, ພວກສັກດິນາປະພຶດຄືຄົນຮັບ ໃຊ້ຂອງຈັກກະພັດ, ສ່ວນຊາວນາ ແລະຊົນຊັ້ນອື່ນໆ ແມ່ນບໍ່ ໄດ້ຮັບ ຄວາມສະດວກ. ເຍື່ອຂອງ "ແບບຢ່າງ" ໄດ້ປະກົດໃນສິ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ດີ ເຊັ່ນ: ໂສ ເພນີ, ສຸຣາ ແລະ ຢາ ເສບຕິດ (ບຣາວສະແຕນ Braunstein 1978 ໜ້າ 166).

ກ່ອນ 1827 ນັກທ່ອງທ່ຽວໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າສັງຄົມມີຄວາມເປັນລະ ບຽບ ແລະ ບໍ່ມີການຈີ້ປຸ້ນ ຫລື ຂ້າກັນ. ເມື່ອສະຫຍາມໄດ້ມາບຸກ ລຸກລາວ ແລະປະຊາຊົນຕ້ອງຖືກກວດຕ້ອນໄປຢູ່ໄທ, ສັງຄົມລາວຖືກ ແຕກຫັກ. ນາຍພົນສະຫຍາມ ພະຍາບໍດິນທອນເດຊາ ຖືວ່າຕົນເອງ ໄດ້ມີຫນ້າຕາທີ່ ໄດ້ ສົ່ງເຈົ້າຍິງ ແລະ ຍິງຫນຸ່ມລາວທີ່ມີຄວາມງາມ ຖືກກວດຕ້ອນອອກຈາກ ເຂດລາວໄປຍັງວັງເຈົ້າຊີວິດສະຫຍາມແລະ ໃຫ້ບັນດາເຈົ້ານາຍທີ່ບາງກອກ.

ການກວດ ຕ້ອນ ເອົາຜູ້ຍິງລາວດັ່ງກ່າວ ຄົງເພື່ອປະກອບໃຫ້ ເປັນໂສເພນີ, ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ ກາຍເປັນສະຖາບັນທາງການຂອງໄທຕັ້ງແຕ່ ປີ 1680 ໃນເວລາທີ່ ເຈົ້າຊີວິດສະຫຍາມໄດ້ໃຫ້ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທາງ ການສະຫຍາມຜູກຂາດການ ຂູດຮີດໂສເພນີ ທີ່ນະຄອນຫລວງອະຍຸ ທະຍາ (ເຣດ Reid 1988) ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ມີການຂະຫຍາຍ ຕົວໃນສະຕະວັດ 21, ປະເທດໄທ ກາຍເປັນ "ຊ້ອງໂສເພນີຂອງ ເອເຊຍ" (<u>ບາງກອກໂພສ</u> 14 ກໍລະກົດ 1988). ຍ້ອນ ການລີຊາໃນການເອົາຜູ້ຍິງເປັນການ ຄ້າປະເວນີ ແລະໃນເວລາຢູ່ ໄຕ້ການຄວບຄຸມຂອງສະຫຍາມເມື່ອຮູ້ວ່າເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທາງການ ສະ ຫຍາມຈະມາໄກ້ຫມູ່ບ້ານ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈະພາກັນໄປລີ້ຊ້ອນຢູ່ໃນປ່າ (ແອ ໂມນີເອ Aymonier 1885 ຫນ້າ 177-78). ຝົນສະທ້ອນ ທີ່ເຫລືອໄວ້ແມ່ນນັກບຸກເບີກຝຣັ່ງ ປາວີ Pavie (1894) ໄດ້ ເລົ່າຄືນວ່າໃນຕອນຕົ້ນຂອງສະຕະວັດທີ 20 ວ່າ "ຍິງຫນຸ່ມເປັນ ບ້າສ່ວນຍິງທີ່ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວຍັງຊື່ສັດຕໍ່ຜົວ".

ທີ່ປະເທດ ໄທ, ໂສເພນີເປັນສະຖາບັນອັນເກົ່າແກ່ແລະໄດ້ ວອກ ງາມຂຶ້ນ ໃນເວລານະຄອນຫລວງຈະກາຍເປັນນະຄອນຫລວງ ແບບ ສາກົນ (ວານ ແອດສະເຕຣິກ Van Esterik 1989). ການວິຈ ຄ້ວງກ່າວກໍ່ເຫມາະກັບກໍລະນີຂອງປະເທດລາວ. ເດີເຣ

ນາກ De Reinach (1911 ໜ້າ 174) ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍວ່າ "ເງື່ອນໄຂຮີດຄອງປະເພນີລາວໄດ້ອຳນວຍໃນດ້ານການແຕ່ງດອງ ແລະຢ່າຮ້າງຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີໂສເພນີ.ແຕ່ບ່ອນຕົວເມືອງແລະໂດຍສະເພາະໃກ້ບ່ອນພວກເຮົາຢູ່ ຈະມີຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ໜຶ່ງພົບກັບຜູ້ຍິງ "ສາທາລະນະ" ທີ່ຮູ້ຈັກດີໃນການເຮັດໂສເພນີເຖື່ອນແຕ່ກໍມີຄວາມຈຳກັດທີ່ສຸດເພາະຝຣັ່ງມີຄວາມຕ້ອງການຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງໄດ້ ເອົາໂສເພນີຕ່າງປະເທດເຂົ້າມາລາວ". ເໝືອນດັ່ງນັກເຜົ່າພັນວິທະຍາຝຣັ່ງຜູ້ໜຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ພວກຕະເວັນຕົກນອກຈາກວ່າຈະເຊື່ອມເຂົ້າຢ່າງພິເສດໃນສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມຂອງລາວແລ້ວ ແມ່ນຈະຊອກຫາຄວາມສຸກກັບຜູ້ຍິງກຸ່ມທຳອິດທີ່ເອົາມາຈາກຫວຽດນາມໂດຍ ເຈົ້າໜ້າ ທີ່ຝຣັ່ງ ທີ່ເປັນໂສເພນີທີ່ຕ້ອງການເປັນໂສເພນີຫລືສະພາບການບັງຄັບ. ໃນໄລຍະ ຕົ້ນ ທີ່ ວຽງຈັນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມີໂສເພນີເຖື່ອນ ແມ່ນຍິງໜຸ່ມເອົາມາ ຈາກປະເທດໄທເພື່ອທ້າຍສັບປະດາ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງໂສເພນີຫວຽດນາມໄດ້ເຂົ້າມາລາວຢ່າງບໍ່ຢຸດຢັ້ງແລະຍັ່ງສືບຕໍ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວຫລັງຈາກ 1954. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບສົງຄາມອິນດູຈີນໂສເພນີລາວເຖື່ອນກໍ່ຄ່ອຍໆຂະຫຍາຍຂຶ້ນ (ໂດເຣ Dore 1974 ໜ້າ 61-62).

ການ ຄ້າປະເວນີ ໄດ້ສືບຕໍ່ໃນເມື່ອຝຣັ່ງໄດ້ໜີອອກຈາກລາວແລ້ວການເຂົ້າມາມີໜ້າໃນປີ 1954 ຂອງອາເມຣິກາໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ໂສເພນີໄດ້ຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ (Dore 1974 ໜ້າ 61). "ອາຊີບທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງໂລກ" ໄດ້ລາມໄປເຖິງພວກໜຸ່ມຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍ່ຄື ໃນ ຊຸນນະບົດ"; "ຍາແມ່ຊື້ເອົາຍິງສາວຊຸນນະບົດຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ເຂົາດ້ວຍ ເງິນ 250 ຫາ 400 ໂດລາເພື່ອເປັນໂສເພນີແລະຜູ້ໃດທີ່ແລ່ນໜີ ຈະຖືກຕຳຫລວດຈັບຄືນ" (ບຣາມຝະມານ Branfman 1970 ໜ້າ 228). ບຣາມຝະມານ Branfman ນັກອາ ສາສະມັກສາກົນຂອງອາເມຣິກາທີ່ປະຕິບັດວຽກງານໃນລາວໃນເວລານັ້ນຍັງໄດ້ເວົ້າອີກວ່າຊ້ອງໂສເພນີເກີດຂຶ້ນຄືດອກເຫດເປັນຈຳນວນ

ຫລາຍໃນໄລຍະ ຊຸມ ປີ 1960-1970 (Branfman 1970; ໃຫ້ເບິ່ງຕື່ມ ໂອນ ແລະ ດອນນັ່ Wolf ແລະ Donnan 1970; Braunstein 1978). ບ່ອນ ທີ່ "ດ້ວ" ກ່ວາ ຫມູ່ໃນ ວຽງຈັນ ໃນເວລານັ້ນ ແມ່ນ ຊ້ອງຫລີໃນຄຣັບວຽງຣາຕຣີ, ລັກກີບາຣ, ວຽງ-ຈັນ, ສະຕຣີບຕີ (ດົງປ່າລານ) ຊຶ່ງ ນັກຂ່າວຕ່າງປະເທດຮູ້ໃນ ຊື່ ຫົນທາງທີ່ໃຫ້ພົນຄວາມສຳລານ St of Thousant Joys ຫລື ແບບວິທີຕະເວັນຕົກ El Morrocco, Non Tan, White Rose, Madame Lulu's. ໃນ ບັນດາອາເມຣິກາລຸ້ນອາວຸໂສທີ່ມາ ປະ ເທດລາວແມ່ນ ຣານເປີກ Halpern (1964b ຫນ້າ 11) ໄດ້ ຂຽນໃນຊຸມປີ 1960 ວ່າສິ່ງຫນຶ່ງທີ່ເຮັດໃຫ້ມີການປະກົດການເດັ່ນທີ່ ວຽງຈັນ ແມ່ນໂສເພນີເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ຈະແມ່ນຄົນຫວຽດນາມ ຫລືຄົນໄທມາຈາກພາກຕະເວັນອອກສຽງເຫນືອ, ແຕ່ໃນໄລຍະບໍ່ຄົນ ໂສເພນີ ຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນມາຈາກຊົນນະບົດຂອງປະເທດລາວເອງ. ຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງພົວພັນກັບທະຫານແລະຜູ້ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຂອງທາງການ. ແຕ່ ຜູ້ຍິງເຫລົ່ານີ້ເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ຊ້ອງເຊິ່ງຄົນລາວເປັນເຈົ້າຂອງ. ຜູ້ຍິງໂສ ເພນີມາຈາກປະເທດຣົງກົງແລະຫວຽດນາມແມ່ນມາຫາກິນຢູ່ໄນຄຣັບ ໃນປະເທດລາວຊຶ່ງເປັນຂອງຕ່າງປະເທດແລະອຸປະຖຳໂດຍພວກກຳ ອຳນາດໃນປະເທດລາວໃນ ລະບອບເກົ່າ.

ສະພາບການຂອງສັງຄົມ ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເພີ້ມທະວີເມື່ອການ ຊ່ວຍ ເຫລືອ ຂອງອາເມຣິກາໄດ້ຫລັ່ງໄຫລເຂົ້າມາປະເທດລາວເຊິ່ງເຮັດ ໃຫ້ສັງຄົມໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍ່ຄືຊົນນະບົດບໍ່ມີການຜະລິດ (Braunstein 1978). ອະດີດຜູ້ນຳຂະບວນລາວອິດສະຫລະທີ່ ຕໍ່ຕ້ານກັບ ຝຣັ່ງ, ເຈົ້າເພັດຊະລາດ, ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ: "ທຸກວັນນີ້ຄົນລາວແລ່ນນຳເງິນ ຫລາຍກ່ວາກຽດສັກສີ" (Halpern 1964a ຫນ້າ 41). ຜູ້ ຍິງຖືກບັງຄັບໃຫ້ຍອມໂຕເປັນເຍື່ອໂສເພນີຊຶ່ງມີບົດຂຽນໃນ ເວລາ ນັ້ນໄດ້ລະບາຍໃຫ້ເຫັນສັງຄົມໃນສະໄຫມກ່ອນ ໂດຍສະເພາະ ໃນ

ເລື່ອງ<u>ບໍ່ບານກໍ່ບໍ່ຫອມ</u>. ນອກນັ້ນກໍ່ມີບົດຂຽນຂອງຣັຕນາແສງ ສຸຣິຍໃນປີ 1975 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ:

> ຜູ້ທີ່ມີເງິນກໍ່ໃຊ້ອຳນາດເງິນສ້າງຄວາມພໍໃຈໃຫ້ຕົນເອງການ ຂ້າອະນາຄົດຂອງຄະຣຸນີຮຸ່ນສາວແລະສາວຢ່າງນັບມື້ຢ່າງນັບ ບໍ່ຖ້ວນ. ນາງເຫລົ່ານີ້ບໍ່ໄດ້ເປັນຄົນຊົ່ວຊ້ຳມາແຕ່ກຳເນີດແຕ່ ທ່ານສຸພາບບຸລຸດຕ່າງຫາກທີ່ສ້າງໃຫ້ນາງໄດ້ກາຍຈາກສະພາບ ແມ່ຍິງລາວທີ່ມີກຽດມາຕົກຢູ່ໃນຂຸມໜ້ານຶກເຊັ່ນນີ້ ບາງຄົນ ກໍ່ຍ້ອນ ຄວາມໂງ່ຂະເຫລາ ຮູ້ເທົ່າບໍ່ເຖິງການໃນເຊິ່ງຂອງ ຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນກໍຍ້ອນມີບາງສິ່ງ ບາງຢ່າງບີບບັງຄັບໃຫ້ນາງ ຊອກຫາງອອກດ້ວຍການຂາຍຕົວ. ບາງຄົນກໍຖືກສະພາບໜີບ ເຕັ່ງໃຫ້ໄດ້ຮັບໃຊ້ຜູ້ມີອຳນາດທີ່ເປັນແຮງຈຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ນາງຕ້ອງມີ ອັນເປັນໄປຢ່າງຫລີກລ້ຽງບໍ່ໄດ້ (ຣັຕນາ 1975 ໜ້າ 121).

ຫລັງຈາກການປ່ຽນແປງໃນປີ 1975, ລະບອບໃໝ່ໄດ້ພະຍາ ຍາມເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມປອດໃສຂຶ້ນ. ແຕ່ໂສເພນີແລະຢາເສບຕິດເປັນສິ່ງ ທີ່ຜິດກົດໝາຍໄດ້ຄ່ອຍກັບຄືນໃນຊຸມປີ 1990 ພ້ອມກັບບັນຫາຝິ່ນຊິ່ງ ລັດຖະບານ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ຕ້ອງໄດ້ມີຫ້ອງການສະເພາະ. ວັນນະ ຄະດີໃນປີ 1990 ເຊັ່ນ <u>ໃນສິ່ງໃໝ່</u> ທີ່ນັກຂຽນ ບຸນທະນອງຊົມໄຊ ຝົນໄດ້ວິຈານຢ່າງແຂງແຮງຍິງໜຸ່ມລາວໄປ ເຮັດ ວຽກເປັນ "ນັກ ເສີບ" ໃນຮ້ານ "ກາເຟ" ແບບຂອງໄທທີ່ວຽງຈັນ "ຮ້ານກາເຟ ແຕ່ຊື່, ແຕ່ຫາກປົກປິດໂສເພນີ" (ກລຸດເຕີເປືອກ Clutter-buck 1993 ໜ້າ 33).

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

ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ໂສເພນີທີ່ມາຈາກຊົນນະບົດມັກຈະປົກປິດຊື່ແທ້ໂດຍໃສ່ ຊື່ ຫລິ້ນ. ຄອບຄົວພໍ່ແມ່ເຊື່ອວ່າລູກສາວໄປຢູ່ໃນເມືອງໃຫຍ່ເພື່ອ ຮໍ່າ ຮຽນວິຊາອາຊີບເປັນຕົ້ນຫຍິບຈັກ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນ ວ່າ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຜ່ານມາຍິງໂສເພນີຈະເປັນຫນ້ານັບຖື,ສຸພາບແລະຖ່ອມ ຕົນ, ແຕ່ສິ່ງຫນຶ່ງທີ່ໃຫມ່ສໍາຫລັບເຂົາແມ່ນເຂົາພໍໃຈໃນອິດສະຫລະ ທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍມີເພາະເຂົາເປັນຜູ້ມີອິດສະຫລະ ແລະຊື້ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງໄດ້ຕາມ ໃຈເພື່ອໃສ່ໃນງານລາຕີຫລືທ່ອງທ່ຽວຫລືປະຢັດໄວ້ສິ່ງໃຫ້ຄອບ ຄົວ (Dore 1974 ຫນ້າ 61-62).

ເພື່ອຕ້ານກັບການ ຂູດຮີດຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນລະບອບ ຣາຊະອານາຈັກ ໄດ້ມີການຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນສະມາຄົມໂດຍມີການປະທ້ວງ ໃຫ້ລົບລ້າງໂສ ເພນີ (Halpern 1964a ຫນ້າ 62).

ໃນ ປີ 1975 ລະບອບໃຫມ່ໄດ້ພະຍາຍາມແກ້ໃຂບັນຫາດັ່ງ ກ່າວໂດຍ ມີ ຄໍາຂວັນວ່າ "ປາບພະຍາດປົວເອົາຄົນ" ດວ້ຍວິທີ ປາບການໂສເພນີແລະການຕິດຝິ່ນກັນຊາທີ່ "ສຸນດັດສ້າງ" ຮູ້ ກັນໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ຄອມທ້າວ" "ຄອມນາງ" ຊຶ່ງໄກຈາກວຽງ ຈັນໄປທາງເຫນືອປະມານ 100 ກິໂລແມັດ. ໃນ ເດືອນເມສາ 1976, ມີ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຈໍາ ນວນ 1.200 ຄົນ (Stuart-Fox 1986 ຫນ້າ 37) ທີ່ຖືວ່າເປັນຜູ້ "ຕິດແປດ ວັດທະນະທໍາ ອັນ ເປື່ອຍເຍື່ອຍ". ກໍານົດໃນການຢູ່ສູນດັດສ້າງຫລືຢູ່ຄອມແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບ ຄວາມຕື່ນຕົວທາງດ້ານການເມືອງ(ວິນລຽມ Williams 1991 ຫນ້າ 51). ສ່ວນຫລາຍແມ່ນໄດ້ກັບບ້ານຫາຄອບຄົວທັງມີຄວາມຮູ້ ບາງຢ່າງຕິດໂຕເພື່ອໃຫ້ພວກເຂົາໄດ້ມີອັນປະກອບເປັນອາຊີບເຊັ່ນ ການຫຍິບຈັກ, ສານຫມວກຫລືສານກະຕ່າ. ເນື່ອງຈາກຊອກວຽກ ງານທີ່ເຫມາະສົມບໍ່ໄດ້ແລະຍ້ອນສະພາບຫລາຍດ້ານທີ່ເປັນ ຫນ້າ ເສຍດາຍທີ່ໄດ້ບັງຄັບໃຫ້ຈໍານວນນ້ອຍຈໍາຕ້ອງກັບຄືນເຮັດ "ອາຊີບ

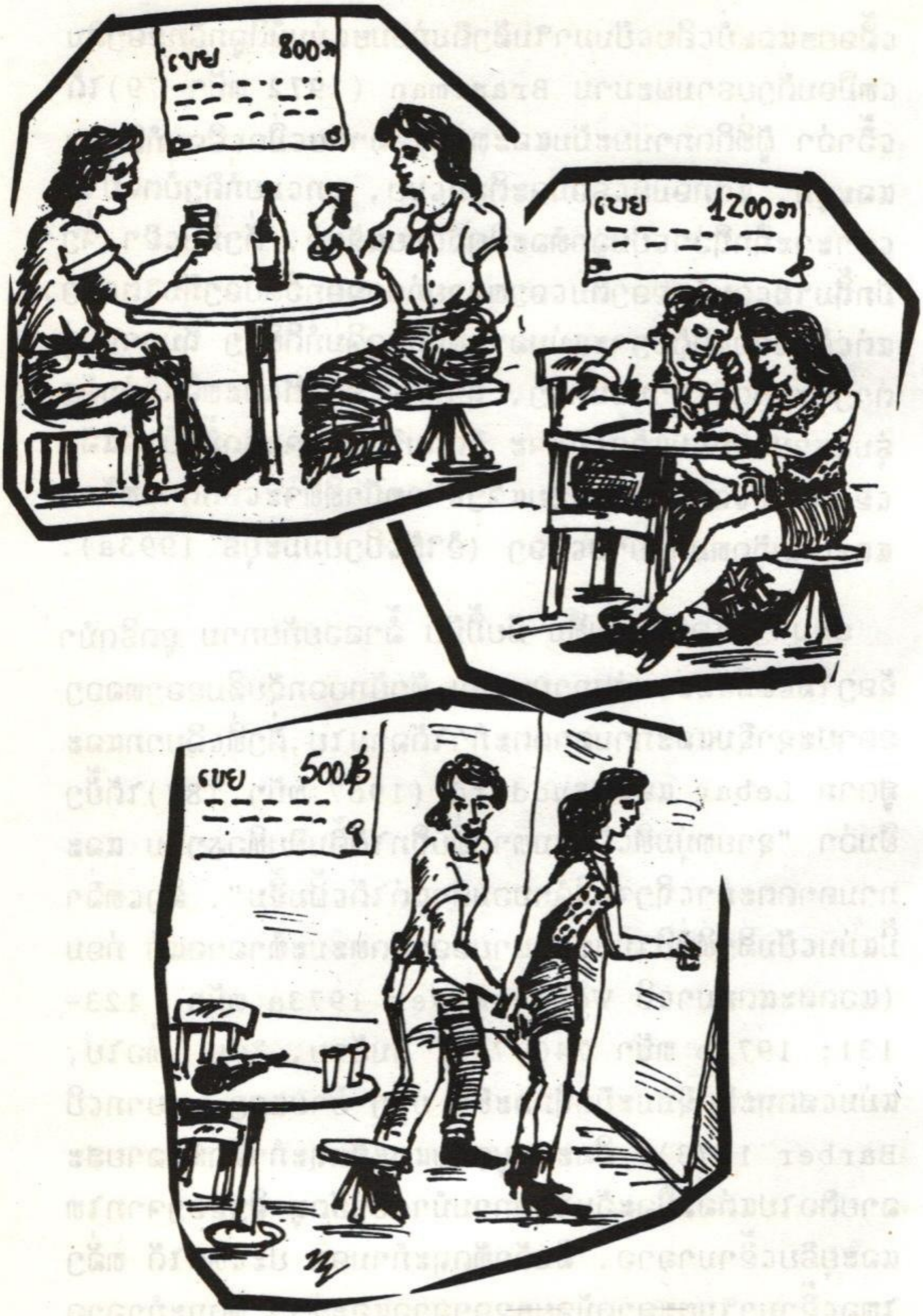
ເກົ່າ". ວິນ ລອມ Williams (1991 ຫນ້າ 52) ໄດ້ຂຽນ ວ່າ "ແນ່ນອນບໍ່ມີຊ້ອງໂສເພນີຢູ່ລາວ ແຕ່ມີໂສເພນີຊຶ່ງໄດ້ດຳເນີນ ແບບລັບໆ ໃນລາຄາປະມານ 250 ບາດ (10 ດອນລາ) ສຳ ຫລັບ ຜູ້ຊາຍລາວແລະໃນລາຄາ 2.500 ບາດ (25 ດອນລາ) ຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຊາຍຕ່າງປະເທດ. ແຕ່ຂ່າວນອນຊຶນທີ່ ວຽງຈັນໃນຮູບການຕູນໄດ້ສະແດງອອກໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າລາຄາທີ່ ວິນລອມ ພົບໃນປີ 1991ໄດ້ຂຶ້ນເປັນ 500 ບາດສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຊາຍລາວ. ນັກ ຂ່າວອິດສະເຕຣເຣຍໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ:"ການລຸລ້ວງຂອງນັກທຸລະກິດຈາກ ປະເທດໄທ ແມ່ນ ກໍ່ ໃຫ້ເກີດປັນຫາໃຫ່ມໃນລາວ". ອາຊີບ ທີ່ ສອງທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ໄດ້ກັບຄືນມານຳທຸລະກິດ" (ປຣິງເກລິນ Pringle 1991 ຫນ້າ 8).ເມືອບໍ່ຄືນມານັ້ນໄດ້ມີການເອົາຜູ້ຄືນທີ່ວ່າ "ຕິດ ໄພສັງຄົມ" ໄປຄັດສ້າງ. ວິນລອມ Williams (1991 ຫນ້າ 52) ໄດ້ເວົ້າກ່ຽວກັບການທີ່ເອົາຄືນທີ່ມີບັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວວ່າ:"ການ ເອົາໄປຄັດສ້າງບໍ່ບອກໃຫ້ຮູ້ກ່ອນຈັກເທື່ອ". ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍ່ດີ ກົດ ໝາຍ ອາຍາ ປີ 1989 ໃນມາຕາ 122-123 ໄດ້ໃສ່ໂທດ 3 ເດືອນຫາ 1 ປີ ບຸກ ຄົນໃດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງທີ່ເປັນໂສເພນີ.

ເຖິງແນ່ນຈະມີການໂຕ້ກັນທາງດ້ານແນວຄິດ, ບັນຫາໂສເພນີ ທີ່ປະເທດໄທໄດ້ຖືກອະທິບາຍໂດຍ ສິຣິພອນ Siriporn Skrobanek (1986 ຫນ້າ 22) ແລະມັນກໍຖືກທີ່ສຸດກັບປະເທດລາວ "ໂສເພນີບໍ່ແມ່ນອາຊີບທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ແມ່ນແບບການຜະລິດ ທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍດອ້ຍສັງຄົມ, ທີ່ມີບັນຫາເພດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຖືກ ຄອບຄຸມ ເພື່ອ ຄວາມສຸກຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ".

ໃນຊຸມປີ 70 ພື້ນຖານສົນທຳໃນການສ້າງຄອບຄົວແມ່ນຖືກທຳ ລາຍຈົນໄດ້ມີເພັ້ງຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຄວນຄາງອອກມາ "ພໍ່ຫ່ຽວຣາຕຣີແມ່ນັກ ໄພ້". ການ ຜິດ ຖຽງ ໃນຄອບຄົວໄດ້ລະບາດແລະສິ່ງທີ່ເກີດຂຶ້ນ

ເລື້ອຍໆແລະບໍ່ເຄີຍເປັນມາໃນສັງຄົມກ່ອນໆແມ່ນພໍ່ຕີລູກຮັກຂອງຕົນ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງບຣານຟະມານ Branfman (1972 ຫນ້າ 79)ໄດ້ ເວົ້າວ່າ ຜູ້ທີ່ຕິດການພະນັນແລະຫວຍເວລາກັບເມື່ອເຮືອນກໍຕີເມຍ ແລະລູກ. ແຕ່ກ່ອນພໍ່ເຮືອນຈະຕີລູກເມຍ, ລູກເມຍກໍຄົງບໍ່ຕອບໂຕ້ ເພາະຈະຖືກຖືວ່າເປັນລູກຫໍລະພີຫລີເມຍແຂ້ງຂໍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນເຂົາ ຈຶ່ງ ມັກຖີ້ມໃສ່ເວນກໍາຂອງຕົນເອງຫລາຍກ່ວາຊອກວິທີປ້ອງກັນໂຕເອງ. ແຕ່ເດັກນ້ອຍຫລືຜູ້ຍິງຈະແມ່ນລາວຫລືອິນດູຈີນກໍດີທີ່ຕ້ົງ ຖິ່ນຖານ ຢູ່ ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ຈໍານວນຫນຶ່ງ, ຖ້າຖືກພໍ່ເຮືອນຕີເຕະຫລືໃຊ້ກໍາລັ້ງ ຮຸ່ນແຮງປາບປາມແລ້ວເຂົາຈະ ອົດກັ້ນຈົນກ່ວາຈະອົດກັ້ນບໍ່ໄດ້ແລ້ວ ເຂົາຈະມູນເລກ ໂຫລະສັບແລ້ວເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ທີ່ຈະເຮັດຕາມຫນ້າທີ່ ແລະຕາມກົດຫມາຍບ້ານເມືອງ (ຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງປຶ້ມມະຍຸຣີ 1993a).

ຊຸນນາງ ແລະ ນາຍທຶນ ນັບມື້ນັບ ລ້ໍາລວຍກັບການ ຂູດຮີດນໍາ ຊ້ອງໂສເພນີແລະ ບ່ອນການພະນັນ ທ້ັງຍັກຍອກຊັບສິນຂອງຫລວງ ຂອງປະຊາຊົນແລະການຄາດຕະກໍາໄດ້ລາມໄປ,ດັ່ງທີ່ເລີບາກແລະ ສູດາກ Lebar ແລະ Suddard (1967 ຫນ້າ 187)ໄດ້ຍ້ົງ ຢືນວ່າ "ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມທີ່ເຮັດໃນທາງທີ່ບໍ່ຖືກໄດ້ຄົ້ນພົບທ່ີ່ວຽງຈັນ ແລະ ການຄາດຕະກໍາເຖ້ິງຈະມີຈໍານວນຕ່ໍາແຕ່ໄດ້ເພ້ີມຂ້ຶນ". ສ່ິງເຫລ່ົາ ນ້ີແມ່ນເປັນສ່ິງທ່ີ່ບໍ່ມີໃນມະໂນພາບຂອງວັດທະນະທໍາລາວແຕ່ ກ່ອນ (ແວດສະແຕກມາເຮ ີ Westermayer 1973a ຫນ້າ 123-131; 1973b ຫນ້າ 740-745). ຝ້ົນຮ້ົາຍ, ໂດຍ ທ່ົວໄປ, ແມ່ນເສດຖະກິດຊ້ົນນະບົດຖ້ືກກະທ້ົບ ຢ່ົາງ ຮ້ົາຍແຮງ (ບາກເບ ີ Barber 1973). ສ້ິລະປະບູຮານແລະຫັດຖະກໍາຖ້ືກທໍາລາຍສະ ລາຍຕ້ົວໄປແຕ່ລະມ້ ື້ລະວ ັນໂດຍການນໍາເອ ົ້າວ ັດຖ ຸ ສ ິ່ງຂອງຈາກໄທ ແລະຍຸຣ ົບເຂ ົ້າມາລາວ. ສ ິນຄ ້າຫ ັດຖ ະກ ໍານອກ ປ ະເທ ດໄ ດ ້ ຫ ລ ັ ່ ງ ໄຫລເຂ ົ້າມາໃນຕ ະລ າດນ ້ ອ ຍ ໆ ຂ ອ ງ ລ າ ວ ແ ລ ະ ຊ ່ ໍ າ ງ ຫ ັ ດ ຖ ະ ກ ໍ າ ລ າ ວ ຕ ້ ອ ງ ໄ ດ ້ ຍ ຸ ດ ສ ະ ງ ັ ກ ກ ິ ດ ຈ ະ ກ ານ (Braunstein 1978). ພາບ



<u>ปะชาชิมอับอาทิด</u>, 18/4/1993, ๓น้า 12.

ພິດຂອງສັງຄົມທີ່ແຕ່ກ່ອນທີ່ມີແຕ່ຄວາມປອດໄພແມ່ນໄດ້ສູນຫາຍ ໄປ ແລະຍັງຄົງເຫລືອໄວ້ແຕ່ພຽງຄວາມບໍ່ປອດໄພ, ການນອນບໍ່ຫລັບ, ປະຕູແລະປ່ອງຢ້ຽມຕ້ອງອັດຢ່າງແໜ້ນໜາແລະປິດລ້ອມດ້ວຍຮົ້ວ ໄຟຟ້າຫລືໃສ່ປ້າຍ "ລະວັງໝາຮ້າຍ", ຢ່າງນ້ອຍແມ່ນສຳຫລັບ ຜູ້ໃດທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂເຮັດໄດ້.

ການ ສໍ້ ລັດ ບັ ງ ປະ ຊາ ຊົ ນ ແມ່ນ ລາມໄປທົ່ວ ສັງຄົມ ລາວທີ່ ເງິນກາຍເປັນຄຳຂວັນ (Halpern 1964a). ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວບໍ່ ແມ່ນ ສິ່ງໃໝ່ເພາະໄດ້ ຖືກ ບັນ ທຶກ ໃນ ຊຸມ ປີ 40 ໂດຍ ທ່ານ ໂຣເຊ Rochet (1946 ໜ້າ 107) ວ່າ "ນັບແຕ່ເທິງຂອງບັນ ໃດສັງຄົມຂຶ້ນໄປ, ທຸກຢ່າງຖ້າ ພໍກອບໂກຍເອົາໄປໄດ້ ແມ່ນຈະກອບ ໂກຍ". ສະພາບ ດັ ງ ກ່າວ ໄດ້ມີຄຳພັ ງ ເພີ ຍ ກ່າວ ໄວ້ ວ່າ "ຄົນ ຄິດແລ້ວ ລວຍ ຄົນຊວຍແລ້ວຖືກຕິດຄຸກ". ຄວາມລ້ຳລວຍຮ່ ງ ມີ ເປັນ ປັດໃຈຕົ້ນຕຳໃນການຍຶດໝັ້ນຖານະທາງການເມືອງແລະສັງຄົມ. ກຳ ມືໜຶ ງ ຂອ ງ ຜູ້ ກຳ ການ ເມືອ ງ ແລະ ເສດ ຖີ ໄດ້ ຄອ ບ ງຳ ເວ ທີ ທີ່ ລາ ວ. ຄຸນ ຄ່າ ຂອ ງ ສິນ ທຳ ໄດ້ ຖືກ ພັ ງ ທະ ລາຍ, ການ ຂະ ຫຍາ ຍ ການ ສໍ້ ໂກ ງ ແລະ ສໍ້ ລັ ດ ບັ ງ ປະ ຊາ ຊົ ນ ໄດ້ ເປັ ນ ຈຸ ດ ໃຫ້ ເຊື່ ອ ມ ເສ ຍ ພາ ບ ພິ ດ ສັ ງ ຄົ ມ ໃນ ຕົ ວ ເມືອ ງ (Braunstein 1978) ແລະ ທຸ ກ ສິ ່ ງ ທຸ ກ ຢ່ າ ງ ແມ່ ນ ເປັ ນ ເຫ ດ ຜົ ນ ເພື ່ ອ ເງິ ນ ແລະ ອຳ ນາ ດ. ຕົ ວ ຢ່ າ ງ ການ ເອົ າ ລຳ ວົ ງ ເປັ ນ ບ່ ອ ນ ຫາ ສຽ ງ ຫາ ອຳ ນາ ດ ແລະ ການ ຟ້ ອ ນ ແບ ບ ຕະ ເວັ ນ ຕົ ກ ໄດ້ ເຮັ ດ ໃຫ້ ຊາ ວ ໜຸ ່ ມ ລາ ວ ເສ ຍ ຄົ ນ (Nginn 1956a). ການ ຟ້ ອ ນ ປະ ຈຳ ຊາ ດ ລາ ວ ເຊ ັ ່ ນ ລຳ ວົ ງ ແມ່ ນ ການ ຟ້ ອ ນ ທີ ່ ຜູ ້ ຊ າ ຍ ແລະ ຜູ ້ ຍ ິ ງ ຟ ້ ອ ນ ຢ ູ ່ ຮ ່ າ ງ ໆ ກັ ນ ໂດ ຍ ບ ໍ ່ ຈ ັ ບ ມ ື ຖ ື ແ ຂ ນ ແ ຕ ່ ຊ າ ວ ໜ ຸ ່ ມ ກ ັ ບ ຟ ້ ອ ນ ໄ ປ ແ ບ ບ ລ ັ ກ ສ ະ ນ ะ ร า ว า ย (ຫ ยู ย 1956). ແ ຕ ่ ท ี ่ ร า ว า ย ห ล ื ก า ร ฟ ้ อ ม ร ู ล า Hula ແ ม ่ น ก า ร ฟ ้ อ ม ท ี ่ ถ ื ว ่ า ง า ม แ ล ะ ถ ื ก ม ิ ย ม ท ี ่ ส ุ ด จ า ก ล า ว พ า ย ใ ต ้ ล ะ ย อ ม ร ั บ ใ ห ม ่. ก า ร ฟ ้ อ ม ร ู ล า ข อ ง ช า ว ร า ว า ย แ ม ่ น อ ั ต ล ั ก ษ ณ ์ ว ั ฒ น ธ ร ร ม ท ี ่ อ า เ ม ร ิ ก า ไ ด ้ ม า ส ะ แ ด ง เ ป ็ น ค ั ้ ง ท ำ อ ิ ด ต ั ้ ง แ ต ่ 1975 ท ี ่ อ ย ู ่ ว ั ง จ ั น ใ น ป ี 1991 (Rakow 1992).

ໃນຊຸມປີ 50 ແລະ 60 ໄດ້ມີແບບໃຫມ່ຂອງການຟ້ອນລຳວົງຊົງຮູ້ກັນ ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ລຳວົງໄຫ" ເຊັ່ນ "ກົງກ້າ" ທີ່ເປັນຈ້ວງອະໄວກວ່າຈ້ວງອະຂອງລຳວົງລາວ. "ລຳວົງໄຫ" ໄດ້ຂ້າມຂອງມາລາວ (ມີເກີ Meeker 1959). ບັນດາ ນັກຟ້ອນອາຊີບໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງຟ້ອນຢູ່ໃນງານບຸນວັດແລະບ່ອນອື່ນໆ. ຜູ້ຊາຍຊື້ປີ້ແລ້ວເລືອກນັກຟ້ອນທີ່ຕົນຕ້ອງການຢາກຟ້ອນ. ນັກຟ້ອນລຳວົງອາຊີບໄຫແມ່ນນຸ່ງກະໂປ່ງສັ້ນໆ. ກົງກັນຂ້າມ "ລຳວົງໄຫ", ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປລຳວົງລາວຈະຈັດຂຶ້ນໃນງານບຸນບ້ານ ຫລືງານແຕ່ງດອງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ໃດຕ້ອງການຈະຟ້ອນບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຊື້ປີ້, ມັນແມ່ນການສົມທົບການມ່ວນຊື່ນລະຫວ່າງຊາວບ້ານຫລາຍ ກວ່າແມ່ນສິ່ງອື່ນ. ແຕ່ວ່າເງິນແລະອິດທິພົນຂອງວັດທະນະທຳໄຫໄດ້ປ່ຽນລຳວົງເປັນການຫາລາຍໄດ້. ແຕ່ກ່ອນຍິງສາວລາວຕ້ອງໄດ້ຮັບອະນຸຍາດຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ທີ່ ສະນັກ ໄປເປັນນາງສາວຟ້ອນລຳວົງ. ເພື່ອຈະມີສິດຟ້ອນກັບຍິງສາວ, ຊາຍໜຸ່ມຕ້ອງນຸ່ງຖືສຸພາບແລ້ວຊື້ພວງມະໄລມອບຄ້ຶງເອົາຍິງສາວ. ເວລາກຳລັງຟ້ອນຊາຍໜຸ່ມບໍ່ໃສ່ຫມວກຫລືສູບຢາ. ຍິງສາວຈະ ຖືກຄວບຄຸມດູແລໂດຍພໍ່ແມ່ຫລືເອື້ອຍ-ອ້າຍທີ່ນັ່ງຢູ່ຫັ້ງຫລັງຮ້ານລຳວົງ. ພໍ່ແມ່ພີ່ນ້ອງໄດ້ສົມທົບຊ່ວຍຮ້ອຍພວງມະໄລແລະເງິນທີ່ຂາຍໄດ້ແມ່ນມອບໃຫ້ວັດ. ເມື່ອສັ້ງຄົມຂາດສິນທຳໃນໄລຍະຊຸມປີດັ່ງກ່າວ, ຊຸນນາງແລະເສດຖີໄດ້ສວຍໃຊ້ລຳວົງເປັນບ່ອນເອົາຫນ້າເອົາຕາແລະໂດຍບໍ່ຮູ້ສຶກ ຕົວຜູ້ຍິງກໍຄ່ອຍໆກາຍເປັນ "ສິ່ງຂອງ" ຫລື "ສິນຄ້າ" (<u>ວັນນະສິນ</u> ຕຸລາ 1986 ຫນ້າ 9 ແລະ 12). ການປະມູນລາຄາ ພວງມະໄລແມ່ນເປັນລາຄາສູງເທົ່າກັບລາຄາເຂົ້າຫນຶ່ງຫາ 2 ກະເປົາຫລືເທົ່າກັບເງິນເດືອນ 2 ເດືອນຂອງພະນັກງານຊຸ່ງຜູ້ ປະມູນຊະນະຈະໄດ້ສິດຟ້ອນກັບຍິງສາວທີ່ງາມທີ່ສຸດໃນຄ່ຳຄືນນັ້ນ.

ການ ໃຊ້ ລຳວົງເປັນບ່ອນສ້າງຊື່ສຽງອິດທິພົນກໍມີແຕ່ ບັນດາ

"ເຈົ້ານາຍ" ທີ່ມີເງິນເພື່ອຈ່າຍຄ່າກິນດື່ມຈຶ່ງມີສິດນັ່ງໂຕະໃນເຂດ ຮ້ານລຳວົງ. ເມື່ອ ດຶກ ຄ້ອນຄືນໄປແລ້ວ "ເຈົ້ານາຍ" ໄດ້ອອກ ຈາກຮ້ານໄປ, ຊາວບ້ານສາມັນທຳມະດາຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີໂອກາດມ່ວນຊື່ນ (ໄຕຢາກ Taillard 1977). ພາຍຫລັງການເຂັ້ມງວດໃນປີ 1975 ຫາ 1980 ພວງມະໄລບໍ່ຖືກນຳເອົາມາໃຊ້, ແຕ່ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງຖືກບັງຄັບໃຫ້ປາກົດກາຍຢູ່ກາງເວທີ ລຳວົງເພື່ອລໍຖ້າຟ້ອນ ກັບ "ຜູ້ໃຫຍ່" ຊຶ່ງຄະນະຈັດຕັ້ງບຸນຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ກຽດ (<u>ວັນມະ ສິນ</u> ກໍລະກົດ ແລະ ຕຸລາ 1986; ມະຍຸຣີ 1988; ອຸທິນ 1988;ຮຸ່ງແດນວິໄລ 1988). ດ້ວຍສອງມືຍົ້ນກົ້ມລົງຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ຄຳນັບ ເຊີນ "ຜູ້ໃຫຍ່" ຟ້ອນ. ການປະຕິບັດດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ອຽງຈັນບາງຄົນບໍ່ສາມາດຈະອົດກັ້ນຄວາມບໍ່ພໍໃຈຂອງຕົນ ອອກມາຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີຄວາມເວົ້າເຍາະເຍີ້ຍວ່າ "ແມ່ນຮູບການຫນຶ່ງຂອງ ມາລະຍາດທີ່ສັ່ງຄົມໃຫມ່ໄດ້ໃຫ້ເພດຍິງປະຕິບັດຕໍ່ເພດຊາຍ!".

ລາຄາລຳວົງຮອບຫນຶ່ງໆມີປະມານ 500 ຫາ 3 000 ກີບ. ໃນ ລາຄາດັ່ງກ່າວຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍສາມາດເຫມົາໄດ້. ດັ່ງເຊັ່ນໃນງານ ບຸນ ອອກ ພັນສາຊ່ວງເຮືອ 1993, ທີ່ຮ້ານຄົນຕີເສບໂດຍ <u>ວຽງ ນະຄອນ</u>, ຜູ້ຍິງ ສາມາດເຫມົາຮອບລຳວົງແລະໂຄ້ງເອົາຜູ້ຍິງ ດ້ວຍກັນໂດຍທີ່ໂຄສົກຈະຮ້ອງເອີ້ນອີກຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ຜູ້ເຫມົາຮອບລຳວົງຈະ ຟ້ອນ ນຳນັ້ນໃຫ້ອອກປາກົດກາຍຢູ່ກາງເວທີ. ນອກນັ້ນຕາມທ່ວໆໄປ ຍິງສາວ ທີ່ຖືກເອີ້ນໃຫ້ປາກົດກາຍກາງເວທີເພື່ອຜູ້ເຫມົາຮອບລຳວົງ ຮອບໃດຮອບຫນຶ່ງຈະຟ້ອນນຳ, ບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຕ້ອງມີພວງມະໄລແລະ ບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຈະຕ້ອງໃສ່ສິ້ນເພາະໃນຮອບລຳວົງຮອບຫນຶ່ງໆທີ່ຖືກເຫມົາ ໃນກາງຄືນບຸນຊ່ວງເຮືອນັ້ນຍິງສາວທີ່ຖືກເອີ້ນໃຫ້ປາກົດກາຍຊ້ຳບາງ ຮອບຈະ ເຫັນຍິງສາວນຸ່ງສິ້ງຂາຍາວຫມິດຫົວ 6 ຄົນກໍ່ມີ. ສະພາບ ດັ່ງກ່າວເຮັດໃຫ້ເຂົ້າໃຈວ່າການນຸ່ງຖືບໍ່ເປັນບັນຫາໃຫ່ຍອີກແລ້ວ.

ຮູບການຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງວັດທະນະທໍາທີ່ແຜ່ຈາກທາງນອກເຂົ້າມາ ລາວຫລືມັນແມ່ນການຟື້ນຟູວັດທະນະທໍາຂອງລະບອບເກົ່າຄືການປະ ກວດນາງງາມ. ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຫລາຍຄົນໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບເຄາະຂອງພໍ່ຄ້າ ເສດຖີແລະຜູ້ກໍາອໍານາດໃນລະບອບເກົ່າ. ເພື່ອຕ້ານກັບຮູບການ ດັ່ງກ່າວໃນຕອນຕົ້ນຂອງລະບອບໃຫມ່ບໍ່ໄດ້ມີການປະກວດນາງງາມ. ຈົນຮອດປີ 1988-89 ການປະກວດນາງງາມໄດ້ມີຂຶ້ນໃນລັກສະ ນະເປັນການປະກວດ "ນາງງາມປະຈໍາປີ" ຫລືນາງງາມສັງຂານ. ສະພາບຄືກັນກໍພົບທີ່ຫວຽດນາມຊຶ່ງນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າອາເມຣິກາຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ ຍັ້ງຍືນວ່າທີ່ພາກໃຕ້ຫວຽດນາມການປະ ກວດ "ນາງງາມ" ແມ່ນ ໄດ້ຈັດຂຶ້ນໂດຍທີ່ຜູ້ໃດຊະນະເປັນ ນາງງາມ ຈະໄດ້ພຽງປີ້ເຮືອບິນ ຈາກບໍລິສັດເຄື່ອງສໍາອາງໄຫ ທີ່ ຕ້ອງການຂາຍເຄື່ອງສໍາອາງໃຫ້ ຫວຽດນາມ (ໄອເຕີ White 1989).

ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າໃນບໍ່ຄົນມານີ້ນຈະມີຄວາມພະຍາຍາມທີ່ຈະປົກປັກ ຮັກສາວັດທະນະທໍາອັນດີງາມແລະຂັບໄລ່ວັດທະນະທໍາທີ່ຖືວ່າເປື່ອຍ ເຍື່ອຍ, ແຕ່ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນກໍໄດ້ມີຄວາມພະຍາຍາມຂະຫຍາຍວັດທະ ນະທໍາມວນຊົນແລະສ້າງຊາວຫນຸ່ມໃຫ້ເປັນຄົນໃຫມ່, ຫລັງຈາກປະ ເທດໄຂປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກແລ້ວຈຸດມຸ້ງຫວັງດັ່ງກ່າວພົບອຸປະ ສັກ. ອະດີດບັນນາທິການຫນັງສືພິມ <u>ແມ່ຍິງລາວ</u> ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຢູ່ ປະ ເທດລາວພວກເຮົາຈຶ່ງເກີດມີສະພາບ "ຍົກອ້ອຍຂຶ້ນຝ່າຍົກຫລາ ຍຂຶ້ນຂວັນ" " (ວິໄລວຽງ 1991 ຫນ້າ 37). ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນໃນທໍານອງດຽວກັນວ່າ: "ຊາວຫນຸ່ມລາວເອົາແບບຢ່າງ ທີ່ເຫັນໃນໂທລະທັດໄທທີ່ມາຕາມຊາຍແດນແມ່ຂອງ. ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຈະຖື ວ່າເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ໂກ້ເກ້ຖ້າໄດ້ເວົ້າພາສາໄທປົນໄປໃນການສົນທະນາ" (ອີເວັນສ Evans 1989 ຫນ້າ 24). ນັກຂຽນລາວຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງອີກ ໄດ້ຂຽນກ່ຽວກັບສະພາບຂອງສັງຄົມໃນປະຈຸບັນວ່າ:

ຫນ້າເສຍດາຍ ໃນຍຸກສະໄຫມເຕັກນິກ-ວິທະຍາສາດກ້າວ

ຫນ້ານີ້, ມີເອື້ອຍນ້ອງຈໍານວນຫນຶ່ງທີ່ປັບຕົວບໍ່ທັນຫລືບາງເທື່ອ ກໍລືມສະຕິຊາດ ຈຶ່ງເຮັດໃຫ້ຕົນເອງຫລົງໄຫລແລ່ນນໍາວັດ ທະນະທໍາ ແບບຕາເວັນຕົກເຊັ່ນວ່າຂະບວນຕັດຜົມສັ້ນໆ ແບບຜູ້ຊາຍ, ນຸ່ງກະໂປ່ງ, ສະເກີດ, ນຸ່ງສັ້ງ. ຮ້າຍແຮງໄປກ່ວານັ້ນຊໍ້າພັດນຸ່ງສັ້ງຂາສັ້ນ, ເສື້ອຊໍ້າພັດຍາວໆ; ເອົາສັ້ນ ໄຫມທີ່ມີລາຄາແພງໆໄປຕັດເຮັດກະໂປ່ງ, ສະເກີດໄປເຕັ້ນລໍາ, ເບິ່ງຫນັງໂປ້, ຟັງແຕ່ເພັງຕ່າງປະເທດ...ຊຶ່ງຫ້ວງຫນຶ່ງນັ້ນເປັນການຝຶນລັກສະນະວັດທະນະທໍາອັນດີງາມຂອງຊາດລາວ (ພ.ສຸກນາວິງ, 1993 ຫນ້າ 55).

ເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນສິ່ງດັ່ງກ່າວ, ໃນປີ 1989, ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ລາວໄດ້ອະນຸຍາດ ໄຂ ໄນຄຣັບຮອດ 11.30 ໂມງກາງຄືນ (Williams 1991 ຫນ້າ 52). ໃນຕົວເມືອງ, "ເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ຫ້ອງຖິ່ນແຕ່ກ່ອນໄດ້ຫ້າມບໍ່ໃຫ້ຕິດຮູບໂປ້ຂອງດາຣາໄທຕາມຝາຂອງຮ້ານອາຫານ, ຮ້ານເຮັດຜົມ, ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາສະພາບກໍປ່ຽນໄປຢ່າງຊັ້ນເຊີງ ແມ້ແຕ່ ໃນຊຶ ນະບົດຫລາຍເຮືອນ (ໂດຍສະເພາະເຮືອນທີ່ມີຊາວຫນຸ່ມ) ແມ່ນຈະ ມີຮູບດາຣາຂອງໄທທີ່ມີຊື່ດັ້ງຊຶ່ງຕັດອອກຈາກວາລະສານ ແລ້ວ ເອົາ ມາ ຕິດເຮືອນຫລືປະຕິຫີນເອົາຫ້ອຍຢູ່ຝາເຮືອນ" (ຜິດສະເຕີ Pfister 1989 ຫນ້າ 32).

ໃນດ້ານຫນຶ່ງບັນຍາກາດສັງຄົມວັດທະນະທໍາ ກໍາລັງປ່ຽນແປງ ແຕ່ອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງຍັງມີການຄວບຄຸມການໂສເພນີເຫມືອນດັ່ງນັກຂ່າວໄດ້ຂຽນຢູ່ປະເທດລາວ, ການຫ້າມໂສເພນີແມ່ນປະຕິບັດຢ່າງເຂັ້ມງວດ (ຂຸນທອງທິ່ງພຽງຄໍາ 1989). ຜົນສະທ້ອນ ອັນຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນ ຍິງສາວລາວອາຍຸລະຫວ່າງ 10 ແລະ 15 ປີໄດ້ຖືກເອົາໄປເປັນທາດ ໃນໂຮງງານຢູ່ບາງກອກໂດຍອົງການຈັດແຮງງານທີ່ ຫົນບຸຣີ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍເດັກນ້ອຍຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຖືກລັກເອົາໄປໄທໂດຍຜ່ານທາງ

ອຸບົນ ຣາຊະທານີ, ເຂັ້ມມະລາດ ຫລືມຸກດາຫານ (Bangkok Post 1989). ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີສະພາບ ທີ່ຫນັງ ສື ພິມ ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ ລົງວັນທີ 28 ເດືອນ ມີນາຄົມ 1993 ໄດ້ອ້າງເຖິງວາລະສານ ສະຫຍາມຣັຖ ຂອງໄທ ໂດຍ ໄດ້ອອກ ຂ່າວວ່າ "ພໍ່ແມ່ຈາກປະ ເທດ ລາວເອົາລູກສາວຂອງຕົນອາຍຸ 11 ປີໄປມອບໃຫ້ແກ່ຜົວເມຍຄົນ ໄທ ຄູ່ ຫນຶ່ງໃຫ້ລ້ຽງດູໂດຍໄດ້ຄ່າຕອບ ແທນເດືອນລະ 500 ບາດແລ້ວເດັກ ນ້ອຍກໍຖືກຍົ້ມຢີ້ນຈາກຜູ້ຊາຍ ໄທໂດຍການເປັນໃຈຂອງຜູ້ເປັນເມຍຄົນໄທ".

ກອງປະຊຸມ "ການພົບປະອິນດູຈີນ-ໄທ" ຄັ້ງທີ່ສອງເດືອນ 3, ວັນ ທີ 16-21, 1990 ໄດ້ສະແດງ ຄວາມຫ່ວງໄຍຂອງຕົນກ່ຽວ ກັບ ບັນຫາ ເດັກ ເປັນໂສເພນີ ທີ່ຂະຫຍາຍໄປ ລາວ ພ້ອມກັບ ການເປີດປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ (ຊຸດ ອອບຊີເດຊີ Seeds of Peace ພຶດສະພາ 1990). ຕາມຫນັງ ສືພິມ ເດີຊອນ ເດແມນ The Sunday Mail ໃນວັນ ທີ 23 ກຸມ ພາ 1992 ໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າມີ 800.000 ໂສເພນີທີ່ມີ ອາຍຸຕ່ຳກ່ວາ 16 ປີທີ່ປະເທດໄທແລະ 90 ກ່ວາເປີເຊັນ ທີ່ເປັນ ໂສເພນີເດັກນ້ອຍ ທີ່ປະເທດໄທນັ້ນແມ່ນມາຈາກ ພາກໃຕ້ ຂອງຈີນ, ພະມ້າ, ລາວ ແລະເຜົ່າຊົນທາງຕະເວັນອອກ ຂອງ ໄທ. ເມື່ອຈຳນວນທີ່ຄົນໄທ ເປັນໂລກເອດສ໌ AIDS ຊຶ່ງ ມີ ລະ ຫວ່າງ 200.000 ຫາ 400.000ຄົນ (ມະຕິຊົນ, ກຸມພາ 1992). ທີ່ ລາວ ກໍ່ໄດ້ ມີການສົນໃຈໃນບັນຫານີ້ເຊິ່ງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນບັນຫາຕົວຈິງອັນຫນຶ່ງຊຶ່ງ ຫນັງສືພິມ ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ ລົງວັນທີ 28 ມີນາ 1993 ລົງຫົວຂໍ້ " "ເອດສ໌" ບິນຂ້າມກຳແພງມາຫາເຮົາແລ້ວ" (ຈາມ ເກີ່ງ 1993 ຫນ້າ 1 ແລະ 11).ສັງຄົມລາວໃນໄລຍະຊຸມປີທຳ ອິດຂອງລະບອບໃຫມ່ແມ່ນປອດການຄາດຕະກຳ.ໂຣງຮຽນປອດຢາ ເສບຕິດແລະໂລກເອດສ໌. ແຕ່ເມື່ອປະເທດໄດ້ໄຂປະຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍ

ນອກແລ້ວຫລາຍຂ່າວມວນຊົນກໍໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງບັນຫາສະເພາະ ເຊັ່ນ ຫນັງສືພິມລາວທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ຢູ່ລາວມີໂສເພນີ, ຢາເສບຕິດແລະໂລກເອດສ. ເຖິງຈະຍັງບໍ່ທັນແມ່ນບັນຫາສັງຄົມ ໃຫຍ່ໃນປະຈຸບັນຄືດັ່ງບາງປະເທດເອເຊຍເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ ປະເທດໄທ. ແຕ່ ທີ່ລາວກໍໄດ້ເລີ້ມເຮັດໃຫ້ມວນຊົນເຂົ້າໃຈໂດຍສະເພາະກ່ຽວກັບໂລກເອດສ (ລາວສໍາພັນ Lao Samphan 1989; ໂພແກ້ວ Phokeo 1991). ຖ້າທຽບໃສ່ປະເທດອື່ນໆທີ່ມວນຊົນຮູ້ບັນຫາແລະຕິດຕາມເລື້ອງໂລກເອດສ໌ແລ້ວຈະຍັງເຫັນວ່າຢູ່ ລາວ ມວນຊົນ ບໍ່ຍັງທັນໄດ້ຮູ້ຢ່າງທົ່ວເຖິງເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນເພາະໂລກເອດສ໌ ສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະມານໍາຄົນທີ່ຕິດມາແລ້ວແລະຫລາຍປະເທດເຊັ່ນ ປະເທດຍີ່ປຸ່ນຈະອະນຸຍາດຄົນເຂົ້າປະເທດຢູ່ລະຍະຍາວເຊັ່ນຮຽນຫນັງສືຕ້ອງໄດ້ສະເຫນີບັດສະແດງ ການປອດໂລກເອດສ໌. ປະເທດຕະເວັນຕົກກໍ່ເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນຕ້ອງ ມີ ຫລັກຖານຮັບປະກັນການປອດໂລກເອດສ໌ຈຶ່ງຈະຖືກພິຈາລະນາໃຫ້ ອາໄສຢູ່ລະຍະໃດລະຍະທີ່ປະເທດເຂົາເຈົ້າ. ການເອົາມາຕະການ ດັ່ງກ່າວຍ້ອນວ່າໂລກເອດສ໌ບໍ່ປານີປານອມໃຜແລະບໍ່ເລືອກຊົນຊັ້ນ ວັນນະຈະທຸກຍາກຫລືເສດຖີ, ບໍ່ ຈໍາແນກຜິວພັນຈະແມ່ນຂາວ, ດໍາ, ເຫລືອງ, ຫລືບໍ່ຈໍາແນກເພດໄວ, ຈົນຮອດປະຈຸບັນ ຖ້າແມ່ນ ບຸກຄົນໃດບຸກຄົນຫນຶ່ງເປັນແລ້ວບໍ່ຄົນມີແຕ່ຢ່າງດຽວບໍ່ສາມາດຈະມີຊີວິດຢູ່ຕໍ່ໄປໄດ້. ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີສະພາບທີ່ຫນຸ່ມນ້ອຍລາວເຜົ່າຊົນຕ່າງໆກໍາລັງເປັນເຍື່ອຂອງ ການໂສເພນີແລະກໍາລັງຖືກຍົວະເອົາໄປເປັນທາດແຮງງານທີ່ປະເທດບ້ານໃກ້ເຮືອນຄຽງແລະອີກພາກສ່ວນຫນຶ່ງກໍາລັງສູບກາວຊຶ່ງພາຍໃນ 3 ປີສະມອງຈະເຊື່ອມເສຍພິການຊຶ່ງຫນຸ່ມນ້ອຍທີ່ປະເທດໄທຫລືປະເທດເບຣຊິນກໍາລັງໄດ້ຮັບຜົນຂອງມັນ.

๑- ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຄ້ຳສາສະໜາໃຫ້ຍືນຍົງຄົງຕົວ

ຄຳພັງເພີຍບູຮານໄດ້ເວົ້າໄວ້ວ່າ:

"ຍິງຮູບຮ້າຍຄອງວັດພາງາມຊາຍຮູບງາມວິຊາພາຮຸ່ງ"

ມັນເປັນ ສິ່ງທີ່ແປກປະຫລາດທີ່ສາສະໜາພຸດບໍ່ໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ ສາສະໜາພຸດຫລືວັດຈະບໍ່ສາມາດຄົງຕົວຖ້າຂາດຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ໃດໆມາ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດ ຊອບການກິນຢູ່ແລະມີຄວາມເຫລື້ອມໃສໃນພະພຸດ ທະສາສະໜາຈຶ່ງ ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ ສາສະໜາດຳລົງຄົງຕົວຢູ່ໄດ້, ເຖິງ ແມ່ນ ຈະໃນລະຍະທີ່ປະເທດກຳລັງຫຍຸ້ງຍາກກໍດີ. ການເສຍສະລະ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ເພື່ອສາສະໜາແມ່ນເພາະຜູ້ຍິງຢາກຈະຍົ້ນສະໜັບສະໜຸນຄືຜູ້ ຊາຍເມື່ອຕາຍໄປແລ້ວ.

ນອກຈາກຈະ ໃຫ້ຄວາມຮູ້ທາງດ້ານສາສະໜາແລ້ວວັດຍັງເປັນ ບ່ອນທີ່ໃຫ້ຄວາມຮູ້ ທາງດ້ານສິນ, ວັນນະຄະດີ, ຢາແຜນບູຮານຫລື ຄາຖາ, ຄຳອວຍ ພອນຕ່າງໆໃນການຈະປຸກເຮືອນໃຫມ່ຫລືເພື່ອໄລ່ ຜີ. ຄວາມຮູ້ທາງ ດ້ານ ໄສຍະສາດແມ່ນມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຜູ້ດຽວເທົ່ານັ້ນ ຈະຮູ້ໄດ້. ທັງໝົດນີ້ແມ່ນ ເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ຮັດແໜ້ນອຳນາດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ ໃນສັງຄົມ (Barber 1974 ໜ້າ 52). ແຕ່ບາງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ສຶກ ເລ້ດ ໃນການອ່ານໃບລານແລະກຳແໜ້ນໃນດ້ານຢາບູຮານ (Aymonier 1885 ໜ້າ 199; ບານເຢັນ 1963 ໜ້າ 248). ໃນປີ 1975 ທີ່ລາວເຊັ່ນທ່ອງຈັນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຫົວໜ້າທຳມະ ການ ວັດເພື່ອນຳພາພິທີທາງສາສະໜາ.

ຈາກ ອະດີດ ເຖິງປະຈັບໃນຍາມມືດຂອງອະລຸນໃຫມ່ນັກທ່ອງ ທ່ຽວຈະໄດ້ ຍິນ ແຕ່ ສຽງຜູ້ຍິງໜຶ້ງເຂົ້າແຕ່ງຈ້ັງຫັນໄປວັດ. ນອກ

ຈາກແຕ່ງກິນ ແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄປເຮັດວຽກຫລືໄປໄຮ່ເຮັດນາ. ຍາມ ແລງມາກໍ ພາກັນ ໄປ ວັດເພື່ອຟັງຄຳເທດສະໜາສັ່ງສອນຂອງພະ ເຈົ້າ. ໃນວັນສິນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນອັນໃຫ່ຍຫລວງໂດຍປັ້ນຂີ້ເຜິ້ງ ຫລືເຮັດກະທົງດ້ວຍທ່ອນກ້ວຍແລະປະດັບປະດາດ້ວຍດອກໄມ້.

ໃນ ໄລຍະທີ່ເສດຖະກິດບ້ານເມືອງສັບສົນທີ່ສຸດນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງຍັງສືບຕໍ່ ຮັກສາການເຊື່ອຖືໃຫ້ຍືນຍົງຄົງຕົວໂດຍຕັກບາດໄປຈ້ຳຫັນຫລືໄປເພັນ ເປັນປະຈຳ. ໃນເວລາຕັກບາດນັ້ນເຂົ້າຈະຕ້ອງຄູ້ເຂົ່າພ້ອມທັງຖືຂັນ, ເຂົ້າຈະພະຍາຍາມບໍ່ໃຫ້ແຕະຕ້ອງຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງພະ. ເມື່ອເວລາ ເອົາເຄື່ອງຂອງໃຫ້ພະຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງບໍ່ເອົາໃຫ້ໂດຍມືຕໍ່ມືແຕ່ຕ້ອງເອົາ ວາງ ໄວ້ ຖາດຫລືຜ່ານຕໍ່ມືຜູ້ຊາຍ. ເມື່ອພົບພະຫລືຈົວຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງ ນັ່ງ ໃນທ່າ ທີ່ເຄົາລົບຊຶ່ງເປັນທ່າທີ່ຕ່ຳກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະຢູ່ໃນ ທ່ານັ່ງກໍໄດ້. ເຖິງວ່າພະຫລືຈົວຈະແມ່ນລູກຄົງໆແຕ່ພະ ຫລືຈົວບໍ່ມີ ສິດສະແດງຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກຂອງຕົນອອກທັງນີ້ເພາະພະເຄົາລົບຕົນເອງ ເປັນພະເຈົ້າໃນໂລກມະນຸດແລະຜູ້ຍິງມີແຕ່ເຄົາລົບພະ ເຈົ້າ ໂດຍ ຜ່ານຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງລູກ. ຜູ້ຍິງຈະລະເມີດກົດດັ່ງກ່າວບໍ່ໄດ້ ຖ້າບໍ່ ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈະຕົກຢູ່ໃນຖານະເປັນຜູ້ເຮັດບາບ. ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງ ໃດ ຍັງ ແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ລະບົບຂອງສາສະໜາຢູ່ໄດ້ພາະຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນ ນາມເປັນແມ່, ເປັນເມຍເຖິງແມ່ນບໍ່ມີສິດບວດເປັນພະແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງ ການຜູ້ຊາຍເພື່ອບວດເປັນພະເພື່ອເຂົ້າຈະໄດ້ບຸນນຳແລ້ວ ຂຶ້ນ ສະ ຫວັນ ເມື່ອຕາຍໄປ ຫລື ເພື່ອມີຊີວິດດີກ່ວາໃນຊາດໜ້າ.

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

ເໜືອນ ດັ່ງ ທຸກປະເທດທີ່ຖືສາສະໜາເຫລະວະດາ, ທີ່ລາວ, ມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍນຸ່ງຜ້າ ເຫລືອງໄດ້ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງມີແຕ່ລູກຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ຈະ

ບວດເພື່ອເອົາກຽດ ແລະບຸນມາໃຫ້ພໍ່ແມ່. ເພື່ອຈະເຫັນວ່າມີຄວາມຈຳເປັນຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍ ຫນຶ່ງເທື່ອໃນຊີວິດທີ່ຈະຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ບວດ. ເຖິງຈະທຸກຍາກເທົ່າ ໃດຄົນສ່ວນຫລາຍກໍ່ຈະພະຍາຍາມເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່ດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະ ນຸ່ງຜ້າເຫລືອງຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍສອງເທື່ອໃນຊີວິດແລະ ບາງຄັ້ງອາດ ຈະບວດອີກຖ້າພໍ່ແມ່ຫລືພີ່ນ້ອງຜູ້ໃດຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຕາຍເພື່ອຈະ ຈຸງສົບໄປ ສະຫວັນ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຄວາມເຊື່ອຖືທາງສາສະຫນາ. ໃນ ເວລາປົກກະຕິການບວດ ຢູ່ວັດຈະໃຊ້ເວລາອັນຍາວນານ. ເພື່ອຈະ ໄດ້ຢູ່ໃກ້ແລະຮ່ຳຮຽນນຳວັດ ເມື່ອອາຍຸໄດ້ 9 ຫລື 10 ປີເດັກນ້ອຍ ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະບວດເປັນຈິວ. ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດບວດຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂໄດ້ ຮຽນຫນັງສືເພາະໃນສະໄຫມ ກ່ອນມີແຕ່ວັດບ່ອນດຽວເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ຈະ ເປັນບ່ອນໃຫ້ການສຶກສາ. ແຕ່ເມື່ອອາຍຸເຖິງ 20 ຫລື 21 ປີແລ້ວ ຊາຍຫນຸ່ມຈະບວດເປັນພະແລະ ຄິດຄືນເອງເປັນຜູ້ມີບຸນແລະຈະຖືກ ຖືວ່າເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີບົດຮຽນຊຶ່ງເອີ້ນກັນທົ່ວໄປວ່າ "ຄົນສຸກ" ຫມາຍເຖິງ "ກ້າແກ່ນສາມາດຕ້ານລົມຝົນໄດ້". ກົງກັນ ຂ້າມຖ້າຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ບວດ ຈະຖືກເວົ້າວ່າເປັນ "ຄົນດິບ" (ຄຳພູນພິລາວົງ 1967). ຜູ້ຊາຍ ທີ່ຜ່ານການບວດ ແລ້ວມັກຈະເປັນທີ່ນິຍົມຊົມຊອບຈາກພໍ່ແມ່ ຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງເພື່ອເລືອກເອົາເປັນລູກເຂີຍ.

ສາສະຫນາພຸດມັກຈະເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມສຳຄັນໃນການຮູ້ຄຸນມານ ດາຊຶ່ງຜູ້ເປັນລູກຊາຍຈະຕ້ອງໃຊ້ແທນຄ່ານ້ຳນົມໂດຍຈະບວດໃຫ້ແມ່. ແຕ່ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນພໍ່ກໍ່ໄດ້ເສຍ ສະຫລະສູງໃນການລ້ຽງດູລູກໃຫ້ໃຫຍ່ກໍ່ ຈະໄດ້ບຸນເຊັ່ນກັນໃນການທີ່ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ບວດ. ພໍ່ແມ່ຫລາຍຄົນເຊື່ອ ວ່າການບວດລູກຊາຍແມ່ນການຄ້ຳປະກັນໃຫ້ເຂົາເຈົ້າມີຊີວິດດີກ່ວາ ໃນຊາດຫນ້າ. ພໍ່ແມ່ມັກຈະເວົ້າວ່າ "ດຶງຜ້າເຫລືອງຂອງລູກເພື່ອ ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ". ທີ່ລາວໃນເວລາທີ່ສາສະຫນາຮຸ່ງເຮືອງຈະເລີນໃນ

ສະໄຫມເຈົ້າຊີວິດສຸຣິຍະວົງສາ ຊາວລາວມັກນິຍົມໃຫ້ລູກບວດຢ່າງ ກວ້າງຂວາງ (ເລີໂຊດສະເນີ Lejosne 1987).

ລູກຜູ້ຊາຍຊ່ວຍແມ່ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນດ້ວຍການບວດເປັນພະແຕ່ລູກຜູ້ ຍິງໄດ້ແຕ່ພາວະນາເພື່ອໃຫ້ພໍ່ແມ່ໄດ້ມີຊີວິດທີ່ດີໃນຊາດຫນ້າ. ລູກ ຜູ້ຍິງອາດໄດ້ບຸນແຕ່ພຽງເບິ່ງແຍງພໍ່ແມ່ເວລາເຈັບເປັນ.ແຕ່ເຖິງ ປານນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງກໍບໍ່ສາມາດຈະເອົາບຸນມາໃຫ້ພໍ່ແມ່ໃຫ້ໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ ເຫມືອນດັ່ງລູກຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ໃນຖານະທີ່ເປັນເມຍ,ມີການເຊື່ອວ່າຜູ້ຍິງສາມາດໄດ້ບຸນໂດຍ ຜ່ານຜົວແລະມີການ ເຊື່ອກັນວ່າເມຍອາດຈະ "ດຶງຜ້າເຫລືອງ" ຂອງຜົວເມື່ອຕາຍໄປຈະໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນ. ໃນພິທີບວດຜົວແລະເມຍ ຈະຕ້ອງເຮັດພິທີ "ຢ່າຮ້າງ" ກ່ອນຕໍ່ຫນ້າຍາດ ພີ່ນ້ອງ ທີ່ມາຮ່ວມ ແລະທັງສອງຈະຕ້ອງຂໍຂະມາລາໂທດນໍາພໍ່ແມ່ໃນສິ່ງທີ່ໄດ້ລ່ວງເກີນ ຜ່ານມາ. ອັນນີ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າ ຜູ້ບວດເປັນພະຕ້ອງປອດໃສບໍ່ ມີຫນີ້ສິນແລະບໍ່ໄດ້ຜູກພັນກັບລູກເມຍ. ເມື່ອຜົວຊຶກແລ້ວກໍ່ໄດ້ເຮັດພິ ທີ "ແຕ່ງດອງເອົາກັນຄືນ". ດັ່ງນັ້ນພໍ່ແມ່ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ຈະສົ່ງ ເສີມຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ ລູກຊາຍບວດກ່ອນຈະມີຄອບຄົວເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ໄດ້ ບຸນຫລາຍກວ່າ. ຖ້າລູກຜູ້ຊາຍບວດພາຍຫລັງມີຄອບຄົວແລ້ວພໍ່ແມ່ ເຊື່ອວ່າເມຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ໄດ້ບຸນກຸສົນຫລາຍກ່ວາຕົນ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ອາໄສລູກຜູ້ຊາຍຫລື ຜົວເພື່ອມີບຸນໃຫ້ຕົນເອງແລະຈະ ເຮັດທຸກວິທີທາງເພື່ອຈະໃຫ້ໄດ້ບຸນນໍາຜົວນໍາລູກໂດຍຜ່ານການບວດ. ແຕ່ເພື່ອຈະບັນລຸສິ່ງທີ່ປາຖະຫນາດັ່ງກ່າວຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງແບກຫາບຫລາຍ ເພື່ອຄ້ໍາສາສະຫນາແລະຜູ້ຍິງຍັງຈໍາເປັນຕ້ອງການພະເພື່ອຕົນເອງ ຈະໄດ້ບຸນແລະຈະໄດ້ຂຶ້ນສະຫວັນເມື່ອຕາຍໄປແລ້ວ.

๓- ผู้ยิงเป็นผู้แบกหามองกเธือมการฆาม 3 เพื่อ หลายก่อาผู้ฆาย

ชีวิดในชีมนะบิดเชั่มบือละบัดเธือมฆามเอ้ามาตาก้าหลี ต่ำหูกสาอไหมบ่ได้มีการปรมแปงมับแต่สะไหมใดยมา. ดั่ง มั้มชีวิดของผู้ยิงแม่น ยังถีกจิมยู่กับการแบกหามองกมายฆะ มิดถีสะไหมก่อม.

โตแปง Taupin (1888 หม้า 9) ได้ยั้งยืมอ่า "ที่ ปะ เหด ลาอผู้ยิงเธ้ดองกย่างน้อย 3 เพื่อหลายก่อาผือ" มูมเชื้อดุหมั่มสู้ชีมของผู้ยิงยังถีกบันทีกไว้โดยนักบุกเบิกฝรั่ง ก่อม โตแปง Taupin ถี แอโมมีเอ Aymonier (1885 หม้า 176) ได้เมั้มอ่า "ที่ปะเหดลาอ, ผู้ยิงเธ้ดหมิดทุก องก. มอกจาก องกทีหมักในไร่มาและองกพันทะแล้อ, ผู้ ฆายคิดแต่จะจับ มิก, เต่ำและไก่ป่าด้อยแร้อ". ผู้บุกเบิก ที่บ่รู้อิดเมื่อย ผู้หมึ่งแม่น ปาวี Pavie (1947 หม้า 54) ได้เอ้าว่า "คืมลาอ มักเธ้ดองกกะสีกำหม้อยดงอ, แต่มัก ปะองกดั่งก่าอไว้ให้ข้าหาดหลีให้เมยติม". ผู้ยิงลาอผู้หมึ่ง บ่พงงแต่แบกหามองก หมักของงถอบถือเท่ามั้มแต่ถ้าได้เดิม หาองร่อมกับผือ, ผู้ก่งอ จะแบกเถื่องของงติดตามย่างหาง หลังผือ. แอโมมีเอ Aymonier (1885 หม้า 176) ได้ ย้ำว่า "ถ้าผือแบกอันใดอันหมึ่งกำจะแม่นอาอุด, ถีกันกับว่า ผู้ก่งอต้องการอ้างถอามฮี้ถ้านโดยให้เหดผืมว่าเพื่อจะป้อง กันเมย". แต่ สะพาบดั่งก่าอกำพืบพ้อเชั่มดงอกันที่หองดมาม ที่เมยย่างมำหลังผือหังเก่ยลูก (โรกเว Hocquet 1966 หม้า 2-3). แต่กิงกับข้ามที่ปะเหดขะเหมมที่มีอัดทะมะทำ ถ้ายถีกันกับลาอในหลายด้ามแต่เมื่อเมยเดินหาองร่อมกับผือ

ຍ ມັກຈະ ເປັນຜູ້ແບກ ເຄື່ອງແລະປ່ຽໃຫ້ ເມຍຍ່າງນຳຫນ້າ (Aymonier 1885 ຫນ້າ 176). ປະຈຸບັນຢູ່ໃນຊົນນະບົດລາວຍັງ ມີທ່າທາງແບບ ເກົ່າ ເຫລືອຢູ່.

ເມື່ອຍາມ ເຮັດນາມາ ເຖິງຊ່ຶງພາຍຫລັງທີ່ ເລີ້ມມີຝົນ, ການໄຖ ນາແມ່ນວຽກຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຫລື ເວົ້າອີກຢ່າງຫນຶ່ງແມ່ນວຽກສະ ເພາະ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ພາຍຫລັງ ຫວ່ານກ້າແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ຍິງແລະ ເດັກນ້ອຍໄດ້ ຮ່ວມກັນ ດຳ ນາ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນຜູ້ ເສຍຫຍ້າບົວລະບັດຮັກສາຕົ້ນ ເຂົ້າ ອ່ອນ ພ້ອມທັງຕິກກະ ຄຸ້ງຫາປາທີ່ແຄມຫນອງໄກ້ຖຽງນາຫລືກໍຊອກ ຫາປູຫາກຸ້ງໄປຕາມທົ່ງນາ ເພື່ອຄາບ ເຂົ້າຄາບໃດຄາບຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງ ຄອບຄົວ.

ເມື່ອລະດູ ເກັບກ່ຽວມາ ເຖິງສ່ວນຫລາຍຈະແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງແລະ ເດັກ ນ້ອຍ ເຮັດວຽກ ເກັບກ່ຽວແລ້ວ ເຂົ້າ ເຈົ້າກໍພາກັນຕາກໃຫ້ແຫ້ງແລ້ວກໍ ຟາດໃສ່ ເຄີນນາ. ຈາກນັ້ນ ເຂົ້າ ເປືອກກໍຖືກ ເກັບຮັກສາ ໄວ້ໃນ ເລົ້າ ຊ່ຶງຈະນຳ ເອົາມາກິນ ເປັນປະຈຳ.

ພາກນີ້ ຈະບໍ່ສົມບູນຖ້າຫາກຂາດການ ເວົ້າກ່ຽວກັບການຕ່ຳຫູກ ເຖິງຈະແບບຫຍໍ້ກໍ ດີ ຊ່ຶງ ເປັນຫົນທາງຊີວິດແລະຮູບການວັດທະນະທຳ ອັນ ຫນຶ່ງ ທີ່ ຜູ້ຍິງ ໄດ້ຕິດພັນແບບກາຍອິນຊີ ຈ່ຶງ ເປັນທີ່ ເວົ້າ ເຖິງ "ຂ້ອາມມື ເປັນລາຍ, ຫວາຍມື ເປັນຝ້າຍ" (ຄຳ ແພງທິບມຸນຕາລີ, 1992ຂ ຫ້ນາ 67).

ໂດຍ ທົ່ວໄປອາຊີບບໍ່ ໄດ້ ຈຳ ແນກໃຫ້ ເດັ່ນ ເຖິງ ເພດ. ຕົວຢ່າງທີ່ ປະ ເທດມາແກຣບ Magreb ຜູ້ຊາຍ ເປັນຜູ້ຕ່ຳຫູກ (ແກຣດສະແວນ Cresswell 1975)ແຕ່ທີ່ລາວອາຊີບດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນ ເປັນໂຂງ ເຂດ ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຜູກຂາດ (Nginn 1956b; 1959b;ບານ ເຢັນ 1963).

ຜູ້ຍິງລາວເກືອບທຸກຄົນເມື່ອເຕີບໃຫຍ່ຈະເຂົ້າໃຈແລະຮູ້ຕໍ່າທູກ (ດວງ ເດືອນ 1992). ເມື່ອ ຍັງ ເປັນເດັກ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈະຮູ້ສຶກອົບອຸ່ນ ນຳຜ້າແຜ່ຕໍ່າທີ່ແມ່ໄດ້ເອົາປູ່ໃສ່ ກະດົ້ງໃຫ້ນອນ. ຕໍ່ມາຍິງສາວເລີ່ມ ເຂົ້າໃຈພາສາຕໍ່າທູກສາວໄຫມ ຂອງ ແມ່ແລະຮູ້ຈັກເບິ່ງແມ່ຕໍ່າທູກ. ເມື່ອອາຍຸໄດ້ 8 ຫາ 10 ປີ, ເດັກຍິງຈະຮຽນນຳແມ່ເປັນແຕ່ລະ ບາດກ້າວນັບແຕ່ການລຽ້ງມ້ອນລ້ຽງໄຫມຈົນເຖິງຂັ້ນຍອ້ມແລະກ້າວ ເຂົ້າໄປເຖິງການຮູ້ຈັກຕໍ່າ. ເມື່ອມີຄອບຄົວແລ້ວ, ເວລາໄດ້ອຸທິດ ຫລາຍແດ່ວຽກບ້ານແຕ່ກໍໄດ້ຍາດເອົາເວລາເພື່ອຕໍ່າ. ເມື່ອຖືພາ ແລ້ວກໍຍິ່ງຫາເວລາຍາກເພື່ອຈະຕໍ່າທູກ -ໂດຍສະເພາະຖ້າມີລູກ ຮອດ 12 ຄົນ-. ເມື່ອຕໍ່າໄດ້ໃຊ້ພຽງພໍໃນຄອບຄົວແລ້ວ, ສ່ວນ ເຫລືອກໍຂາຍເພື່ອຊ່ວຍຄ້ຳລາຍຈ່າຍຂອງຄອບຄົວ.

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ຫ້ານຈຳໜ່າຍ

ພາກ II. ຜູ້ຍິງລາວໃນການ ປ່ອນແປງໂລກ

ໃນສູນຫອນຜິດກ່າວຕໍ່ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫ່ຍຄັ້ງທີ I ຂອງສະ ຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງສະຫາຍເລຂາທິການໃຫຍ່ ໄກສອນ ພົມ ວິຫານເວົ້າວ່າ :ແມ່ຍິງເຮົາເຜົ່າຕ່າງໆໄດ້ຕົກຢູ່ໃນການ ກົດຂີ່ຂົ່ມເຫງຢ່າງຫນັກຫນ່ວງຂອງລະບອບສັກດິນາແລະ ລະ ບອບລ່າເມືອງຂຶ້ນ ,ແຕ່ຜ່ານຂະບວນວິວັດແຫ່ງການ ຕໍ່ສູ້ ເພື່ອການດຳລົງຄົງຕົວແລະການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຂອງ ຊາດ , ແລະແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ມີການອຸທິດອັນໃຫຍ່ ຫລວງ ເຂົ້າໃນການສ້າງຫນ້າປະຫວັດສາດອັນ ສະ ຫວ່າງສະ ໄຫວຂອງຊາດແລະແມ່ຍິງເຮົາເອງກໍ່ໄດ້ສ້າງຄຸນລັກສະ ນະອັນເປັນມູນເຊື້ອຂອງຕົນຂຶ້ນດັ່ງລຸ່ມນີ້ :

-ແມ່ຍິງເຮົາມີຄວາມຖຫມັ່ນຂະຫຍັນພຽນໃນການອອກ ແຮງງານມີນ້ຳໃຈປະຢັດຂັດຫ່ຽງ (ເຮັດວຽກໄຮ່ການ ນາ ຢ່າງ ຫລັງສູ້ຝ້າຫນ້າສູ້ດິນ , ເຂັນຝ້າຍຕ່ຳຫູກ, ການໃຊ້ ຈ່າຍມີການຄິດໄລ່ຈົ່ງຍອມ ຮັກສາມູນມັງໄວ້ ໃຫ້ລູກເຕ້ົາ) .

-ມີ ຄວາມ ບໍລິສຸດຜຸດຜ່ອງ , ແພງລູກຮັກຜົວທົນຍາກ,

-ຍອມເສຍສະຫລະເພື່ອຄວາມສຸກຂອງຄອບຄົວລູກຜົວ,

-ມີນ້ຳໃຈຮັກຊາດແພງເຊື້ອ ,ຮັກບ້ານເກີດເມືອງນອນ,

-ກິລິຍາມາລະຍາດ ສຸພາບອ່ອນຫວານ ,ຮັກສາມູນມໍ ລະດົກວັດທະນະທຳອັນດີງາມຂອງຊາດເຮົາໄວ້ (ອ່ອນຈັນ 1991 ໜ້າ 149-150).

1/ <u>ທົດສອບນະໂຍບາຍ</u>

ເຖິງ ແມ່ນວ່າໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບສາທາລະນະລັດປະເທດລາວ ໄດ້ປ່ຽນ ແທນຣາຊອານາຈັກໂດຍເອີ້ນວ່າສາທາລະນະລັດ ປະຊາ ທິປະ ໄຕ ປະຊາຊົນລາວໃນປີ 1975 ກໍຕາມ, ແຕ່ວ່າບັນຫາເສດ ຖະ ກິດແມ່ນຍັງຍາກ, ບັນຫາສັງຄົມຍັງສັບສົນຫັ້ງນີ້ກໍ່ຍ້ອນຫລາຍປະ ເທດໄດ້ຕັດການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອແລະການປິດຊາຍແດນແຕ່ຝ່າຍດຽວຂອງ ໄທເຊິ່ງເປັນບ່ອນຜ່ານສິນຄ້າຂອງສາກົນເຂົ້າສູ່ລາວ. ແຕ່ພາຍຫລັງ ທີ່ລາວໄດ້ເປີດ ປະ ຕູສູ່ໂລກພາຍນອກ, ລາວຕ້ອງອີງໃສ່ການຊ່ວຍ ເຫລືອຈາກຕ່າງປະ ເທດເປັນຕົ້ນຕໍໂດຍສະເພາະການຢືມເງິນຈາກ ທະນາຄານໂລກແລະທະນາຄານເອເຊຍພັດທະນາ.

ພາກນີ້ຈະວິໃຈເຖິງເຈດຕະນາປະປ່ອຍສິ່ງທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ມາຫລາຍ ສະຕະວັດເຊິ່ງໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ກະທົບຕໍ່ສະຕາກຳຂອງຜູ້ຍິງລາວ.

ມັນ ແມ່ນຄວາມຈິງທີ່ວ່າ ແນວ ທາງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ຜູ້ຍິງດ້ວຍການທົດ ສອບເປັນ ຄັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງພັກທີ່ກຳອຳນາດເມື່ອປົດປ່ອຍໝົດປະເທດ ໃນປີ 1975 ຢ່າງສົມບູນແລ້ວ ພັກໄດ້ມີແນວທາງຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງແລະມີອົງ ການສະເພາະຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນພັກກໍ່ມີຄຳຂວັນຕ່າງໆໃຫ້ພ້ອມ.

ແຕ່ຄວາມຫວັງຢາກປ່ຽນແປງອັນເກົ່າໃຫ້ເປັນອັນໃຫມ່ມັນໄດ້ພົວພັນເຖິງການຕໍ່ສູ້ລະຫວ່າງຊົນນະບົດແລະຕົວເມືອງຊຶ່ງມີລັກສະນະທີ່ຂັດແຍ່ງກັນ. ຜ່ານການຜ່ານຜ່າຈຶ່ງມີຫັ້ງຝົນໄດ້ແລະຂໍ້ຄົງຄ້າງທີ່ ສາມາດເກັບກ່ຽວໄດ້.

ກ- ການສ້າງສັງຄົມໃຫມ່

ບັນຫາ ໃຫ້ເພດຍິງມີສິດເທົ່າທຽມກັບເພດຊາຍໄດ້ຖືກຍົກຂຶ້ນເປັນການສຳຄັນຈາກພັກກຳອຳນາດເປັນຕົ້ນມາ.

ອີງຕາມປະຫວັດສາດຂອງປະເທດລາວເມື່ອສະຫຍາມໄດ້ຍຶດຄອງລາວໆບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກເອົາໃຈໃສ່ນອກຈາກມີແຕ່ການປຸ້ນຈີ້. ເມື່ອຢູ່ໄຕ້ການປົກຄອງຂອງຝຣັ່ງສະພາບກໍ່ດີຂຶ້ນຫນ້ອຍດຽວໂດຍສະເພາະໃນດ້ານການ ສຶກສາແຕ່ກໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ໃຫ້ຄົນລາວຮູ້ຈັກພໍເຂົ້າໃຈພາສາຝຣັ່ງເພື່ອຈຸດ ປະສົງໃຫ້ພໍຊ່ວຍແປໃຫ້ກົງຈັກປົກຄອງຝຣັ່ງ, ແຕ່ບໍ່ມີຄວາມ ສຳ ຄັນເທົ່າໃດເພື່ອຮັບໃຊ້ລະບົບການປົກຄອງເພາະຝຣັ່ງສ່ວນ ຫລາຍ ມັກອີງໃສ່ຄົນຫວຽດນາມທີ່ໄດ້ເອົາເຂົ້າມາເຮັດວຽກຮັບໃຊ້ກົງຈັກປົກຄອງຂອງຝຣັ່ງຢູ່ລາວ.

ຄຽງຄູ່ກັບສັງຄົມທີ່ຢູ່ພາຍໄຕ້ກົງຈັກຂອງລ່າເມືອງຂຶ້ນທີ່ວຽງຈັນ, ສັງຄົມໃນເຂດປົດປ່ອຍໄດ້ຖືກສ້າງຂຶ້ນແລະຖືກຍົນອາເມຣິກາຖິ້ມລະເບີດໃສ່ຢ່າງເປັນປະຈຳ, ເຖິງປານນັ້ນຍັງໄດ້ມີການຂະຫຍາຍການສຶກສາແລະຍາດເວລາຮ່ຳຮຽນ ໃນເວລາທີ່ເຮືອບິນບໍ່ຖິ້ມລະ ເບີດ ເປັນການຊ່ວຍລາວ. ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີການຖິ້ມລະເບີດເມື່ອງນິດລຽນຕິດ ແຕ່ໂຄງຮ່າງສັງຄົມໄດ້ເປັນຮູບຮ່າງຂຶ້ນເທື່ອລະກ້າວ. ຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຕ້ອງ ໄດ້ເຮັດຫລາຍຫນ້າທີ່ມີຊີວິດແບບ "**ຍາມກາງເວັນເປັນນົກເຄົ້າ ແລະ ຍາມກາງຄືນເປັນຫມາປ່າ**" ຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງຕ້ອງເຮັດວຽກເປັນກຳມະກອນຫັ້ງເປັນກອງຫລອນຫລືຊາວສວນເພື່ອປູກຝັກ ແລະເປັນນັກ

ຮຽນຫລືອາຈານສອນຫນັງສືພ້ອມ. ໃນນັ້ນ ກໍ່ມີເອື້ອຍນ້ອງເປັນຈໍານວນຫລາຍໄດ້ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມຢ່າງຕັ້ງຫນ້າຕາມ ຄໍາຂ້ວນທີ່ວ່າ "ຮຽນດີ ແລະສອນດີ". ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມັນຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ຜູ້ ຍິງຕ້ອງຮູ້ສອນໃຫ້ຜູ້ ອື່ນໃຫ້ຮູ້ຈັກອ່ານແລະຮູ້ຈັກຂຽນຫັ້ງເຮັດວຽກຂົນຂວາຍແນວຄິດການ ເມືອງໄປພ້ອມ (Braunstein 1978 ຫນ້າ 279). ໃນລະ ບົບການ ສຶກສາ ຂອງ ແນວລາວຮັກຊາດຕາຕະລາງຂອງນັກຮຽນ ແມ່ນແບ່ງປັນລະຫວ່າງການຝຶງບົດຮຽນໃນຕອນເຊົ້າແລະເຮັດການ ຜະລິດໃນຕອນບ່າຍແລະຕອນແລງ ແມ່ນ ປະຊຸມການ ເມືອງ (ຈຸ 1979 ຫນ້າ 450). ຝົນມັນແມ່ນຈະແຈ້ງເພື່ອຈະເອົາ ຊະນະ ດ້ານວັດທະນະທໍາແນວຄິດຫລືດ້ານວິຊາການ. ຍິງ-ຊາຍອາວຸ ໂສ ແລະ ເດັກນ້ອຍ ກໍ່ໄປໂຮງຮຽນ. ປຶ້ມແມ່ນຢາຍໃຫ້ໂດຍບໍ່ຕ້ອງຊື້. ທຸກມື້ນີ້ຜູ້ທີ່ຮູ້ອ່ານແລະຮູ້ຂຽນໃນຍາມສົງຄາມນັ້ນຍັງຈໍາໄດ້ຢູ່ສະເຫມີ ພາບພິດດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ສິດ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແລະຊົນເຜົ່າແມ່ນຖືກຮັບຮູ້ແລະເສີມຂະຫຍາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງຮຽນຮູ້ ບໍ່ໃຫ້ຢ້ານຜີວອີກ. ຜູ້ຊາຍບາງຄົນຈະຫົນຫວຍເມື່ອໄດ້ ຍິນວ່າເຂົາບໍ່ ມີສິດພິເສດຫຍັງເຫນືອຜູ້ຍິງອີກແລ້ວ. ບາງຜູ້ຊາຍກໍ່ ເຫັນ ວ່າເປັນແນວຄິດທີ່ດີ (ຊອມສະກີ Chomsky 1970 ຫນ້າ 456) ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຮູ້ເຖິງສະພາບສິດເປັນມະນຸດສົມບູນຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ມັນເປັນ ຄັ້ງທໍາອິດໃນປະຫວັດສາດຂອງລາວທີ່ຄໍາວ່າສະເຫມີພາບ ແມ່ນບໍ່ແມ່ນຄໍາເວົ້າຊື່ໆ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຊົມໃຊ້ສິດເຫນືອນຜູ້ຊາຍແລະໄດ້ ຖືກຮັບຮູ້ວ່າ ມີຄວາມຮັບຜິດຊອບຄືຜູ້ຊາຍ. ການປ່ອນບັດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ມີຄວາມ ສໍາຄັນເທົ່າຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນພົນລະເມືອງ, ກອງ ຫລອນ, ທະຫານ, ພະນັກງານ, ນັກຮົບ, ອາຈານ, ແພດຫມໍ ຫລືນັກສົນລະປົນ ນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ.

ແຕ່ ກົງກັນຂ້ານຢູ່ໃນເຂດຄຸ້ມຄອງຂອງຝ່າຍອຽງຈັນ ການດໍາ

ລົງຊີວິດໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນໄດ້ແຕ່ພຽງສອງເຄື່ອງຄື: ເຄື່ອງຈັກ ຜະລິດລູກແລະເຄື່ອງຫລິ້ນ.

ຂ- ຟື້ນຖານແຫ່ງຄວາມເຊື່ອຫມັ້ນ.

"ຜູ້ຍິງມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍກ່ວາໃນສັງຄົມ ຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຖືກປົດປ່ອຍ ເຄິ່ງຫນຶ່ງຂອງສັງຄົມແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ຖືກປົດປ່ອຍ". ຄວາມເວົ້າຂອງເລ ນິນນີ້ໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເຂົ້າໃນຫລາຍດ້ານໃນແນວທາງຂອງພັກກຳອຳນາດ ໃນລາວ. ອັນນີ້ ແມ່ນມໍລະດົກຂອງສັງຄົມນິຍົມທີ່ກຳກົກເຄົ້າບັນຫາ ກ່ຽວກັບມະນຸດ. ແຕ່ໃນເຫດຜົນຕົວຈິງກໍ່ເຊັ່ນກັນຖ້າຜູ້ຍິງມີຈຳນວນ ກ່ວາ ເຄິ່ງ ຂອງຈຳນວນພົນລະເມືອງທັງຫມົດ, ການຈະປົດປ່ອຍ ເຂົາເຈົ້າຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ປົດປ່ອຍຫມົດຈຳນວນໃຫຍ່ຂອງກຳລັງການຜະ ລິດລວມທັງເພດຊາຍ. ແຕ່ປີ 1975 ຄືນຫລັງ ການເມືອງບໍ່ແມ່ນ ຂົງເຂດ ຊີວິດ ຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ ໂດຍອີງຕາມສຸພາສິດເກົ່າໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ ໃຫ້ ຫລິ້ນການເມືອງ ຜ້າເຫລືອງບໍ່ໃຫ້ຫລິ້ນການບ້ານ".. ເປັນຄັ້ງ ທຳອິດໃນປະຫວັດສາດລາວທີ່ເອກະສານຂອງກອງປະຊຸມ ໃຫຍ່ພັກປະຊາຊົນໃນວັນທີ 22 ມີນາ 1955 ຕິດຕາມໂດຍຂໍ້ທີ 8 ຂອງໂຄງການ 10 ຂໍ້ທີ່ປະກາດໃຊ້ໃນວັນທີ10ເມສາ 1964ໂດຍ ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ II ຂອງແນວລາວຮັກຊາດເຊິ່ງໄດ້ເຜີຍແຜ່ ອີກຄືນໃນຂໍ້ 5 ທີ່ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ່ 3 ຂອງແນວລາວຮັກຊາດ ໃນເດືອນພະຈິກ 1968,ໃນບົດລາຍງານການເມືອງຂອງກອງປະ ຊຸມໃຫຍ່ພັກຄັ້ງທີ່ສອງ (3 ກຸມພາ1972)(ໄກສອນ 1985 ຫນ້າ 138-139)ແລະຂໍ້ທີ່ 6ຂອງໂຄງການການເມືອງເພື່ອສັນຕິພາບ, ເອກະລາດ, ເປັນກາງ,ປະຊາທິປະໄຕ,ເອກະພາບແລະວັດທະ ນາຖາວອນໂດຍແມ່ນກອງປະຊຸມຂອງຄະນະນິນຕິປະສົມການເມືອງ ແຫ່ງຊາດໃນວັນທີ່ 10 ແລະ 24 ພຶດສະພາ 1974ໄດ້ຮັບຮອງ

ແລະ ໄດ້ຍ້ຳ ເຖິງ ການ ຮັບ ປະ ກັນ ສິດ ແລະ ອິດ ສະ ຫລະ ພາບ ຂອງ ຍິງ-ຊາຍ ໃນ ທຸກ ດ້ານ ແລະ ກົດ ໝາຍ ລັດ ຖະ ທຳ ມະ ນູນ ໃຫມ່, ໄດ້ ຍ້ຳ ຄືນ ອີກ ເທື່ອ ໜຶ່ງ ການ ສົ່ງ ເສີມ ສິດ ສະ ເໝີ ພາບ ລະ ຫວ່າງ ຍິງ-ຊາຍ ແລະ ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ ສິ້ນ ສຸດ ການ ບໍ່ ສະ ເໝີ ພາບ ທາງ ດ້ານ ສັງ ຄົມ ແລະ ການ ເມືອງ ລະ ຫວ່າງ ເຜົ່າ ຊົນ.

ຫລັງ ຈາກ 1975 ແລ້ວ ທີ່ ລາວ, ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຍັງ ແບກ ຫາບ ພາລະ ວຽກ ຫລາຍ ຢ່າງ ໃນ ຊີ ວິດ ປະ ຈຳ ວັນ. ບາງ ມາ ຕະ ການ ໄດ້ ຖືກ ຮັບ ເອົາ ເພື່ອ ຜ່ອນ ການ ແບກ ຫາບ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ແລະ ເພື່ອ ໃຫ້ ເຂົາ ເຈົ້າ ໄດ້ ຮັບ ການ ສຶກ ສາ ສູງ. ການ ປະ ກາດ ວັນ ແມ່ ຍິງ ສາ ກົນ ໄດ້ ເນັ້ນ ໃຫ້ ເຫັນ ຄວາມ ສຳ ຄັນ ໃນ ສັງ ຄົມ ລາວ ແລະ ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ເຄົາ ລົບ ບົດ ບາດ ສຳ ຄັນ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ເປັນ ເມຍ. ແຕ່ ການ ຍົກ ບົດ ບາດ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ໃນ ສັງ ຄົມ ລາວ ແມ່ນ ຍັງ ຊ້ຳ ຫລາຍ ທັງ ນີ້ ກໍ ເນື່ອງ ມາ ຈາກ ຄວາມ ເຊື່ອ ຖື ອັນ ເກົ່າ ແກ່ ແລະ ຍ້ອນ ການ ສຶກ ສາ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຖ້າ ທຽບ ໃສ່ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ແມ່ນ ຍັງ ຕ່ຳ ຫລາຍ. ຜູ້ ຍິງ ບໍ່ ຮູ້ ໜັງ ສື ມີ ເຖິງ 10-15% ສົ່ນ ກວ່າ ຈຳ ນວນ ຂອງ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ການ ອົບ ຮົມ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ເພື່ອ ໃຫ້ ປ່ຽນ ແປງ ທັດ ສະ ນະ ແນວ ຄິດ ຂອງ ເຂົາ ເຈົ້າ ທີ່ ຖື ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຕ່ຳ ຍັງ ບໍ່ ທັນ ຕັດ ສິນ ໃຈ ຢ່າງ ເດັດ ດ່ຽວ ລົບ ລ້າງ ແນວ ຄິດ ດູ ຖູກ ຜູ້ ຍິງ (ໄກ ສອນ 1977 ໜ້າ 84-85). ເຖິງ ແນວ ໃດ ໃນ ພາກ ຕົວ ຈິງ ຍັງ ມີ ການ ຈຳ ແນກ ຢູ່ ຫລາຍ ເຊັ່ນ ການ ຍົກ ເອົາ ເຫດ ຜົນ "ໄພ ສົງ ຄາມ". ໃນ ປີ 1986, ພະ ນັກ ງານ ຍິງ ຜູ້ ໃດ ຜູ້ ໜຶ່ງ ຈະ ຖືກ ຫ້າມ ບໍ່ ໃຫ້ ໄປ ເຄື່ອນ ໄຫວ ວຽກ ງານ ຢູ່ ພາຍ ໃນ ກໍ ຄື ຢູ່ ຕ່າງ ປະ ເທດ ຄົນ ດຽວ ຫລື ສອງ ຄົນ ຮ່ວມ ກັນ ກັບ ເພດ ຊາຍ. ແຕ່ ຫລັງ ຈາກ ໄຂ ປະ ຕູ ອອກ ສູ່ ໂລກ ພາຍ ນອກ ແລ້ວ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ຈຶ່ງ ຖືກ ອະ ນຸ ຍາດ ໃຫ້ ໄປ ຕ່າງ ປະ ເທດ ກັບ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ແບບ ລັກ ສະ ນະ ການ ເດີນ ທາງ ເພື່ອ ທຸ ລະ ກິດ. ຕົວ ຢ່າງ ທີ່ ຜ່ານ ມາ ນັກ ທຸ ຣະ ກິດ ຍິງ ໄດ້ ໄປ ປະ ເທດ ອິດ ສະ ເຕ ຣ ເລຍ ກັບ ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ສອງ ຄົນ ເພື່ອ ສູນ ການ ຄ້າ ສາ ກົນ ທີ່ ຊິດ ນີ Sydney ໃນ ເດືອນ ຕຸລາ 1991 (ຂ່າວ ລາວ Khao Lao 1991 ໜ້າ 22).

ຄ- ການປັບປຸງຄຸນຄ່າໃຫມ່

ສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວແມ່ນພາຫະນະອັນຫນຶ່ງເພື່ອເຮັດ ໃຫ້ລະບົບຄຸນຄ່າຖືກຝັງເລິກໃນແນວຄິດ "ສັງຄົມນິຍົມ". ຄຳຂວັນ 3 ດີ 2 ຫນ້າທີ່ ໄດ້ຖືກຮັບເອົາໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ່ I ຂອງ ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໃນທົ່ວປະເທດໃນ ປີ 1984.

ສູນກາງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວ ມີຄວາມສົນໃຈທີ່ສຸດທີ່ ຢາກຈະ ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວເປັນຜູ້ຍິງລາວໃຫມ່ຊຶ່ງກໍ່ໄດ້ຕົກລົງຮັບເອົາໃນກິດ ລະບຽບລົງວັນທີ 21 ມີນາ 1984. ກິດລະບຽບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ເນັ້ນ ເຖິງຄຸນສົມບັດສົນທຳປະຕິວັດໂດຍສະເພາະເພື່ອຮັບໃຊ້ການ ປະຕິ ວັດແລະສັງຄົມນິຍົມ ທັງນີ້ເພື່ອໃຫ້ຖືກຕາມເປົ້າຫມາຍ ຂອງ 3 ດີ 2 ຫນ້າທີ່. ຫນຶ່ງໃນສາມດີ ແມ່ນ ການ ເປັນ "ພົນລະເມືອງດີ" ຊຶ່ງມັນພົວພັນເຖິງການຮັກຊາດ, ການເສຍສະຫລະເພື່ອ ລະບອບ ໃຫມ່ "ສັງຄົມນິຍົມ" ແລະຊື່ສັດຕໍ່ແນວທາງແລະການນຳຂອງ ພັກ ທັງສາມັກຄີກັບຜູ້ຍິງບັນດາເຜົ່າເພື່ອປະກອບສ່ວນປົກປັກຮັກສາແລະ ກໍ່ສ້າງປະເທດຊາດ. ຫລັງຈາກນັ້ນປາກົດ ວ່າ ຜົນທີ່ເກັບກ່ຽວໄດ້ ໃນການປຸກລະດົມຄຳຂວັນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນເປັນ ທີ່ພໍອົກພໍໃຈ. ເພາະ ມີຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນ 85.597 ຄົນ ໄດ້ຖືກຄັດເລືອກ ເປັນ "ພົນລະ ເມືອງດີ" (ປີວຄຳ, 1987). ນອກ ຈາກເປັນ "ພົນລະເມືອງ ດີ" ແລ້ວ,ຄຳຂວັນທີ່ສອງຂອງ 3 ດີ ແມ່ນເປັນ "ເມຍທີ່ດີ" ຊຶ່ງ ໄດ້ສ່ອງແສງເຖິງການປະຕິບັດຕົນໄປຕາມວັດທະນະທຳ ອັນດີງາມ ຂອງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ. ແລະ "ເມຍທີ່ດີ" ແມ່ນຫມາຍເຖິງຕ້ອງຊື່ ສັດຕໍ່ຜົວ. ນອກນັ້ນເມຍຕ້ອງຊ່ວຍໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນແກ່ຜົວເພື່ອຜ່ານຜ່າຂໍ້ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ.ເອກະສານ 3 ດີ 2 ຫນ້າທີ່ ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າເມຍແລະຜົວ ຕ້ອງເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ມີຄວາມສະເຫມີພາບແລະປາສະຈາກການຜິດຖຽງກັນ. ເມຍຍັງ ຕ້ອງສ້າງທຸກເງື່ອນໃຫ້ຜົວໄດ້ເຮັດວຽກແລະຮ່ຳຮຽນພ້ອມ ທັງຕ້ອງ ຍ້ອງຍໍຜົວຖ້າຜົວເຮັດອັນໃດສຳເລັດ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຜົວເຮັດຜິດ ພາດ, ເມຍຍັງຕ້ອງມີຄວາມອົງອາດກ້າ ສຳຫລວດຜົວ ແລະເມຍ

ບໍ່ຄວນຈະປົກປິດຄວາມອ່ອນແອຂອງຜິວ. ເມຍ ຕ້ອງຮໍ່າຮຽນເຮັດ ແນວໃດຈະຕ້ອງດູແລເຮືອນຊານ ຫຍິບປັກຫລືຕໍ່າຫູກແລະຮັກສາໃຫ້ ເຮືອນສະອາດບົນຫລັກການ "ສາມສະອາດ". ໃນການຢູ່ກິນເມຍ ທີ່ດີຕ້ອງຮັກສາແລະຊ່ວຍເຫລືອພໍ່ແມ່ຕົນແລະພໍ່ແມ່ຜົວເມຍທັ້ງ ຈະ ຕ້ອງສະແດງເຖິງຄວາມສາມັກຄີກັບມິດສະຫາຍເພື່ອນຮ່ວມ ຊາດ ແລະມີນ້ຳໃຈສາກົນກຳມະຊີບ. ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ໄດ້ປຸກລະດົມ 4 ປີ ແລ້ວຫມິດ ຫົວປະເທດມີ 100.334 ຄົນທີ່ຖືກເລືອກເປັນເມຍທີ່ດີ (Report of the LWU 1988).

ຄຳຂວັນສຸດທ້າຍ ຂອງ 3 ດີ ແລະ 2 ຫນ້າທີ່ ແມ່ນ ເປັນ "ແມ່ທີ່ດີ". ຄຳຂວັນນີ້ຢາກຫມາຍເຖິງຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ສັ່ງສອນ ລູກ ແລະ ມັນຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງຮູ້ກຳກັບແລະຮູ້ຈັກຈິດຕະສາດ ຂອງ ລູກວ່າຕ້ອງຮັບປະກັນເຮັດໃຫ້ລູກກາຍເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີ.

ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນຈິດໃຈຕົ້ນຕໍຂອງເອກະສານ. ຈາກການປະຕິບັດຄຳ ຂວັນດັ່ງກ່າວຜົນທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບກໍ່ຄືໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນ 79.504 ຄົນໄດ້ ກາຍເປັນແມ່ທີ່ດີ.

ແຕ່ດ້ານຜູ້ຊາຍເອກະສານກໍ່ໄດ້ເນັ້ນວ່າຕ້ອງເປັນຜົວທີ່ດີ. ສ່ວນ ການເປັນຜົວທີ່ດີເອກະສານໄດ້ເວົ້າຫຍໍ້ທີ່ສຸດ. ການເປັນ "ຜົວທີ່ດີ" ຄືຜົວຕ້ອງເປັນແບບຢ່າງ ແລະຕ້ອງສອນເມຍທັ້ງຊ່ວຍເຫລືອເມຍ ເພື່ອຜົນສຳເລັດຫມິດຫຸ່ກອຽກແລະເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໃດໃຫ້ກາຍເປັນ ຜົວແບບຢ່າງແລະພ້ອມກັນສ້າງທັ້ງປົກປັກຮັກສາປະເທດ. ແຕ່ເອ ກະສານພາກນີ້ຜູ້ຂຽນເຊື່ອວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຈຳນວນຫລາຍຄົງບໍ່ເຄີຍ ອ່ານ.

ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫ່ຍຄັ້ງທີສອງຂອງ ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໄຂຂຶ້ນໃນ ປີ

1988 ໄດ້ຮັບເອົາແນວທາງໃຫມ່ກ່ຽວ ກັບ "3 ດີ 2 ໜ້າທີ່". ໂດຍສະເພາະໄດ້ເນັ້ນກ່ຽວກັບການເປັນພົນລະເມືອງທີ່ດີແມ່ນຕ້ອງເປັນຜູ້ກໍ່ສ້າງຄອບຄົວທີ່ດີບົນພື້ນຖານວັດທະນະທໍາໃຫມ່ແລະຂະຫຍາຍຄວາມສາມັກຄີທີ່ດີ. ແຕ່ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ໃຫຍ່ຍົງແມ່ນຄືເກົ່າ. ແຕ່ມັນກໍ່ເປັນຫນ້າສົນໃຈທີ່ສຸດທີ່ເອກະສານ "3 ດີ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍ ປະ ຕິບັດໃສ່ຜູ້ຊາຍ". ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນປ້າຄໍາແພງບຸບຜາ, ອະດີດ ປະ ທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວ, ໄດ້ຍົ້ງຍືນໃຫ້ຜູ້ຂຽນຮູ້ນໍາໃນປີ 1988, ເມື່ອເວລາຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ສໍາພາດເພິ່ນ.

ໃນ ກໍລະນີ ໃດກໍ່ດີ, ເສັ້ນທາງປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງຄົງບໍ່ຂຶ້ນກັບ ສ ຍິງຝ່າຍດຽວແຕ່ຄົງຈະຂຶ້ນກັບຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນສໍາຄັນຈະແມ່ນຢູ່ໂຮງງານ, ບ່ອນປູກຝັງ, ຟາມຫລືທ້ອງການ. ແຕ່ການສຶກສາໂຄສະນາຄວນແນໃສ່, ເພື່ອຂະຫຍາຍການພົວພັນ ທີ່ດີແລະຫວ່າງຍິງຊາຍ, ເລີ່ມນໍາ ພາກສ່ວນທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ຮັບຜິດຊອບຄືຜູ້ຊາຍ. ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ່ສອງ ຂອງ ສະຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຕົກລົງ ວ່າ 3 ດີ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ ຄວນ ຈະປະຕິບັດໃຫ້ສອງເພດ (Report of the LWU 1988a ໜ້າ 54, 56). ເຫມືອນດັ່ງຜ່ານມາ, ຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ເຄີຍ ມີການຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນຂອງຕົນສະເພາະເພື່ອມີໄວ້ອົບຮົມກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫາ ຍິງຊາຍ. ເມື່ອຖືກສໍາພາດໂດຍຜູ້ຂຽນໃນວັນທີ 29 ກັນຍາ 1988 ປ້າຄໍາແພງ ບຸບຜາໄດ້ ເວົ້າວ່າ "ໃນຫລາຍພາກສ່ວນປະຊາຊົນ ແລະ ພະນັກງານເຂົ້າໃຈຄວາມຫມາຍຂອງຄໍາຂວັນນີ້ຕ່າງກັນແລະ ຄິດວ່າ ຄໍາຂວັນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນອົບຮົມແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງ".

ລວມ ຄວາມແລ້ວຄໍາຂວັນ 3 ດີ 2 ໜ້າທີ່ ບໍ່ຕ່າງຫຍັງ ກັບການສັ່ງ ສອນທີ່ເກົ່າແກ່ມາຫລາຍສະຕະວັດນັ້ນຄື ຫນ້ງສືພົ້ມ ຂຸນບູລົມ ເຊິ່ງ ເນັ້ນຫນັກໃສ່ແຕ່ໜ້າທີ່ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແລະບົດບາດ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນການເປັນແມ່ລ້ຽງດູລູກແລະເບິ່ງກໍາກັບຜົວ.

ງ- ເຄື່ອງມືອັນແຫລມຄົມຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ.

ຊາວໜຸ່ມ, ກຳມະກອນ, ຊາວນາ ແລະຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເຂົ້າຢູ່ໃນ ອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນຂອງພັກແລະ ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງກໍ່ເປັນອົງ ການອັນເໝາະເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຮູ້ສຶກການຕໍ່ສູ້ແລະຄວາມສາມັກ ຄີຂອງຕົນ.

ສະໄໝຕໍ່ຕ້ານຝຣັ່ງ, ໃນ ປີ 1955, ຊຶ່ງແມ່ນປີດຽວກັນທີ່ມີ ການສ້າງຕັ້ງພັກ, ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກສ້າງຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນໃນວັນທີ 20 ເດືອນກໍລະກົດ 1955 ທີ່ ແຂວງ ຫົວພັນມີຊື່ວ່າ ຄະນະຂົນຂວາຍ ສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງລາວຮັກຊາດ. ລະບຽບຂອງສະມາຄົມໄດ້ ມີຈຸດປະສົງລະຄົມຜູ້ຍິງບັນດາເຜົ່າແລະທຸກຊັ້ນຄົນເຂົ້າຮ່ວມໃນການ ຕໍ່ສູ້ປົດປ່ອຍຊາດ (Report of the LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 5).

ພາຍຫລັງ ປົດ ປ່ອຍຊາດທົ່ວປະເທດແລ້ວສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ ປ່ຽນຊື່ໃຫມ່ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທຳອິດໃນປີ 1984 ເປັນສະຫະ ພັນ ແມ່ ຍິງ ລາວ (Report of the LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 5).

1. ໂຄງຮ່າງການຈັດຕັ້ງ.

ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນແລະຂະຫຍາຍຕາມ່ວງເຊຶ່ງ ເລີ່ມແຕ່ສອງແຂວງທາງເໜືອຂອງລາວ. ໃນທ້າຍທົດສະວັດ 50 ສະມາຄົມມີສາຂາຂອງຕົນຢູ່ທົ່ວເຂດປົດປ່ອຍເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າ ລະ ບົບ ການຈັດຕັ້ງຍັງບໍ່ທັນແໜ້ນໜາເທົ່າໃດ (Report of the

LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 4). ແຕ່ຫລັງຈາກປະເທດຊາດໄດ້ປົດ ປ່ອຍຢ່າງສົມບູນ ແລ້ວ ການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຢ່າງໄວ ວາ. ພາຍຫລັງ 1975 ສູນກາງຂອງສະມາຄົມແມ່ນໄດ້ຕັ້ງຢູ່ເຂດ ປົດປ່ອຍເກົ່າ ແຕ່ກໍ່ມີສາຂາທີ່ວຽງຈັນແລະມີຊື່ວ່າຄະນະ ຮົມຂວາຍ ສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງລາວຮັກຊາດ ກຳແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນ.

ການ ເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານແມ່ຍິງໃນຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານເຊິ່ງເອີ້ນວ່າ ໜ່ວຍສາ ມັກຄີ ໂດຍໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງເປັນໜ່ວຍຢູ່ທຸກຂັ້ນ ແລະທຸກ ບ່ອນທີ່ເຮັດວຽກເຊັ່ນກະຊວງທະບວງກົມຫລືວິສາຫະກິດ. ສະ ມາ ຊິກຂອງສະມາຄົມ ຈະຈັດເຂົ້າເປັນໜ່ວຍຮົ້ມກັບຄະນະ ຮົມຂວາຍ ສ້າງຕັ້ງສະມາຄົມ. ໃນເວລານັ້ນປະທານຂອງໜ່ວຍຈະຖືກເລືອກ ຕັ້ງຫາກແຕ່ຖືກບົ່ງຕົວຈາກຂັ້ນເທິງແລະເຫັນດີໂດຍກອງ ປະ ຊຸມ ຫລວງ ຂອງສະມາຊິກ. ອາຍຸປະທານແມ່ນພຽງ 1 ປີແຕ່ສາມາດ ຕໍ່ເຖິງ 3 ປີຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນໂດຍອີງຕາມເງື່ອນໄຂແຕ່ລະໜ່ວຍ. ປະທານຈະແຕ່ງຕັ້ງສະມາຊິກສອງຄົນເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແລະຕ້ອງໄດ້ເຫັນດີ ຈາກຄະນະຮົມຂວາຍສ້າງຕັ້ງຂອງສະມາຄົມກຳແພງນະຄອນ. ຄະ ນະຮົມຂວາຍຈະມີໜ່ວຍຢູ່ທຸກຂັ້ນແລະຈະມີຄະນະອຳນວຍເຊິ່ງມີຄະ ນະປະກອບ 11 ຫລື 13ຄົນແລະຈຳນວນຈະລຸດໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະຂັ້ນ ເຊັ່ນຂັ້ນ ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ, ຕາແສງ, ບ້ານຫລືຄຸ້ມ. ໂຄງຮ່າງ ການຈັດຕັ້ງດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຍຸດຕິໃນ ປີ 1984. ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງ ທີ I ຂອງແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ປັບປຸງກົດລະບຽບຂອງການຈັດຕັ້ງໃຫ້ເໝາະ ສົມໄປຕາມສະພາບສັງຄົມ, ເສດ ຖະກິດແລະການເມືອງຂອງປະ ເທດໃນໄລຍະໃໝ່. ມາ ຕາ 5 ຂອງ ກົດລະບຽບໃໝ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ເຖິງການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງມີ 4 ຂັ້ນຄື:ຂັ້ນສູນກາງ, ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ ແລະບ້ານ. ແຕ່ລະຂັ້ນມີຫ້ອງການບໍລິຫານຂອງຕົນ.ພາຍໄຕ້ຄວາມ ຮັບຜິດຊອບຂອງປະທານສະຫະພັນແລະມີຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງເປັນຮອງປະ

ທານ ເຊິ່ງ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກຂອງພັກປະຊາຊົນປະຕິວັດລາວ. ເພື່ອຊີ້ນຳນຳພາການເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກງານ,ສະຫະພັນປະກອບດ້ວຍ ຫລາຍກົມເຊັ່ນ:ກົມຈັດຕັ້ງ,ກົມພົວພັນຕ່າງປະເທດ, ກົມຂ່າວ... ບັນດາກົມກອງຕ່າງໆ ຈະມີຫລາຍພະແນກ. ໃນຂັ້ນປະເທດ ແລະ ແຂວງຄະນະບໍລິຫານຈະຖືກເລືອກເພື່ອ 5 ປີແລະ 3 ປີສຳ ຫລັບ ຂັ້ນລຸ່ມ. ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ສະຫະພັນມີຫນ້າທີ່ເລືອກຕັ້ງປະທານ ຂັ້ນ ສູນກາງ, ແຂວງແລະກຳແພງໃນທຸກໆ 5 ປີໃດເທື່ອຫນຶ່ງ.

2. ເງື່ອນໄຂແລະການຮັບເອົາເປັນສະມາຊິກ.

ກ່ອນ ປີ 1984 ຜູ້ຍິງທຸກຄົນທີ່ມີອາຍຸເກີນ 15 ປີສາມາດສະ ເຫນີເຂົ້າເປັນສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ພາຍຫລັງມາຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງມີອາຍຸ 17 ປີ, ຕາມກົດ ລະ ບຽບໃຫມ່, ໂດຍບໍ່ຈຳແນກຊົນຊາດຊົນເຜົ່າຫລືສາສະ ຫນາ ແຕ່ຮັກ ຊາດ, ຮັກສັນຕິພາບ, ຊ້ວງສັດຕູແລະຮ່ວມສາມັກຄີກັບ ປະຊາຊົນ ທົ່ວ ປະເທດແລະສາກົນ,ເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ກ້າວຫນ້າແລະເຫັນດີນຳ ກົດລະບຽບ ແຕ່ ບໍ່ເຄື່ອນໄຫວຫລືເຂົ້າໃນອົງການປະຕິການແມ່ນຈະ ຖືກເລືອກໃຫ້ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວການເປັນສະມາ ຊິກແມ່ນຖືກເລືອກເຟັ້ນທີ່ສຸດເພາະຜູ້ສະມັກຕ້ອງມີປະຫວັດການເມືອງ ປອດໃສແລະຫ້ວມີຜົນງານການເມືອງອີກ. ການຮູ້ຈັກວິຊາສະເພາະ ຍັງບໍ່ພຽງພໍຫາກຕ້ອງມີຄຸນສົມບັດປະຕິວັດທີ່ຈຳເປັນອີກຄື "ເປັນແດງ ກ່ອນແລ້ວຈຶ່ງເປັນຊ່ຽວຊານ".

3. ບາງຫມາກຜົນ

ໂດຍເປັນການຈັດຕັ້ງທີ່ມີມາແຕ່ພື້ນຖານເປັນຢ່າງດີ, ອົງການ ຈັດ ຕັ້ງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນເຄື່ອງມືທີ່ດີຂອງພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິ ວັດລາວເພື່ອເຕົ້າໂຮມກຳລັງແມ່ຍິງ. ດ້ວຍທຶນທີ່ຈຳກັດທີ່ສຸດ

ແລະ ພະນັກງານບໍ່ຫລາຍ, ອົງການຈຶ່ງຕ້ອງໄດ້ເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກ ງານທີ່ຈຳກັດເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ໃນຂັ້ນແຂວງແລະບາງຂັ້ນເມືອງກໍ່ຂາດພະ ນັກງານນຳພາ (Report of the LWU 1988a ໜ້າ 12) ຈົນວ່າບາງບ່ອນໄດ້ເອົາຜູ້ຊາຍນຳພາວຽກຜູ້ຍິງ. ແຕ່ເພື່ອ ແນ່ໃສ່ບັນລຸເປົ້າໝາຍພາລະກິດປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງຂອງພັກແລະລັດ, ພັກ ແລະ ລັດກໍໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ບັນຫາຫຍຸ້ງຍາກຈຶ່ງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ຢ່າງເປັນປົກກະຕິ ວຽກງານຂອງສະຫະພັນ. ຫລັງຈາກທີ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງຝົນງານດ້ານດີ ຂອງການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ຍິງແລ້ວອະດີດນາຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີ ໄກສອນ ພົມ ວິຫານ ໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງ ຂະ ບວນແມ່ຍິງຕໍ່ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທຳອິດ ຂອງແມ່ຍິງທັງໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງຂໍ້ບົກຜ່ອງໂດຍສະເພາະທາງດ້ານການ ຂະຫຍາຍສະມາຊິກວ່າມີຄວາມຊັກຊ້າເພາະແມ່ຍິງເປັນ ຈຳນວນ ໃຫຍ່ຍັງຖືກປະລະຢູ່ນອກການຈັດຕັ້ງທັງເງື່ອນໄຂຮັບເອົາ ເຂົ້າອົງ ການຈັດຕັ້ງແມ່ນຍັງເຂັ້ງຄັດແລະບໍ່ສອດຄ່ອງກັບລັກສະນະທີ່ເປັນອົງ ການ ຈັດ ຕັ້ງ ຂອງມວນຊົນ (Report of the LWU 1986 ໜ້າ 17). ສະພາບໃນລັກສະນະດຽວກັນກໍ່ມີທີ່ ຫວຽດ ນາມຊຶ່ງຫວວນທີ່ດິນປະທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງຫວຽດນາມໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ການເຄື່ອນໄຫວວຽກ ງານຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນ ປ່ຽນ ແປງໄວ ພຽງພໍເພື່ອໃຫ້ເໝາະກັບຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂອງສະ ພາບ ການປ່ຽນແປງໃຫມ່" (ກິນ-ຊອດເຊ Quinn-Judge 1983 ໜ້າ 3; ຮອນ Hunt 1987). ສະພາບທີ່ທ່ານໄກສອນ ກ່າວ ມານັ້ນໄດ້ມີຕົວຢ່າງເຊັ່ນກຳແພງນະຄອນ ວຽງຈັນ ໃນປີ 1986 ມີພຽງ 199 ໜ່ວຍ, ຂັ້ນບ້ານ 22 ໜ່ວຍ, ຂັ້ນ ຕາແສງ 9 ໜ່ວຍແລະຂັ້ນເມືອງ. ທັງໝົດລວມມີຜູ້ຍິງ 26.846 ຄົນ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກ (ພັນທະລັງສີ 1986 ໜ້າ 2). ແຕ່ຈຳນວນ ນິລະ ເມືອງຍິງມີເຖິງ 390.250 ຄົນ ສ່ວນຈຳນວນທົ່ວປະ ເທດ ມີ 10.200 ໜ່ວຍ (ວຽງຈັນໃຫມ່ 6 ທັນ ວາ 1986; ບົວ ຄຳ 1987). ໃນປີ 1988 ຈຳນວນໜ່ວຍໄດ້ເພີ່ມ ຂຶ້ນ ເປັນ

15.914 (Report of the LWU, 1988a ຫນ້າ 41). ແຕ່ ເມື່ອຫວນຄືນໄປ ປີ 1964, ສະມາຊິກມີແຕ່ 1.000 ຄົນ (ສໍາພາດ ກອງເດືອນ ສິດພະໄຊ, 29 ສິງຫາ 1988). ຫລັງ ຈາກ 2 ທົດສະວັດ ຜ່ານໄປແລ້ວນັບແຕ່ປີ 1964 ເຖິງປີ 1984 ຈໍານວນໄດ້ເພີ້ມເປັນ 425.021 (Report of the LWU, 1986 ຫນ້າ 108). ໃນປີ 1988 ສະຫະພັນສູນກາງແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ ມີສະມາຊິກ ຈໍານວນ 496.032 ຫລື 27.09 ເປີເຊັນ(Report of the LWU,1988a), ຖ້າທຽບໃສ່ ພົນລະເມືອງ ເພດຍິງໃນທົ່ວປະເທດມີ 2.009.400 ຄົນ. ອັນນີ້ ສະແດງໃຫ້ ເຫັນວ່າມີພຽງແຕ່ຫນຶ່ງສ່ວນສີ່ຂອງພົນລະເມືອງໄດ້ເປັນສະມາຊິກ. ແຕ່ກ່ອນນັ້ນການເປັນສະມາຊິກແມ່ນກຽດແລະຄວາມພູມໃຈອັນຫນຶ່ງ ແຕ່ດຽວນີ້ຖືວ່າແມ່ນຫນ້າທີ່ອັນຫນຶ່ງເທົ່ານັ້ນ. ປ້າ ຄໍາແພງ ບຸບຜາ ໄດ້ເວົ້າໃນວັນທີ 27 ສິງຫາ 1988 ວ່າ: "ຢູ່ ໃນຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານຜູ້ ຍິງບໍ່ຢາກເຂົ້າຮ່ວມຂະບວນເຄື່ອນໄຫວ ຂອງພວກເຮົາແລະ ພວກ ເຮົາຕ້ອງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ເລື້ອຍໆ, ແຕ່ຍັງບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບຄວາມຮ່ວມມືຢ່າງເຕັມ ສ່ວນ. ເຂົາເວົ້າວ່າເຂົາມີລູກແລະບໍ່ມີເວລາພຽງພໍທີ່ຈະເຄື່ອນໄຫວ ວຽກງານແມ່ຍິງ, ແຕ່ຄວາມຈິງກໍ່ມີບ່ອນຝາກເດັກເພື່ອດູແລລູກໃຫ້". ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ຢາກຜູກພັນໂດຍກົງກັບວຽກຂະບວນແມ່ຍິງແລະບັນຫາດຽວ ກັນກໍ່ພົບຢູ່ໃນຫວຽດນາມຊຶ່ງມີການຈັດຕັ້ງທີ່ດີໃນດ້ານນີ້ອີກ. ຫວອນ ທິດິນ, ປະທານສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງຫວຽດນາມໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ຢູ່ໃນ ຫລາຍບ່ອນແມ່ຍິງບໍ່ທັນໄດ້ເຂົ້າໃກ້ສິດການຈັດຕັ້ງ" (ກິນ-ຊຸອດເຊີ Quinn-Judge 1983 ຫນ້າ 3). ສະພາບດຽວກັນ ກໍ່ປາກົດ ຢູ່ທີ່ປະເທດກໍາພູເຈຍເຫມືອນດັ່ງເຟລັມມິງ Flemming (1984 ຫນ້າ 442) ໄດ້ ພົບພໍ້ "ສະມາຄົມແມ່ຍິງເປັນພຽງສາຂາ ຫນຶ່ງ ຂອງກົງຈັກລັດຖະບານແລະປາກົດວ່າຖືກ ສ້າງຕັ້ງຂຶ້ນ ເພື່ອ ຊຸກຍູ້ ແນວທາງພັກຫລາຍກ່ວາມັນຈຶ່ງສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າການ ປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້

ຍິງບໍ່ມີການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຢູ່ກໍ່ພູເຈຍແລະມັນສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນອີກວ່າ ການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວແມ່ນຂຶ້ນກັບການເມືອງຂອງລັດຖະບານໂດຍກົງ".

2/ <u>ຄຸນຄ່າເກົ່າແລະແນວຄິດໃຫມ່</u>.

ເມື່ອເບິ່ງສະພາບຄວາມທຸກຍາກໂດຍທົ່ວໄປແລ້ວ, ການແບກຫາບ ທາງດ້ານວຽກງານການຊານແລະຖານະທາງສັງຄົມ, ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງສືບ ຕໍ່ປະທະກັບບັນຫາເກົ່າ. ເງື່ອນໄຂແລະບັນຫາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ຊົນນະບົດແມ່ນຖືກແບ່ງປັນກັບພາກສ່ວນທີ່ຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງເຊິ່ງກໍມີບັນຫາສະເພາະຂອງມັນ.

ທັງ ຫມົດຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງການພັກຜ່ອນຫລາຍແລະຕ້ອງການມີລູກຫນ້ອຍ ຄົນ. ສິ່ງສໍາຄັນໃນການແບກຫາບຫນັກຫນ່ວງຂອງແມ່ຍິງແມ່ນການຖືພາທີ່ບໍ່ ສິ້ນສຸດແລະຄວາມຈໍາເປັນທີ່ຕ້ອງລ້ຽງດູລູກ. ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ມັນ ໄດ້ເປັນມາແຕ່ໃດໆ ທີ່ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຕ້ອງການຈະລຸດຈໍານວນການທີ່ມີລູກ ຫລາຍແຕ່ກໍ່ບໍ່ມີຄວາມສາມາດ.

ກ- ບັນຫາເລື່ອງເພດສໍາພັນ

ແນວ ຄິດເລື່ອງເພດສໍາພັນສໍາຫລັບຄົນລາວສ່ວນຫລາຍເຫມືອນດັ່ງສັງຄົມໃນປະເທດທີ່ດ້ອຍພັດທະນາແມ່ນຂະລໍາເພາະຄຸນຄ່າສັງຄົມ ບູຮານຍັງຮັກສາຄອງເດີມ.

ໃນ ຄອບຄົວ ກໍ່ຄືໃນໂຮງຮຽນບັນຫານີ້ຈະບໍ່ຖືກເອົາມາໂອ້ລົມ ແລະຈະບໍ່ຖືກ ເອົາເວົ້າໃນຊີວິດສ່ວນຕົວເພາະມັນບໍ່ເຫມາະສົມທີ່ ຈະເອົາມາວິຈານຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍຫລືຕາມສະບາຍເຖິງເຕັກນິກແລະ

ຄວາມສຳຄັນຂອງມັນ ເຖິງຈະແມ່ນຄວາມຮູ້ທີ່ເປັນພື້ນຖານທີ່ສຸດກໍ ຕາມດັ່ງທີ່ທາງຕະເວັນຕົກຖືວ່າບັນຫາເລື່ອງເພດສຳພັນເປັນບັນຫາ ທີ່ຄວນຮູ້ເພື່ອປອ້ງກັນ.

ໂດຍທົ່ວໄປ ນັບ ແຕ່ 1975 ວັນນະຄະດີຍຸກທັນສະໄຫມຈະບໍ່ ເວົ້າຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍເຖິງເລື່ອງຄວາມຮັກ. ເພັ້ງລາວສະໄຫມຫລາຍ ເພັ້ງບໍ່ເວົ້າເຖິງຄວາມຮັກແຕ່ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຈະເວົ້າເຖິງແຕ່ການຜະ ລິດແລະການປະຕິວັດແລະຄວາມຮັກຖືກອະນຸຍາດແລະແຕ່ງງານໄດ້ ກໍ່ຕໍ່ ເມື່ອ ພາຍຫລັງເກັບກ່ຽວຜົນຜະລິດຫລືຫລັງຈາກການສຳເລັດ ການກໍ່ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍ, ຫົນທາງ, ໂຮງຮຽນ ຫລືໂຮງຫມໍ.

ເດັກ ຊາຍຍິງຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ວ່າຮ່າງກາຍແລະອະໄວຍະວະທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ ຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ ແນວໃດ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ ຜູ້ຍິງ ຊຶນນະບົດ ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍຈະຮູ້ພຽງວ່າມີການສຳພັນທາງເພດຈຶ່ງຖືພາ ແຕ່ເຂົາບໍ່ປະກົດ ວ່າມີຄວາມຮູ້ທາງດ້ານວິທະຍາສາດເຕັກນິກວ່າມັນ ຂະຫຍາຍແນວໃດເຊັ່ນມົດລູກ,ນ້ຳເຊື້ອຜູ້ຊາຍ (Pfister 1989)

> ຄົງ ຈະບໍ່ມີ 1 ໃນຈຳນວນຜູ້ຊາຍ 100 ຄົນທີ່ເຄີຍສແວງ ຫາຄວາມຮູ້ຄວາມຊຳນານເຖິງວິທີຈະພາໃຫ້ເກີດຄວາມສຳ ລານ ໄດ້ເຕັມທີ່ ບໍ່ວ່າໂດຍທາງສຶກສາ, ພາກປະຕິບັດຫລື ຈາກ ປະສົບການ. ພັລຍາສ່ວນມາກຍັງບໍ່ເຄີຍຊົມຣົດໂລກີ ສຸກຂັ້ນ ສູງສຸດຈາກຄູ່ສົມຣົດໃນການປະກອບການະກິດດວ້ຍ ຄວາມ ຮູ້ຄວາມຊຳນານຢ່າງຫນ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດກໍມີຄູ່ສົມຣົດ 100 ລະ 80 ຄູ່ທີ່ອາດຈາຣຶກ ລົງໄດ້ວ່າເປັນຄວາມຫລົ້ມເຫລວ ຢ່າງແທ້ຈິງ" (ຫລ້າກຸສົນສວັດ 1975ກ ຫນ້າ 52).

ນັກຂຽນ ເພື່ອນໃຈ (1975 ຫນ້າ 46)ໄດ້ຍ້ັງຍືນອີກວ່າ "ຄູ່ສົມ

ຣົດ ທັ້ງສອງຝ່າຍທີ່ໄດ້ພົບຄວາມສຸກເຕັ້ມສ່ວນຈາກການປະກອບກາ
ມາກິດນັ້ນມີນອ້ຍກວ່າ 30 ເປີເຊັ້ນ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງເປັນເຫດໃຫ້ເກີດ
ຄວາມບໍ່ພໍໃຈຊຶ່ງກັນແລະກັນ". ອາດຈະສາມາດຄາດຄະເນໄດ້ວ່າ
99 ເປີເຊັ້ນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຮູ້ວ່າເວລາໃດໂຕເອງຈະມີລະດູແລະຄວນ
ຈະເຮັດແນວໃດປ້ອງກັນຫລືເມື່ອມີປະຈໍາເດືອນແລ້ວບາງຄົນຄິດວ່າ
ຕົນເອງອາດຖືກຢົງກັດ, ເວລາຖາມແມ່ວ່າເປັນຫຍັງຕົນເອງຈຶ່ງມີ
ເລືອດອອກແລະແມ່ເຖົ້າຈະຮູ້ກໍ່ມັກຈະຕອບວ່າຍ້ອນທໍາມະຊາດເທົ່າ
ນັ້ນ.ຍິງສາວສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ລະອຽດວ່າການຖືພານັ້ນມັນຍ້ອນຫຍັງ
ແທ້ແລະຈະປ້ອງກັນແນວໃດແລະມີອາການແນວໃດ. ປະຈຸບັນຊາວ
ຫນຸ່ມສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ຈະບໍ່ຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບເພດ ເຖົ້າແມ່ນວ່າຈະຮູ້ເຖົ້າການປະ
ສົມພັນຫລືການປ້ອງກັນການທໍາເມີດກໍ່ແມ່ນຮູ້ຫນ້ອຍ. ເຂົາອາດຈະ
ຮູ້ຈາກເພື່ອນຫລືຈາກວາລະສານຕ່າງປະເທດຫລືໂທລະທັດໄທຫລືວີ
ດີໂອ, ແຕ່ແນ່ນອນບໍ່ແມ່ນຮູ້ນໍາໂຮງ ຣຽນ. ມັນອາດຈະແມ່ນດັ່ງທີ່
ນັກຂຽນ ພູໂຂງ ໂຈມມາລາ (1993 ຫນ້າ 8) ໄດ້ເນັ້ນວ່າ:

ພຶດຕິກໍາທາງເພດຂອງມະນຸດນັ້ນບໍ່ມີໃຜສອນ,ກັບບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນອາ
ຈານຫລືລູກສິດດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງສາມາດເວົ້າໄດ້ວ່າ:ບັນຫາເພດກັບບັນ
ຫາຊີວິດແມ່ນຂອງຄູ່ກັນ.ແມ້ແຕ່ໃນສັງຄົມເອງບັນຫາເພດສໍາພັນ
ຍັງເປັນບັນຫາປິດບັງກັນໃນວົງແຄບ, ໃນຄອບຄົວກໍ່ຍິ່ງເປັນບັນຫາ
ທີ່ "ຕ້ອງຫ້າມ"ບໍ່ເອົາມາເວົ້າເພາະການພົວພັນຄອບຄົວຍັງແບບ
ທໍາມະຊາດ.ການຮູ້ເພດສໍາພັນກໍ່ຮຸ້ໄປຕາມແຕ່ລະຄົນ,ຕາມມີຕາມ
ເກີດ,ບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນອາຈານໃຜ, ບໍ່ມີໃຜເປັນລູກສິດໃຜເພາະຖືວ່າ
ເປັນຂອງບໍ່ຈົບບໍ່ງາມບໍ່ຄວນທີ່ຈະເອົາມາເວົ້າ. ແຕ່ທຸກຄົນ ຫາກ
ປະຕິບັດ. ເລື່ອງນີ້ຄົງ ຈະບໍ່ມີໃຜປະຕິເສດໄດ້ເພາະເປັນຄວາມ
ຈິງ, ບໍ່ວ່າຈະເປັນ ຊາວ ໄຮ່, ຊາວສວນ ກັມມະກອນ ຫລືຊົນ
ຊັ້ນປົນຍາຊົນກໍ່ປະຕິບັດກັນຢ່າງມິດຫ້ວງນັ້ນ.

ໃນໄລຍະຫລັງນີ້ມີຫນັງສືພິມບາງຊະນິດເຊັ່ນ ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ (18/07/93 ຫນ້າ 8) ໄດ້ລົງ ບົດກ່ຽວກັບເພດສຳພັນ (ພູໂຂງ 1993).

ແຕ່ ວ່າ ເພື່ອຈະລຸດພົ້ນອອກຈາກການຂະລຳ ຄົນລາວມັກຈະ ເອົາ ອະໄວຍະວະຂອງເດັກນ້ອຍຜູ້ຊາຍມາເວົ້າຢອກແລະທີ່ຊຸມນະ ບົດກໍ່ມັກເອົາມາເປັນຊື່ນ້ອຍເອີ້ນກັນເຊັ່ນ"ບັກຫຳ" ຫລື "ອີ່ເຕ່ຳ". ປະຊາຊົນ ໄຕທີ່ສິບສອງພັນນາເຊິ່ງຢູ່ບ່ອນໄກ້ກັບເຂດພະມ້າໄດ້ໃຫ້ ຊື່ເມືອງວ່າ:ເມືອງທີເມືອງຫຳ(Rispaud 1961 ຫນ້າ1855).

ໃນ ບາງບຸນ, ພິທີກຳເພດ ແມ່ນໄດ້ເຊື່ອມເຂົ້າມີບົດບາດ ກ່ອນຈະເຖິງ ລະດູຝົນ, ບຸນທີ່ຄົນລາວມັກເຮັດບໍ່ຂາດແມ່ນ ບັ້ງໄຟ ເຊິ່ງ ຕາມຮີດ ຄອງແມ່ນຈະຈັດຂຶ້ນໃນເດືອນ 6. ໃນໂອກາດດັ່ງ ກ່າວເຊິ່ງແມ່ນ ຫນຶ່ງໃນການມ່ວນຊື່ນຜູ້ຊາຍຈະໃສ່ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງ (ແລະຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ນຸ່ງເຄື່ອງຜູ້ຊາຍ)ແລ້ວກໍຈັດກັນເປັນກຸ່ມຫ້ວງຮ້ອງໂຮ ໄປຕາມທາງເປັນເພັງຮ້ອງລຳທີ່ມີສ່ານອນກ່ຽວເຖິງເພດ, ຫ້ວງແຫ່ ອະໄວຍະວະຍິງຊາຍຫຽມເຮັດທ່າກຳລັງສົມສູ່ກັນ.ເມື່ອທຸກຄົນເມົາ ບໍ່ມີໃຜຈະຕຳນິໃຫ້ວ່າເປັນຜູ້ມີການປະພຶດບໍ່ດີຫລື ເປັນການປະ ພຶດ ແບບເປື່ອຍເຍື່ອຍແຕ່ໃນຕົວຈິງຍິງ-ຊາຍໂດຍສະເພາະ ຍິງຫນຸ່ມກໍ ຕົວໃນການມ່ວນຊື່ນດັ່ງກ່າວ.

ປະຈຸບັນ ນີ້ ລັກສະນະການສະແດງດ້ວຍການເຮັດຫູ່ນອະໄວຍະ ວະເພດ ແມ່ນ ຈະນັບມື້ນັບກວ້າງຂວາງໃນຫລາຍບຸນບັ້ງໄຟ.

ຂ- ການຂະລຳທາງເພດ

ໂດຍບໍ່ຄືຮີດຄອງຈີນເຊິ່ງຫ້າມໃຫ້ຜົວບໍ່ໃຫ້ຮ່ວມເພດກັບເມຍໃນ ໄລຍະສາມມື້ພາຍຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ຮີດຄອງລາວບໍ່ໄດ້ຫ້າມຜົວເມຍມີ

ການຮ່ວມເພດໃນໄລຍະຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ແຕ່ຜູ້ເຖົ້າຜູ້ແກ່ເຊື່ອວ່າຝົວ ມັກຈະພະຍາຍາມ "ຍິ່ມຍີ" ເມຍໃນໄລຍະ ຫ້າອິດ ຂອງການຢູ່ ໄຟພາຍຫລັງເກີດລູກ. ເພື່ອປ້ອງກັນຄວາມພະຍາຍາມຂອງຝົວແລະ ຫລີກ ເວັ້ນບໍ່ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຖືກຖີພາອີກຢ່າງໄວວາ, ຜູ້ເຖົ້າໂດຍສະເພາະ ຜູ້ເປັນແມ່ຂອງຍິງສາວມັກຈະໄປຢູ່ຄ້ຳກ້ຳໃຫ້ລຸກສາວໃນໄລຍະ ຢູ່ ໄຟຫລີຢູ່ ກ້ຳ ເຊິ່ງເພື່ອຫລີກລ້ຽງຄ້ຳບູຮານທີ່ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ "ກອ້ນຂີ້ ເລົ້າໄຟບໍ່ທັນເຢັນ ຜູ້ຍິງຖືພາອີກແລ້ວ".

ຕາມຮີດຄອງ ການຮ່ວມ ເພດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງກ່ອນແຕ່ງ ງານ ແລະສ້ຳຫລັບແມ່ໝ້າຍ, ກ່ອນຈະແຕ່ງງານໃໝ່ຖືວ່າສັງຄົມບໍ່ຮັບໄດ້ ເພາະແມ່ໝ້າຍຈະຖືກອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ແຕ່ງງານໃໝ່ກໍ່ຕໍ່ເມື່ອຝົວໄດ້ຕາຍ ໄປ 3 ປີກ່ອນ.

ຂໍ້ 14 ຂອງ<u>ຮີດສິບສອງຄອງສິບສີ່</u>ໄດ້ຫ້ຳມບໍ່ໃຫ້ມີການ ຮ່ວມເພດໃນວັນສິນ, ໃນວັນເຂົ້ຳພັນສາ ແລະໃນມື້ປີໃໝ່ (ນະ ຄອນຄ້ຳ 1970, ໜ້ຳ 50).

ຄ- ການວາງແຜນຄອບຄົວແລະການຄຸມກ້ຳເນີດ

ຄົນລາວ ມັກຖາມຜູ້ທີ່ຕົນຫາກໍ່ຮູ້ຈັກວ່ຳ "ໄດ້ລູກຈັກຄົນແລ້ວ ?" ອັນນີ້ໝາຍເຖິງການຖາມຂ່ຳວຫາຄວາມອຸດົມສົມບູນທາງດ້ານການ ຜະລິດໜໍ່ແໜນ ເຊິ່ງ ກົງກັນຂ້ຳມກັບແນວທາງການເມືອງຈ້ຳກັດ ຈ້ຳນວນສະມາຊິກ ຄອບຄົວ ເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ປະເທດຈີນແມ່ນການເມືອງ ຄອບຄົວລູກຄົນດຽວຫລືທີ່ຫວຽດນາມ 1 ຫາ 2 ຄົນ. ແຕ່ຄົນລາວ ທີ່ມັກເປັນຄົນມີສະຖານທີ່ກ້ວາງມັກມີລູກຫລາຍຄົນ, ໃນເກືອບທຸກພິ ທີ ແຕ່ງດອງເມື່ອນັ່ງຕໍ່ໜ້ຳພ່ຳຂວັນເຈົ້ຳສາວແລະເຈົ້ຳບ່ຳວຈະໄດ້ ຮັບພອນພ້ອມກັບຝ່ຳຍຂ່ຳວທີ່ຜູກມັດເຂົ້ຳເຈົ້ຳ, ເພື່ອນຍາດມິດແລະ

ຫມໍພອນ ຈະອວຍພອນວ່າ: "ຂໍໃຫ້ລູກເຕັມບ້ານຫລານເຕັມເມືອງ"

ສາສະຫນາຈະຖືວ່າຊີວິດຄົນແລະສັດເປັນສິ່ງ ທີ່ ສັກສາລະບູຊາ. ໃນດ້ານຫນຶ່ງປະຊາຊົນລາວກຽມພ້ອມຈະມີລູກຫລາຍຄົນແລະມັກຈະປ່ອຍໃຫ້ຟ້າແຖນເປັນຜູ້ຕັດສິນ ຈຶ່ງມີການເຊື່ອວ່າ "ແລ້ວແຕ່ບຸນແຕ່ກຳ". ການຖືພາຖືວ່າເປັນສະພາບທຳມະຊາດສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຜົວແລ້ວ. ແຕ່ ອີກດ້ານຫນຶ່ງການມີລູກຫມາຍເຖິງມີຫນ້າມີຕາສຳຫລັບຜູ້ເປັນພໍ່ (ເຫມືອນດັ່ງມີເມຍຫລາຍຄົນ!) ແລະຖືວ່າເປັນການສະສົມ ກຳລັງເພື່ອການຜະລິດແລະເພື່ອຄວາມປອດໄພຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງເປັນ ຂອງ ທຳມະດາທີ່ຈະເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງລ້ຽງລູກ 12 ຫາ 15 ຄົນຫລືຫລາຍກ່ວານັ້ນ.

ຄົນລາວເຊື່ອ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຖືພາໄດ້ 3 ເດືອນແມ່ນເດັກມີວິນຍານແລ້ວຖ້າເດັກຕາຍ ຍ້ອນການລຸ, ເຂົາເຊື່ອວ່າເດັກບໍ່ຢາກມາເກີດນຳແມ່ຫລືອາດຈະ ເກີດຫລົງແມ່. ແຕ່ຖ້າແມ່ຕ້ອງການຈະທຳລາຍເດັກໃນທ້ອງດ້ວຍການລຸ, ຈະມີການເຊື່ອວ່າແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ຄາດຕະກຳລູກຂອງຕົນແລະຈະເປັນບາບ. ຍ້ອນການເຊື່ອຖືດັ່ງກ່າວເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະທຸກຍາກພຽງໃດຜູ້ຍິງກໍຈະຖືພາຈົນກ່ວາຮ່າງກາຍຈະບໍ່ສາມາດແບກຫາບໄດ້. ຍ້ອນການເຊື່ອຖືດັ່ງກ່າວຈຶ່ງເປັນການຍາກທີ່ຈະສົ່ງເສີມ ການ ວາງ ແຜນຄອບຄົວຢູ່ໃນປະເທດລາວ. ແນນຊີ ໂວນ Nancy Volk (1989) ໃຫ້ຄຳເຫັນວ່າມີຜູ້ຍິງບາງ ຄົນໃຊ້ຢາຄຸມກຳເນີດແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍບໍ່ຍອມໃຊ້ຫຍັງ. ແຕ່ ປະຈຸບັນ ຜູ້ຊາຍ ເຫັນຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເຫລືອວິໄສຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນການແບກຫາບການ ເຮັດຫມັນຫລືກິນຢາຫລືໃຊ້ວິທີອື່ນໆຈຶ່ງໄດ້ພາກັນສະມັກເຮັດຫມັນນັບມື້ນັບຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ -ຂໍຂອບໃຈຫມັນຊາຍ ແທນ ຜູ້ຍິງ- ເມື່ອຊຸມປີ 80 ລັດຖະບານລາວສັງເກດເຫັນວ່າຈຳນວນພົນລະເມືອງຍັງຕ່ຳຈຶ່ງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ການເພີ່ມພົນລະເມືອງເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະບໍ່ມີມາຕະການອັນເຫມາະ

ສົມກໍ່ຕາມ, ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ບໍ່ຕ້ອງການມີລູກຫລາຍບໍ່ຮູ້ຈະ ເຮັດແນວໃດ ເພາະຢູ່ລາວບໍ່ມີສູນກາງແຜນຄອບຄົວ ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຈະບໍ່ ຫັ້ນ ມີກົດ ໝາຍຢ່າງຈະແຈ້ງຫລືແນວທາງທີ່ຫ້າມການໃຊ້ຢາຄຸມກຳເນີດແຕ່ກໍ່ ບໍ່ມີນະໂຍບາຍອະນຸຍາດຫລືສົ່ງເສີມການວາງແຜນຄອບຄົວ. ໃນບໍ່ ດົນມານີ້ນ ແນວທາງກ່ຽວກັບການຂະຫຍາຍການເກີດຂອງ ລັດຖະ ບານບວກກັບການມັກປະປ່ອຍການມີລູກຫລາຍໄປຕາມເວັ້ນຕາມກຳ ໄດ້ ເຮັດໃຫ້ອັດຕາພົນລະເມືອງເພີ້ມຂຶ້ນສູງແລະອັດຕາການຕາຍກໍ່ ສູງຈຶ່ງມີການໂຄສະນາການເກີດລູກຫາງແລະກໍ່ເປັນທີ່ພໍໃຈແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ສ່ວນໃຫ່ຍ. ດຽວນີ້ໂຄງການການເກີດລູກຫ່າງກໍ່ມີການລົງຕິດແຫດ ເກັບກຳເອົາຂໍ້ມູນແລະທົດສອບຫລາຍບ່ອນຊຶ່ງຄາດວ່າ ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນ ດີ.

ງ- ການທ້າທາຍຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕົວເມືອງ

ສະພາບທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ພົບພໍ້ແມ່ນການແບກຫາບວຽກໜັກໜ່ວງຂອງ ຜູ້ຍິງ, ແຕ່ມັນ ອາດຈະມີຜົນດີບາງອັນສຳຫລັບການດຳລົງຊີວິດທີ່ ທັນສະໄໝໃນຕົວ ເມືອງ. ແຕ່ພື້ນຖານຂອງບັນຫາແມ່ນບໍ່ປ່ຽນຄື "ສະເໜີພາບ ໃນເງິນເດືອນແລະແຮງງານ" ນີ້ຄືຄຳຂວັນຂອງ ກອງປະຊຸມສາກົນຄັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໂລກໃນປີ 1921 ເຊິ່ງສະຫະພັນກໍ່ໄດ້ນຳເອົາມາໃຊ້ແຕ່ດົນນານກ່ອນການປ່ຽນແປງ ທາງການເມືອງໃນປີ 1975 ຢູ່ລາວ. ໃນໂຄງການດຳເນີນງານ ອັນເກົ່າຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ "ເຮັດວຽກຮ່ວມກັນຍິງ-ຊາຍໄດ້ຮັບ ເງິນເດືອນແບບດຽວກັນ", ເຖິງແນວໃດກໍ່ມີຜົນດີຖ້າສົມທຽບກັບສະ ພາບແຕ່ເກົ່າກ່ອນເຊິ່ງຜູ້ຍິງເຮັດວຽກຄືຜູ້ຊາຍແຕ່ບໍ່ໄດ້ເງິນເທົ່າກັນ (Lebar ແລະ Suddard 1967;ຕວກເຕີນTurton1977).

. ເມື່ອພັກແລະລັດໄດ້ຫັນຄວາມສົນໃຈໄປທາງອື່ນ . ການຈຳ
ແນກແບບເກົ່າຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ກັບຄືນ

ຜ່ານຂະບວນການທົດສອບໃນທຸກຂົງເຂດວຽກງານຂອງສັງຄົມ
ກໍຄືຊາດຜ່ານມາຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ມີຫນ້າປະກອບສ່ວນຢ່າງຕັ້ງຫນ້າຢູ່ທຸກບ່ອນ
ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ເກືອບທົດສະວັດ ແຕ່ການເຮັດຫລາຍຄັ້ງກ່າວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນ
ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນບໍ່ສົມກັບຕົວຈິງ .

ຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກພັກແມ່ນນ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ . ເຫດຜົນກໍມີ
ຫລາຍທັງໃນຕົວແລະນອກຕົວ .

ເຖິງຈະມີການສ້າງບ່ອນຝາກ ເດັກຫລາຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງພົບບັນຫາ
ກ່ຽວກັບລູກເຂົ້າເຈົ້າເພາະຕ້ອງເບິ່ງກຳກັບນຳລູກເພື່ອໃຫ້ຜົວໄດ້ໄປ
ການທັນເວລາ . ດັ່ງນັ້ນເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈະໄປເຮັດ ວຽກຊ້າ ຫລືຖ້າ ລູກ
ເຈັບໄຂ້ບໍ່ໄດ້ໄປເຮັດວຽກເລີຍແລະຫລາຍຄັ້ງກໍກາຍ ເປັນເຫດໃຫ້ມີ
ຂໍ້ບົກຜ່ອງແລ້ວເປັນຫນຶ່ງສາເຫດທີ່ບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂ ຄັດເລືອກເຂົ້າພັກ,
ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີຜູ້ຍິງຫລາຍທີ່ຈະ ຖືກເລືອກເຂົ້າເປັນ ສະມາຊິກຂອງ
ພັກຫລືເລືອກເຮັດຫນ້າທີ່ໃນຂັ້ນໃດຂັ້ນຫນຶ່ງໃນສາຍພັກ . ທີ່ປະເທດ
ຂະເຫມນມີຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເຂົ້າໃນກົມການເມືອງ (ເກີກຕິດສ Curtis
1989 ຫນ້າ 160)ແລະທີ່ອະດິດສະຫະພາບສາທາລະນະລັດ ສັງ
ຄົມນິຍົມໂຊວຽດໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງສອງຄົນເຂົ້າກົມການເມືອງ (ເກັນເລີ
Keller 1989). ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫ່ຍຂອງພັກຄັ້ງທີ່ 2, ໄດ້
ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ດຽວທີ່ຖືກເລືອກເປັນສະມາຊິກສຳຮອງ-ຊຶ່ງໃນສະໄຫມນັ້ນ
ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຖືກເລືອກນັ້ນເປັນປະຫານຂະບວນການແມ່ຍິງນັບຕັ້ງ ແຕ່ ປີ
1955. ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫ່ຍຂອງພັກຄັ້ງທີ່ສາມ ປີ 1982, ຜູ້ຍິງ
ຜູ້ດຽວຖືກເລືອກເປັນສະມາຊິກສົມບູນຂອງສູນກາງພັກ. 4 ປີຕໍ່ມາ
ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫ່ຍຂອງພັກໃນ ປີ 1986,ຜູ້ຍິງ 4 ຄົນ ຖືກ ເລືອກ

ເປັນສະມາຊິກສົມບູນຂອງສູນກາງ ພັກພ້ອມກັບອີກຫນຶ່ງຄົນເປັນສະມາຊິກສໍາຮອງ (Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 303-304). ໃນເດືອນມີນາທີ່ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທີ 5 ຂອງພັກ, ຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນຖືກເລືອກ ເປັນ ສະມາຊິກສົມບູນແລະອີກສອງ ຄົນ ເປັນສະມາຊິກສໍາຮອງ. ທ່ານ ສີສົມພອນ ລໍວັນໄຊ, ກໍາມະການ ກົມການເມືອງສູນກາງພັກແລະຫົວຫນ້າ ຈັດຕັ້ງສູນກາງ, ຮັບ ຜິດ ຊອບກ່ຽວກັບພະນັກງານໃນສາຍພັກກໍ່ຄືສາຍການປົກຄອງ, ເມື່ອຜູ້ ຂຽນ ສໍາພາດໃນປີ 1988 ກ່ຽວກັບຈໍານວນນ້ອຍຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ເຂົ້າ ພັກ, ເພິ່ນໄດ້ຕອບ ວ່າ "ເຂົາເຈົ້າບໍ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂຄືບ". ໃນປີ 1988, ໃນຈໍານວນ 27.09 ເປີເຊັນທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນ ແມ່ຍິງ ນັ້ນ, 40 ເປີເຊັນ ເຂົ້າໃນການຈັດຕັ້ງຊາວຫນຸ່ມ ໄດ້ມີ 19.44 ເປີເຊັນ ເຂົ້າໃນອົງການການກໍາມະບານ ແລະ 9.19 ເປີເຊັນເປັນສະມາຊິກພັກ (Report of the LWU 1988a ຫນ້າ 42).

ຈໍານວນຕໍ່າດັ່ງກ່າວນັ້ນບໍ່ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ຫນ້າສົນໃຈເພາະ ຫມົດທົ່ວ ປະເທດ ສະມາຊິກລວມຂອງພັກ ກ່ອນປີ 1986 ມີແຕ່ 43.000 ຄົນ (Stuart-Fox 1986), ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍ່ມີແຕ່ພຽງ 1.05 ເປີ ເຊັນໃນຈໍານວນ 3.584.804 ພົນລະເມືອງ(ຕາມສະຖິຕິ 1985) ໄດ້ເຂົ້າ ພັກ. ຖ້າຈະທຽບໃສ່ພົນລະເມືອງກໍາແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນ ຕາມ ສະ ຖິຕິ 1985 ມີ 377.409 (ຊາຍມີ 193.136 ຄົນ ແລະ ຍິງ ຈໍານວນ 184.237 ຄົນ) ຜູ້ຍິງ ເປັນສະມາຊິກພັກ ມີ 198 ຄົນ ຫລື 0.10 ເປີເຊັນ (ປະຊາຊົນ, 26 ກຸມພາ 1988).

ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວຍິງ-ຊາຍແມ່ນຮ່ວມກັນຕໍ່ສູ້ເພື່ອເອກະລາດຂອງ ປະເທດແລະປະຈຸບັນຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ແບກຫາບຫລາຍໜ້າທີ່ຄຽງບ່າກັບຊາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮັບການສຶກສາແລະມີວິຊາການສູງໃນທຸກດ້ານແລະທຸກວຽກ ງານເພື່ອສ້າງສາປະເທດໃຫ້ຈະເລີນ. ຖ້າຈະສົມທຽບໃສ່ແຕ່ກ່ອນ, ໃນໄລຍະປະຫວັດສາດ ແຕ່ ປີ 1893 ເຖິງການລົບລ້າງ ອານາຈັກລາວ, ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ເຄີຍເປັນສະມາຊິກລັດຖະບານ. ພາຍໃຕ້ ລະບອບໃຫມ່,ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຖືກສົ່ງເສີມຫລາຍແຕ່ກໍ່ມີຈຳນວນໜ້ອຍທີ່ສຸດ ທີ່ມີຕຳແໜ່ງສູງ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄ້ວາ ຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ ໄດ້ຂຽນວ່າ "ຢູ່ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ, ພາຍຫລັງການປະຕິວັດ ຕົວແທນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນ ເວທີ ການ ເມືອງແມ່ນຈຸດລຶງ" (ອີນຸມາ Inuma 1922 ໜ້າ 3).ໃນລັດ ຖະບານມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງທີ່ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເປັນຂັ້ນຮອງລັດຖະມົນຕີແລະຖືກ ເປັນປະທານທະນາຄານໃນ ປີ 1982. ເກົ້າປີ ຕໍ່ມາ ພາຍຫລັງ ກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຫົວປະເທດ ຂອງພັກ ຄັ້ງທີ່ 5 ໃນເດືອນມີນາປີ 1991, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈຳນວນ 4 ຄົນຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງເປັນຮອງລັດຖະມົນຕີ. ແຕ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນມີຜູ້ຍິງຈັກຄົນເປັນຂັ້ນ ເອກອັກຂະລັດຖະທູດເພາະອາດ ຈະຄຶງຍ້ອນວ່າຕຳແໜ່ງ ນີ້ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນເຫມາະສົມເທື່ອສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງ ຫັງ ໆ ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງໄປປະຈຳການຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດແມ່ນມີຂັ້ນ ເປັນຫົວໜ້າກົມເຊັ່ນດຽວກັບຜູ້ຊາຍ.

ສ່ວນຫລາຍຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນ ກຳມະກອນ ຢູ່ໃນຂະແໜງການຈໍລະ ຈອນມີເຖິງ 95 ເປີເຊັ້ນ(Report of the LWU 1988a), ຢູ່ຂະແໜງການຜະລິດຫັດຖະກຳຜູ້ຍິງມີເຖິງ 80 ເປີເຊັ້ນ ທີ່ເປັນ ກຳມະກອນແລະ ໃນ ຂະແໜງການ ສາທາລະນະສຸກຜູ້ຍິງມີເຖິງ 71.54 ເປີເຊັ້ນ. ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຈຳນວນຫລາຍຮັບໃຊ້ໃນຂັ້ນຕ່ຳຂອງ ລັດເຊັ່ນເປັນຜູ້ຮັບເອກະສານເຂົ້າອອກ,ພິມດີດ (ດາວອນ 1988; Inuma 1992).ແຕ່ມີຈຳນວນນ້ອຍທີ່ເປັນຫົວໜ້າເຊັ່ນໂຮງງານ ຕຳແຜນທີ່ໂພນຕ້ອງຫລືທີ່ບ້ານວຽງຈະເລີນ (ມະນີວອນ 1994).

ໃນ ຫລາຍປະເທດ, ສ່ວນຫລາຍ ຜູ້ຍິງມັກເອົາອາຊີບເປັນຄູ ສອນ. ເພື່ອເຮັດ ຫນ້າທີ່ "ແມ່ທີ່ສອງ" ສະມັກເປັນຄູສອນ, ແຕ່ ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ຄວນສົນໃຈທີ່ຢູ່ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ອາຊີບນີ້ແມ່ນຕົກຕ່ຳແລະ ເປັນອາຊີບ ທີ່ບໍ່ມີໃຜສົນໃຈເທົ່າໃດ (ຈູ Wu 1983 ຫນ້າ 6). ຈຳນວນພະນັກງານຜູ້ຍິງໃນກະຊວງ ສຶກສາ ມີພຽງ 50 ເປີເຊັ້ນ (Report of the LWU 1988a; ອ່ອນຈັນ 1992). ຈຳ ນວນຕ່ຳຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນຍິ່ງຕ່ຳລົງເລື້ອຍ ໆ ເມື່ອເບິ່ງຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ເປັນຄູສອນຂັ້ນປະຖົມມີພຽງ 25.50 ເປີເຊັ້ນ (Report of the LWU 1988a). ໃນຂະແຫນງການສາທາລະນະສຸກ ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີຄຳຂວັນເຊັ່ນ "ແພດຜູ້ໃຈດີຄືແມ່" ຊຶ່ງກໍຄ້າຍຄືຂອງ ຫວຽດນາມທີ່ວ່າ "ແພດເປັນຄືແມ່ທີ່ດີ". ແຕ່ສະຖິຕິປີ 1985 ໄດ້ ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນແພດມີ 5.728 ຄົນຕ່ຳກວ່າມະກອນໃນຂະແຫນງ ການສາທາລະນະສຸກ 10.056 ຄົນ. ທົດສະວັດຫນຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາ, ໄດ້ມີ ກຳມະກອນສາທາລະນະສຸກຈຳນວນ 48.08 ເປີເຊັ້ນ. ຖ້າ ສະ ຫລຸບແລ້ວ ໃນຂະແຫນງທີ່ເວົ້າມາຂ້າງເທິງນັ້ນຖືວ່າແມ່ນຂະແຫນງ ທີ່ຄວນຈະແມ່ນຂົງເຂດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແຕ່ຫາກຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ຜູກຂາດແຕ່ຜູ້ດຽວ.

ຜູ້ຍິງກໍມີອັດຕາຕ່ຳໃນຕຳແຫ່ນງການເມືອງໃນຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານເຊັ່ນ ເປັນນາຍບ້ານ, ປະທານຕາແສງ, ປະທານເມືອງ ຫລື ປະທານ ແຂວງ (Inuma 1992) ສ່ວນຫລາຍແມ່ນຜູ້ຊາຍຜູກຂາດ. ໄອຣີ ເຊີນ (Ireson C.) ແລະອື່ນໆ (1989 ຫນ້າ 12)ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ "ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າບໍ່ທັນເຄີຍພົບຫົວຫນ້າຕາແສງ, ເມືອງ, ຫລື ຫົວ ຫນ້າບ້ານຈັກເທື່ອ, ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າອາດຈະມີຈຳນວນຫນ້ອຍ. ເມື່ອເປັນ ແນວນີ້ກໍອາດຈະປະຕິບັດຍາກສົດສະເຫມີພາບລະຫວ່າງຍິງຊາຍ".

2. ລາອອກຈາກວຽກບໍລິຫານ ເພື່ອເຮັດ ການຜະລິດ ແລະ ການຄ້າຂາຍ

ສຳຫລັບຜູ້ຍິງ, ເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ລາວ ແມ່ນເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໃດ ໃຫ້ຄອບຄົວມີຊີວິດຢູ່ໄດ້ໄປແຕ່ລະວັນ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ມີຫົວຄິດປະດິດສ້າງ ໃນການຫາລາຍໄດ້ ຂອງຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອບັນເທົາຄວາມທຸກຍາກ ຂອງຄອບຄົວ. ການເຮັດວຽກທາງນອກ ແມ່ນເຮັດໃຫ້ສິ່ງເສີມ ຄວາມສາມາດໃນການຕັດສິນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ແລະ ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນກໍເປັນ ການເພີ່ມທະວີຄວາມເຊື່ອຫມັ້ນຂອງຕົນເອງ. ພ້ອມກັບການທີ່ ລາວເປັນປະເທດກຳລັງມີບົດຮຽນ ໃນການພັດທະນາ ແລະປ່ຽນ ແປງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດກໍຄືສັງຄົມແລະມັນອາດຈະຫລີກບໍ່ໄດ້ ທີ່ຜູ້ ຍິງ ອາດຈະຖືກຜົນຮ້າຍຂອງມັນ. ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວ, ໂດຍອີງຕາມ ແນວ ທາງໃຫມ່ຂອງລັດຖະບານ ທີ່ໄຂປະຕູສູ່ການ ຄ້າສາກົນ, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຫລາຍຄົນກໍກ້າຫານລາອອກຈາກຫນ້າທີ່ວຽກງານ ຂອງລັດ ເພື່ອ ຊ່ວຍອັນທີ່ທາງການ ເອີ້ນວ່າເຮັດເສດຖະກິດຄອບຄົວ. ທິດທາງ ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄດ້ເລີ່ມມາແຕ່ ຊຸມປີ 1980. ເມື່ອສະເລ່ຍແລ້ວຈະ ເຫັນ ໄດ້ວ່າຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງໃນຂະແຫນງຂອງລັດ ທີ່ເຮັດວຽກ ຕ່ຳໆ ແມ່ນ ຫລາຍກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ (ດຽວນີ້ກໍ່ຍັງແມ່ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍ ກ່ວາ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ເຮັດວຽກທີ່ຕ່ຳໆ, Inuma 1992). ເພາະໃນ ປີ 1976 ລູກເມຍ ພະນັກງານ ທີ່ຍ້າຍມາແຕ່ເຂດປົດປ່ອຍ ເກົ່າ ລວມທັງພາກສ່ວນ ທີ່ຢູ່ ວຽງຈັນຊຶ່ງບາງຄົນບໍ່ເຄີຍເຮັດວຽກໃນລະ ບອບເກົ່າໄດ້ຖືກຈັດເຂົ້າ ການຈັດຕັ້ງຫມາຍ ເຖິງວ່າເປັນພະ ນັກ ງານລັດ. ຜູ້ໃດທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍຮູ້ ຕີພິມຄິດກໍໄດ້ຮໍ່າຮຽນພິມຄິດ. ບາງຄົນ ຖືກສັບຊ້ອນເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ບ່ອນ ລ້ຽງເດັກຫລືບ່ອນຂະ ແຫນງທີ່ບໍ່ຮຽກ ຮ້ອງຄວາມສາມາດສະເພາະ. ເມື່ອ ອອກ ຈາກວຽກເປັນ ພະ ນັກງານແລ້ວຈຳນວນຫນຶ່ງທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂໄດ້ຫັນເຮັດທຸລະກິດ. ຫນັງ ສືພິມ <u>ບາງກອກໂພສ</u> (25 ມີນາ 1989) ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າ

"ເພື່ອຢາກໄດ້ເງິນເພີ່ມ,ພະນັກງານລັດ ບາງຄົນໄດ້ໃຫ້ເມຍເຂົ້າ ເຈົ້າເຮັດທຸລະກິດສ່ວນຕົວທີ່ຕະຫລາດ, ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະບໍ່ມີການສົນ ທະນາກັນເທົ່າໃດກໍຕາມກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫາ ດັ່ງກ່າວ". ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ສໍາ ພາດ ແມ່ຄ້າຢູ່ຕະຫລາດເຊົ້າວຽງຈັນ ຈໍາ ນວນ 60 ຄົນໃນວັນທີ່ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988 ໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ເງິນ ເດືອນບໍ່ພຽງພໍເພື່ອ ລ້ຽງ ຄອບຄົວຈຶ່ງໄດ້ອອກຈາກວຽກບໍລິຫານ ມາເຮັດທຸລະກິດ. ຂະບວນ ສະ ນັກ ລາອອກບໍານານກ່ອນອາຍຸໄດ້ ເລີ່ມໃນປີ 1985-1986. ແຕ່ນັ້ນມາຜູ້ຍິງກໍນັບມື້ນັບເຮັດທຸຣະກິດ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຊາຍກາຍເປັນຜູ້ທີ່ ເຮັດວຽກມີຫນ້າມີຕາໃນລັດແລະໃນເວທີ່ ການເມືອງຫລາຍ ຂຶ້ນ ເພາະແມ່ນວຽກທີ່ມີກຽດແລະມີຍົດຖາບັນດາ ສັກຊຶ່ງດ້ານນີ້ຜູ້ຊາຍຈະ ຖືເປັນອັນສໍາຄັນກວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ, ເປັນຕົ້ນ,ໃນລະຍະ ຕົ້ນຂອງການໄປຢູ່ ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ ບາງຄົນທີ່ເຄີຍມີຍົດຖາບັນດາສັກມີ ຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ໃຈກວ່າຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຈະເຮັດວຽກແບບບໍ່ມີຫນ້າມີຕາ (ນາດຣີ 1987; ມະຍຸຣີ 1993a; ເດຍຈາແລະຊາຍົງ 1993). ດັ່ງນັ້ນຢູ່ໃນຕະ ຫລາດວຽງຈັນຈະເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຈໍານວນຫລວງຫລາຍ "ຕະຫລາດ ເຕັມໄປດ້ວຍແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຫັ້ງເປັນຜູ້ຂາຍແລະຜູ້ຊື້" (ມະນີວອນ 1987 ຫນ້າ 8).

ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວເຫລົ່ານັ້ນໄດ້ມີມູນເຊື້ອແລະຄວາມສາມາດເຮັດການ ຄ້າຂາຍ ມາແຕ່ບູຮານນະການແລ້ວເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີບັນຫາຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ໃນ ການປັບຕົວ. ເຂົ້າເຈົ້າເປັນຫັ້ງ ເຈົ້າ ຂອງຮ້ານ, ຫັ້ງເປັນຜູ້ ຂາຍຝົກສົດຕາມແຄມທາງ, ຫັ້ງຂາຍ ອາຫານ... ໃນບໍ່ດົນມານັ້ນ, ທີ່ວຽງຈັນ, ບາງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນເຈົ້າ ຂອງຫລືຜູ້ຈັດການບໍລິສັດ ເຊັ່ນຢູ່ບໍລິສັດລາວອິນເຕີແຕຣດ, ໂຮງງານ ຫຍິບ ຜ້າຫລືໂຮງງານ ໄມ້ໄຜ່ (Khao Lao, ຕຸລາ 1991 ຫນ້າ 22) ຫລື ເຈົ້າຂອງບໍລິສັດຫອ່ງຫ່ຽວເຊັ່ນລ້ານຊ້າງຫ່ອງຫ່ຽວ.

ການໄຂປະຕູໄດ້ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນອັນດີເພາະໄດ້ມີກົດໝາຍລົງຫຶນ ຕ່າງປະເທດໃນປີ 1988 ທີ່ໄດ້ສ້າງໂອກາດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເຮັດທຸລະ ກິດຢ່າງມີການຮັບປະກັນນຳສາກົນ. ຜູ້ຍິງກຳລັງປ່ຽນແປງທາງສັງ ຄົມແລະເສດຖະ ກິດແລະຄວບຄຸມລາຍໄດ້ຂອງຕົນເອງແລະຜູ້ຊາຍ ຈະ ຖືວ່າ ເປັນສິ່ງເສຍຫນ້າຖ້າຮັບເອົາເງິນຈາກເມຍເພື່ອໄປໃຊ້ ຈ່າຍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ເພດຍິງຈຶ່ງມີບົດບາດແລະເຂົ້າພົວພັນໃນການເຮັດ ວຽກແບບໃນ ຖານະເປັນຜູ້ມີລາຍໄດ້ຫລືບໍ່ດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍໃນຖານະເປັນຜູ້ ລ້ຽງດູຄອບຄົວ (ກ່ຽວກັບຄົນລາວທີ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ, ຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງເດຍ ຈາແລະຊາຍົງ 1993; ມະຍຸຣີ 1993a).

ຮ້ານຕ່າງໆໃນຕະຫລາດຊົ່ວໃນປີ 1988 ມີ 318 ຮ້ານທີ່ເປັນ ຂອງຄົນ ລາວແມ່ນຄວບຄຸມໂດຍຜົວແລະເມຍ, ຜົວເປັນຜູ້ຊື້ຫລືຜູ້ ແລ່ນ ຊອກຊື້ຄ້າຫລືສົນຄ້າອື່ນໆເພື່ອມາປ້ອນຮ້ານເພາະບໍ່ມີເວລາ ປະຈຳ ຢູ່ກັບຮ້ານ (ຍ້ອນໃນເວລານັ້ນບາງຄົນເປັນພະນັກງານບໍ່ ທັນສາມາດເຮັດທຸລະກິດທາງ "ແຈ້ງ"). ເມຍເປັນຜູ້ຂາຍກັບທີ່, ແຕ່ປາຕົ້ງຂຶ້ນຫະບຽນຊື່ເມຍທາງນີ້ແມ່ນອີງຕາມ ການຕົກລົງຂອງ ຫົ້ງສອງ. ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນຄະນະກຳມະການຈັດສັນຕະຫລາດເຊົ້າວຽງ ຈັນໄດ້ອະທິບາຍໃຫ້ຜູ້ຂຽນຮູ້ໃນວັນທີ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988. ຢູ່ລາວ ໃນປະຈຸບັນ, ຫລາຍຄອບຄົວ ຜ່ານຜ່າບັນຫາເສດຖະກິດຂອງຕົນ ໂດຍທີ່ສະມາຊິກແຕ່ລະຄົນຕ້ອງປະກອບສ່ວນນຳກັນເຮັດເຊັ່ນລ້ຽງ ໄກ່, ອ້ືອນ້ຳອ້ອຍຂາຍ, ດັ່ງທີ່ຊາບວິດແລະອື່ນໆ (1987 ໜ້າ 142) ໄດ້ຂຽນໄວ້ວ່າ "ແມ່ເປັນຜູ້ປິ່ນຈັກອ້ືອອ້ອຍ, ພໍ່ເປັນຜູ້ເອົາ ອ້ອຍຍັດເຂົ້າໃນຈັກ, ແມ່ເຖົ້າເປັນຜູ້ປອກ". ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈະເປັນທ່ຶອໄປ.

3/ <u>ປົດຮຽນອັນຫນັກແຫນ້ນ , ອຸປະສັກແລະຜົນງານ</u>

ກ- ຄວາມສະເຫມີພາບທາງດ້ານການສຶກສາ

ຢູ່ປະເທດລາວ , ຕາມປະຫວັດສາດເຫມືອນດັ່ງທີ່ເວົ້າມາຂ້າງເທິງ ນັ້ນແມ່ນມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍເທົ່ານັ້ນທີ່ໄດ້ຮໍ່າຮຽນຢູ່ວັດ . ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ເປັນຄົນກຶກຫນ້ງສື .

ໃນ ຈໍານວນພົນລະເມືອງລາວ ມີ 60 ເປີເຊັ້ນ ບໍ່ຮູ້ຫນ້ງສືໃນ ປີ 1975 ແລະໃນນັ້ນ 95 ເປີເຊັ້ນເປັນຜູ້ຍິງ (ຄໍາແພງ ບຸບຜາ 1977; ດາວອນ 1988). ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍກວມເອົາຊົນເຜົ່າສ່ວນ ນ້ອຍເປັນຕົ້ນເຜົ່າມົ້ງກຶກຫນ້ງສືມີເຖິງ 99 ເປີເຊັ້ນ (ຢົ້ງ ດາວ Yang Dao 1974 ຫນ້າ 39). ໃນລະບອບໃຫມ່ ປະຊາຊົນ ລາວທ້ງຍິງແລະຊາຍທຸກເຜົ່າໄດ້ມີໂອກາດຮຽນຫນ້ງສື . ໃນໄລຍະ ທໍາອິດຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ , ຫນ່ຶງໃນຫລາຍມາ ຕະ ການທີ່ລະບອບໃຫມ່ໄດ້ເອົາໃຈໃສ່ແມ່ນການລົບລ້າງການກຶກຫນ້ງສື ເພື່ອ ເຮັດ ແນວໃດໃຫ້ປະຊາຊົນລາວໄດ້ຂະຫຍາຍແລະຍົກລະດັບ ຄວາມຮັບຮູ້ທາງການເມືອງ . ຄໍາຂວັນມີວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງທຸກຄົນຜູ້ຮູ້ຕ້ອງ ສອນອ່ານແລະຂຽນໃຫ້ຜູ້ບໍ່ຮູ້" . ຂະບວນການລົບລ້າງການກຶກຫນ້ງ ສືໄດ້ເລີ່ມແຕ່ເດືອນມ້ງກອນ 1977 ເປັນຕົ້ນໄປ . ດັ່ງນັ້ນຄໍາ ສັ່ງ ເລກທີ 08 ເດືອນມ້ງກອນ 1977 ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ສ້າງຕັ້ງຄະນະກໍາ ມະ ການພິເສດເພື່ອລົບລ້າງການກຶກຫນ້ງສືແລະບໍາລຸງວັດທະນະທໍາໃຫ້ ປະຊາຊົນທຸກຊັ້ນແລະທຸກການຈັດຕັ້ງ ຫລື ກອງທັບ . ເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ ແນວທາງປະກົດເປັນຈິງອົງການລັດໄດ້ຈັດຕັ້ງ 2 ວັນຕໍ່ອາທິດ (ວັນ ອ້ງຄານແລະວັນພະຫັດ) ເປັນວັນບໍາລຸງວັດທະນະທໍາ . ດ້ວຍຄວາມ ຕ້ອງການຢາກຮໍ່າຮຽນຈຶ່ງເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຜ່ານຜ່າຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ເຂ້ົາ ຮ່ວມຮຽນການບໍາລຸງສຶກສາທີ່ຈັດຕອນແລ້ງແລະແຂນຂ້າງຂວາ

ອຸ້ມລູກນ້ອຍ, ສ່ວນແຂນຂ້າງຊ້າຍ ຖື ປີ້ນ. ບ່ອນບໍາລຸງແມ່ນຈັດຂຶ້ນ ທີ່ວັດຫລືໂຮງຮຽນຫລືສະໂມສອນຂອງອໍານາດການປົກຄອງ, ພາຍ ໄຕ້ແສງກະບອງຢູ່ຊຶນນະບົດຫລືເວລາໄຟຟ້າມາບໍ່ປົກກະຕິ ຢູ່ ໃນຕົວ ເມືອງ. ອຸປະສັກ ຕ່າງໆ ເຫລົ່ານັ້ນ ບໍ່ໄດ້ ຈຸດຜ່ອນຄວາມຫ້າວຫັນ ແລະມານະຈິດຂອງຍິງຊາຍ. ເຂົາເຈົ້າມີຄວາມພູມໃຈເມື່ອໄດ້ ຮັບ ໃບປະກາດການລຶບລ້າງການກຶກຫນັງສືທີ່ອອກໃຫ້ໂດຍເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່ ທີ່ ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ. ທົດສະວັດຫນຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາຄືໃນປີ 1984, ການກຶກຫນັງສືຖືກ ລຶບ ລ້າງທົ່ວປະເທດ (ວັນນະສິນ ຫັນວາ 1985). ແຂວງ ຫົວພັນ, ເມືອງຊຽງຄໍ້ແລະຕາແສງຍອດງື່ມ, ເມືອງແປກ, ແຂວງ ຊຽງຂວາງ ໄດ້ຮັບລາງວັນອຸຍແນດສະໂກໃນຄວາມພະຍາຍາມ ດ້ວ ກ່າວ (ສຶກສາໃຫມ່ Seuksa Mai, 1986;ປະຊາຊົນ 2 ມີນາ 1989).

ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສໍາເລັດບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ໃນ ດ້ານການລຶບ ລ້າງການກຶກຫນັງສືຫາກໂຮງຮຽນຍັງໄດ້ເພີ້ມຈໍານວນ ເຊັ່ນໃນລະ ຍະຕົ້ນຂອງການສ້າງຕັ້ງ ສ.ປ.ປ.ລາວ ແມ່ນມີເຮືອນ ຝາກເດັກ ພຽງ 54 ບ່ອນ, ໂຮງຮຽນປະຖົມມີ 4.444 ຫລັງ. ທົດສະວັດ ຫນຶ່ງຕໍ່ມາ, ໃນປີ 1989-90, ບ່ອນຝາກເດັກໄດ້ ເພີ່ມຈາກ 72 ມາເປັນ 640 ບ່ອນແລະໂຮງຮຽນອຸດົມຈາກ 11 ມາເປັນ 110 ບ່ອນ (ສະຖິຕິ 1990 ຫນ້າ 117, 119, 121).

ເຖິງ ມີ ຜົນສໍາເລັດດັ່ງກ່າວແຕ່ຍັງພົບຂໍ້ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ຫລາຍ. ອີງ ຕາມບົດລາຍງານຂອງອຸຍແນດສະໂກໃນປີ 1985 ຈໍານວນ. ປະຊາ ຊຶນກັບກຶກຫນັງສືຄືນໄດ້ເພີ່ມ 3-6 ເປີເຊັ່ນ (ອຸຍແນດ ສະໂກ Unesco 1985 ຫນ້າ 89) ແລະ ນັບມື້ນັບ ສູງຂຶ້ນເພາະ ບາງ ບ່ອນປະຊາຊຶນໄດ້ລືມໄປແລ້ວສິ່ງທີ່ຕົນໄດ້ຮຽນມາຍ້ອນຂາດການ ນໍາ ເອົາມາໃຊ້. ຕົວຢ່າງກ່ອນປີ 1981, 98 ເປີເຊັ່ນ ຂອງ ປະຊາ

ຊົນຢູ່ແຂວງຜົ້ງສາລີແມ່ນຮູ້ຫນັງສື,ແຕ່ໃນປີ 1988, ມີ 15.000 ຄົນໃນ 135.640 ພົນລະເມືອງຂອງແຂວງດັ່ງກ່າວກຶກຫນັງສືຄົນ. ນອກນັ້ນໃນປີ 1988-89 ຜູ້ໃຫຍ່ທີ່ຮູ້ຫນັງສືມີພຽງ 45 ເປີ ເຊັ່ນ (ລາວປັດອາກ ລາຍງານ Lao PDR Report 1988).ລາຍງານຂອງກະຊວງສຶກສາທິການໃນປີ 1990 ໄດ້ ຍັ້ງຢືນ ວ່າຫມົດທ່ວປະເທດພົນລະເມືອງອາຍຸ 15 ຫາ 45 ປີຍັງກຶກຫນັງສື (ລາຍງານກະຊວງສຶກສາ Report of the Ministry of Education 1990:1 ຫນ້າ 1).ນອກນັ້ນຍັງມີສະພາບການປະລະໂຮງຮຽນເຊັ່ນໃນຫມົດທ່ວປະເທດ ປີ 1988-89 ໄດ້ມີນັກຮຽນຊັ້ນປະຖົມ 1 ເຖິງ 22 ເປີເຊັ່ນປະລະໂຮງຮຽນພາຍຫລັງ 1 ຫລື 2 ປີ. ພ້ອມກັນນັ້ນຈໍານວນນັກຮຽນທີ່ຂ້າງຫ້ອງກໍ່ສູງ,ບັນຫາດັ່ງກ່າວຈະເປັນຜົນສະທ້ອນໃນອະນາຄົດເພາະມັນເປັນການເສຍເວລາແລະເທ່ືອແຮງເພ່ືອສ້ັງນັກຮຽນຜູ້ຫນ່ຶງກ່ອນຈະຈົບແຕ່ລະຊັ້ນ (Report of the Ministry of Education 1990:2), ສໍາຫລັບປະຊາຊົນບັນດາເຜ່ົາທ່ີຢູ່ຮ່າງໄກຍ່ິງມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກ ເພາະຖນົນຫົນທາງໃນບໍລິເວນດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ່ຄືໃນເຂດທ່ີມີເຜ່ົາຊົນ ອາໃສນັ້ນຍ່ິງຂາດເຂ່ີນແລະທຸລະກັນດານຫ້ັງບອກໃສ່ເງ່ືນເດ່ືອນຂອງຄູອາຈານຕ່ໍາຍ່ິງສ່ິງຜົນກະທົບໃສ່ການສຶກສາ.ດັ່ງທ່ີຫນັງສືພິມບາງກອກໂພດສ (25 ມິນາ 1989)ໄດ້ພິມອອກ "ຄູສອນຜູ້ຫນ່ຶງໄດ້ເງ່ືນເດ່ືອນປະມານ 500 ກີບ ແລະ ຮອງຫົວ ຫນ້າກົມຜູ້ຫນ່ຶງໄດ້ເງ່ືນເດ່ືອນປະມານ 1.000 ຫາ 2.000 ກີບ.ໂດຍສົມທົບກັບການຈ່າຍ ເປັນເງ່ືນສົດແລ້ວ, ພະນັກງານທຸກຄົນຂອງລັດຈະ ໄດ້ເງ່ືນເປັນປ້ົມອີກຕ່ືມທ່ີອາດຈະໃຊ້ຊ້ືອາຫານແລະເຄ່ືອງຈໍາເປັນອ່ືນ ໆທ່ີມີໃນຮ້ານສະຫະກອນ".ນັກຄ້ົນຄວ້າອີກຜູ້ຫນ່ຶງໄດ້ຍັ້ງຢືນວ່າຄູສອນມີ"ເງ່ືນເດ່ືອນຕ່ໍາແລະບ່ໍສາມາດອ່ີງໃສ່ແຕ່ເງ່ືນເດ່ືອນເພ່ືອຢູ່ລອດ" (Pfister

1989 ໜ້າ 37). ເຫດຜົນອື່ນໆກໍໄດ້ສົມທົບອີກຕື່ມໂດຍສະເພາະ ໂຮງຮຽນແມ່ນຂາດອຸປະກອນ, ຄູສອນບໍ່ມີຄຸນນະພາບ ເພາະ ຂາດ ການບຳລຸງທາງດ້ານວິຊາສອນແລະຫລັກສູດ.

ປະຈຸບັນກໍຄືກ່ອນປີ 1975, ເດັກນ້ອຍແລະຜູ້ຍິງໃນຕົວເມືອງ ກໍ ຄື ຊົນນະບົດຍິງແມ່ນກຳລັງການຜະລິດທີ່ສຳຄັນເພື່ອການຄົງຕົວ ໂດຍສະເພາະໃນເວລາທີ່ປະເທດຍັງທຸກຍາກ.

ເດັກນ້ອຍໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຕ້ອງການຢູ່ເຮືອນເປັນກຳລັງຮັບ ໃຊ້ໃຫ້ຄອບຄົວຈຶ່ງເກີດມີບັນຫາໃຫຍ່ໃນການປະລະໂຮງຮຽນ ໂດຍ ສະເພາະໃນລະຍະປີສຸດທ້າຍຂອງຊັ້ນປະຖົມ. ຍິງສາວທີ່ມາ ຈາກ ຄອບຄົວທຸກຍາກ, ຊາວນາ, ແລະຊົນເຜົ່າມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກທີ່ຈະ ໄປໂຮງຮຽນແລະມີທ່າປະລະໂຮງຮຽນຍ້ອນບໍ່ມີທຶນຈະຮຽນ,ເພາະ ຕ້ອງຊ່ວຍຄອບຄົວເຮັດວຽກເຮືອນຫລືຊອກວຽກຫາເງິນ. ສິ່ງທີ່ຍັງ ຄອບງຳພໍ່ແມ່ບາງຄົນອີກກໍຄືຖ້າມີລູກຊາຍ-ຍິງ ພໍ່ແມ່ມັກຈະສົ່ງເສີມ ໃຫ້ລູກຊາຍໄດ້ຮຽນ ເພາະ ຄົງຈະຍ້ອນວ່າການລົງທຶນໃຫ້ຜູ້ ຊາຍ ຮຽນຄົງຈະບໍ່ເສຍທຶນຮອນຫລືປ ການ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ ຈຶ່ງມີທ່າອຽງເອົາ ລູກຜູ້ຍິງຢູ່ບ້ານຫລືອອກໂຮງຮຽນເພື່ອຊ່ວຍວຽກຄອບຄົວແລະ ເບິ່ງ ນ້ອງ (ບາດເຊິນ Batson 1988). ກອງປະຊຸມໂຕະມົນທີ່ ວຽງຈັນໃນເດືອນກໍລະກົດ 1988 ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່ານັກຮຽນຍິງ ເປັນ ຈຳນວນຫລາຍອອກຈາກໂຮງຮຽນແລະໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນນັກຮຽນ ຍິງບັນດາເຜົ່າທີ່ຍັງຕ້ອງພົບກັບບັນຫາສະເພາະອີກເຊັ່ນ ໃນການທີ່ ຢູ່ຫ່າງໄກແລະບັນຫາພາສາລາວລຸ່ມອີກ. ການສຶກສາສຳຫລັບພໍ່ແມ່ ທີ່ໃຫ້ແກ່ລູກຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນເປັນພຽງບັນຫາສຳ ລອງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນມັກ ຫລືບໍ່ ມັກການແຕກຕ່າງລະຫວ່າງຍິງ-ຊາຍດັ່ງກ່າວ ແມ່ນປະກອບ ສ່ວນ ໃຫ້ມີການຈຳແນກຕ້ານຜູ້ຍິງ. ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຈະໄດ້ຮັບ ຄວາມ ສະເໝີພາບໃນດ້ານການສຶກສາໃນທຸກຂັ້ນແຕ່ກໍມີຈຳນວນນ້ອຍທີ່ໄດ້

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

ລະບອບໃຫມ່ໄດ້ມີຄວາມຈຳເປັນຂຸກຍູ້ການສຶກສາທັງ 2 ເພດ ໂດຍຢາກໃຫ້ເຜົ່າຊົນພາຍໃນປະເທດເປັນອັນຫນຶ່ງອັນດຽວກັນແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະການຍົກລະດັບການກໍ່ສ້າງພະນັກງານເພດຍິງ ທີ່ມາ ຈາກທຸກຊົນເຜົ່າ. ຊາຍົງແລະຣອມ Chagnon ແລະ Rumpf (1982 ຫນ້າ 77) ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່ານັກຮຽນປັນດາເຜົ່າກໍໄດ້ເຂົ້າ ຮຽນອຸດົມ, ໂຮງຮຽນແພດສາດໄດ້ເພີ້ມຈຳນວນ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ເວົ້າວ່າ ການຈຳແນກເຜົ່າຊົນໄດ້ຖືກກວດລ້າງແລະທຸກຄົນ ຖືກສົ່ງເສີມໃຫ້ ຮ່ວມກັນຢ່າງສະເຫມີພາບໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ມີຫລາຍເຜົ່າ (Turton 1977; ມະຍຸຣີ 1993b).

ຍ້ອນ ຜູ້ຍິງຊົນເຜົ່າສ່ວນນ້ອຍມີຂໍ້ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກຫລາຍຊໍ້ງ ພາໃຫ້ປະ ລະໂຮງຮຽນຫລືບໍ່ເຂົ້າຮຽນຫນັງສືດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຶ່ງບໍ່ມີຈຳນວນ ຫລາຍເຊັ່ນ ຂັ້ນປະຖົມລາວເທິງມີພຽງ 35.739 ຄົນ, ລາວສູງ ມີ 5.743 ຄົນແລະລາວລຸ່ມມີຈຳນວນ 211.903 ຄົນ. ຂັ້ນ ມັດ ທະຍົມ, 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 ໃນ 3 ເຜົ່າຊົນໃຫຍ່ແມ່ນ ບໍ່ ມີ ເງື່ອນໄຂເຂົ້າຮຽນຫລາຍ. ນອກນັ້ນຍັງ ມີການແຕກຕ່າງກັນ ລະ ຫວ່າງ 3 ຊົນເຜົ່າໃຫຍ່ແມ່ນຄືລາວລຸ່ມໄດ້ຮັບການສຶກສາທີ່ສູງກວ່າ 2 ເຜົ່າຊົນ ໃຫຍ່ຫລັງ. ເມື່ອສະພາບເປັນດັ່ງນີ້ ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວຜູ້ ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່າ "ເຖິງແມ່ນຈະບໍ່ມີການຈຳແນກກ່ຽວກັບ ການສຶກສາແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງແບກຫາບທ່າລົບເພາະຍ້ອນການແຕກ ຕ່າງ

ທາງເພດແລະບົດບາດທີ່ເຂົາເຈົ້າຖືກມອບໝາຍໃຫ້ຈາກສັງຄົມແລະ ກວ້າງອອກໄປແມ່ນຈາກຄອບຄົວ" (ມະນີວອນ 1987:7).

ຂ- ການຄ່ອຍໆຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງບົນພື້ນຖານແນວທາງໃໝ່

ມັນເປັນສິ່ງສຳຄັນທີ່ຈະໄດ້ເວົ້າເຖິງນະໂຍບາຍທີ່ຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ ບັນດາເຜົ່າເທົ່າທຽມກັບຜູ້ຊາຍຊຶ່ງມັນເປັນເຫດການ, ເຫມືອນດັ່ງ ເວົ້າມາຂ້າງເທິງ,ທີ່ບໍ່ເຄີຍມີໃນປະເທດລາວ.ມາຕະການຈຳນວນ ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ຖືກວາງອອກ. ໃນທົດສະວັດຜ່ານມານັ້ນໂຮງຫມໍ, ຢາປິ່ນ ປົວແລະນະໂຍບາຍຕ່າງໆແມ່ນບໍ່ໄດ້ເສຍຄ່າ.

ລັດຖະບານລາວພະຍາຍາມເທົ່າທີ່ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງ ຕົນ ມີ ວາງນະໂຍບາຍເພື່ອປົດປ່ອຍຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍການໃຫ້ມີການປິ່ນປົວ ພ້ອມ ທັງສ້າງຕັ້ງບ່ອນຝາກເດັກແລະໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານ. ນະໂຍ ບາຍ ດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນແນ່ໃສ່ຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງມີເວລາແລະມີເງື່ອນໄຂເພື່ອເຮັດ ວຽກ. ການເອົາໃຈ ໃສ່ດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ສະແດງອອກໃນການສ້າງຂະ ຫຍາຍໂຮງຮຽນແພດສາດ. ນອກນັ້ນລັດຖະບານຍັງໄດ້ເອົາໃຈໃສ່ ສຸຂະພາບຂອງແມ່ແລະເດັກໂດຍການຈັດໃຫ້ມີບ່ອນກວດສຸຂະພາບຜູ້ ຍິງທີ່ຖືພາຫລືອອກລູກແລ້ວ. ແຕ່ໃນດ້ານພາກປະຕິບັດຕົວຈິງ, ໂຄງ ຮ່າງສາທາລະນະສຸກຍັງບໍ່ທັນເຂັ້ມແຂງ. ການຂາດປະສົບ ປະການ ຂອງພະນັກງານແພດ, ທຶນແລະອື່ນໆຍັງສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນວ່າຍັງເປັນ ບັນຫາໃຫຍ່ ສຳຫລັບ ປະເທດທີ່ດ້ອຍພັດທະນາແລະທຸກຍາກ. ການ ຂາດການເຂົ້າໃຈເຖິງຄວາມສຳຄັນຂອງຕາຫນ່າງແພດຫລືແຜນການ ທາງດ້ານການສັກຢາປ້ອງກັນ ໄດ້ເພີ້ມໃຫ້ມີການເຊື່ອຖືງົມງວາຍຊຶ່ງ ເປັນບໍ່ເກີດຂອງການເຈັບເປັນ, ສິ່ງເຫລົ່ານີ້ໄດ້ອະທິບາຍໃຫ້ເຫັນ ການນຳໃຊ້ຕາຫນ່າງສາທາລະນະສຸກແມ່ນບໍ່ທົ່ວເຖິງແລະບ່ອນໃດທີ່

ມີແລ້ວກໍ່ຈຳຕ້ອງໄດ້ປະລະບອກຫົວລາຍໄດ້ຕ່ຳຂອງປະຊາຊົນ ສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ແລະການຂາດຢຸກຢາເພື່ອປິ່ນປົວໄດ້ສ້າງບັນຫາໃຫຍ່ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າການປິ່ນປົວນັ້ນຈະຮັບປະກັນບໍ່ມີການເສຍຄ່າ. ເພື່ອລຶບລ້າງລະບອບເກົ້ອກຸນໃນຊຸມປີ 90 ປະຊາຊົນຕ້ອງໄດ້ຊີ້ຢຸກຢາປິ່ນປົວເອງ. ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າການຄົມມະນາຄົມໄປມາລະຫວ່າງຊົນນະບົດແລະ ຕົວເມືອງຈະສະດວກຂຶ້ນແຕ່ລະຫວ່າງເມືອງແລະແຂວງຫລືແຕ່ຊົນ ນະບົດໄປຫາໂຮງໝໍສູນກາງຫລືແຂວງຍັງມີຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກຫລາຍ.

ນອກຈາກນະໂຍບາຍໃນການປິ່ນປົວແລ້ວ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນພະນັກງານຍັງໄດ້ຮັບເງິນຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງເພື່ອອອກລູກຫົວ ເງິນອຸດໜູນລຸດເທົ່າກັບເງິນເດືອນພື້ນຖານຂອງພະນັກງານລັດ. ເມື່ອ ເວລາຈະອອກລູກຫລືຫລັງຈາກອອກລູກຜູ້ຍິງຈະໄດ້ຮັບນະໂຍບາຍໃຫ້ພັກວຽກ 3 ເດືອນພ້ອມຫົວໄດ້ເງິນເດືອນ. ຜູ້ກ່ຽວສາມາດເລືອກ ໄດ້ ລະຫວ່າງການເອົານະໂຍບາຍພັກຜ່ອນ 1 ເດືອນກ່ອນ ອອກລູກແລ້ວພັກ ອີກ 2 ເດືອນພາຍຫລັງອອກລູກຫລືພາຍຫລັງອອກລູກແລ້ວພັກໝົດ ກຳນົດ 3 ເດືອນ ແຕ່ຫາກສຸຂະພາບຂອງຜູ້ເປັນແມ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນແຂງແຮງ, ຜູ້ກ່ຽວສາມາດຂໍຕໍ່ອີກຕື່ມໄດ້. ແຕ່ວ່າໃນບາງ ສະຫະກອນກະເສດ (ໃນເວລາທີ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນລຶບລ້າງ), ພາຍຫລັງອອກລູກໄດ້ 15 ມື້ແລ້ວແລະບໍ່ມີການພັກຜ່ອນຕາມລະບຽບທີ່ ນະໂຍບາຍລັດໄດ້ວາງອອກ, ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງໄດ້ກັບຄືນເຮັດວຽກ.

ນະໂຍບາຍທາງສັງຄົມຂອງລັດໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນ ແມ່ໄດ້ປະກອບສ່ວນຢ່າງຕັ້ງໜ້າເຂົ້າໃນວຽກງານຂອງລັດກໍຄືຂອງສັງຄົມ. ທົດສະວັດໜຶ່ງຜ່ານໄປແລ້ວທາງກຳແພງນະຄອນວຽງຈັນໄດ້ ສ້າງ ບ່ອນ ຝາກເດັກ ໄດ້ 14 ບ່ອນ, ໂຮງຮຽນອະນຸບານ 38 ບ່ອນ (<u>ວຽງຈັນໃຫມ່</u> 4 ທົດສະພາ 1986), ແຕ່ລະບອບເກົ່າມີໂຮງຮຽນ ອະນຸບານ ບ່ອນດຽວ ເພື່ອໝົດທົ່ວ ປະເທດ (ໄຕ 1959

ໜ້າ 445). ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດ, ຈຳນວນບ່ອນຝາກເດັກແລະໂຮງ ຮຽນ ອະນຸບານຍັງບໍ່ທັນຕອບສະໜອງຄວາມຕ້ອງການອັນຈຳເປັນ ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ທ່ວເຖິງ. ບາງບ່ອນ ອຳນາດການປົກຄອງໄດ້ເອົາໃຈ ໃສ່ຊຸກຍູ້ໃຫ້ມີບ່ອນຝາກເດັກພຽງພໍແຕ່ບາງບ່ອນ ກໍ ຍັງ ໜຸ້ງຍາກ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນບັນຫາໃນການຂະຫຍາຍບ່ອນຝາກເດັກໃນຂະແໜງລັດ, ໃນ ຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານບໍລິການຍັງມີຢູ່.

ຄ- ການກ້າວຂຶ້ນທາງສັງຄົມ

ສະພາບ ການ ໄດ້ປ່ຽນແປງໄປ, ເພາະຍິງແລະຊາຍໄດ້ປະ ກອບສ່ວນເພື່ອ ໂຊກ ຊະຕາກຳຂອງປະເທດແລະຮ່ວມກັນປະຕິບັດ ວຽກງານເພື່ອການພັດທະນາ. ແຕ່ປີ 1975 ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ ຜູ້ ຍິງ ໄດ້ສະແດງຄວາມກ້າຫານຂອງຕົນໃຫ້ເຫັນໃນດ້ານນີ້. ກອງ ປະ ຊຸມໃຫຍ່ຄັ້ງທຳອິດຂອງສະພາປະຊາຊົນສູງສຸດໃນປີ 1975 ໄດ້ເວົ້າ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງເປັນກຳລັງສຳຄັນຂອງປະເທດຊາດຄຽງບ່າ ຄຽງ ໄຫ່ລ່ກັບ ລູກຜົວເພື່ອຊຸກຍູ້ການຜະລິດຢ່າງແຂງແຮງ, ເພື່ອ ກໍ່ ສ້າງແລະຂະ ຫຍາຍເສດຖະກິດແລະວັດທະນະທຳບົນ ພື້ນຖານ ເຮັດ ໃຫ້ປະເທດ ກາຍ ເປັນປະເທດວັດທະນາຖາວອນແລະກ້າວໜ້າ (<u>ສຽງປະຊາ ຊົນ</u> 5 ທັນວາ 1975). ເພື່ອ ຈະຜ່ານຜ່າອຸປະສັກໃນການ ປິດລ້ອມເສດຖະກິດຈາກ ຜູ້ກຳອຳນາດ ໃນໄທໂດຍສະເພາະໃນລະ ຍະ 1975 ຫາ 1976, ອຳນາດໃໝ່ ປະຊາຊົນລາວໄດ້ລະດົມ ປະຊາຊົນແລະກົງຈັກ ຕ່າງໆປະເຊີນໜ້າກັບຄວາມທ້າທາຍ ດັ່ງ ກ່າວ. ຄຽງຄູ່ ກັນນັ້ນ ຍິງແລະຊາຍໄດ້ປ່ຽນສວນຄອກໄມ້ເປັນລ້ຽງ ໄກ່, ສວນຫລັງເຮືອນເປັນໜອງປາ. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັນນັ້ນ ອົງການຈັດ ຕັ້ງເກືອບທຸກບ່ອນຈະມີສວນຜັກ, ບ່ອນລ້ຽງໄກ່, ລ້ຽງໝູ ຫລືນິ ຄົມ. ພະນັກງານບາງຄົນຢູ່ບາງ ບ່ອນ ຈະ ຖືກແຕ່ງຕັ້ງໃຫ້ຮັບຜິດ ຊອບການຜະລິດຂອງກະຊວງຫະບວງກົມຂອງຕົນ ເພື່ອຊ່ວຍແກ້ໄຂ

ຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່ຂອງພະນັກງານໃນເວລາທີ່ຖືກ ຫຍຸ້ງ ຍາກທາງ ດ້ານເສດຖະກິດຍ້ອນໄຫອັດຊາຍແດນ. ນອກນັ້ນພະ ນັກ ງານທ່ອ ປະເທດຍັງໄດ້ຈັດກັນອອກແຮງງານໃນວັນເສົາຊຶ່ງເປັນທີ່ຮູ້ກັນໂດຍ ທ່ອໄປວ່າ "ວັນເສົາແດງ". ໄລຍະຕົ້ນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄລຍະທີ່ລະອາດ ຫານ ຂອງປວງຊົນລາວທັ້ງຊາດທີ່ມີຈິດໃຈສາມັກຄີຮ່ວມກັນຕໍ່ສູ້ຜ່ານ ຜ່າ ຜືນ ສະຫ້ອນຂອງການອັດຊາຍແດນແຕ່ຝ່າຍຄຽວຂອງຜູ້ກໍາອໍາ ນາດໄຫ.

ຜູ້ຍິງ ໄດ້ກາຍ ເປັນກໍາລັງແຮງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດແລະໄດ້ມີ ບົດບາດອັນສໍາຄັນທີ່ ສຸດໃນການຂະຫຍາຍການຜະລິດກໍຄືການກໍ່ສ້າງ ພື້ນຖານຂອງເສດ ຖະກິດໃຫມ່ຊຶ່ງແມ່ນຄວາມເວົ້າຂອງທ່ານໄກສອນ ພົມວິຫານ, ອະດີດນາ ຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບຮູ້ໃນກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ່ຫນຶ່ງຂອງ ແມ່ຍິງລາວໃນປີ 1984 (Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 9).ໃນຕົວຈິງແລ້ວເຖິງ ຈະມາຈາກເຂດ ປົດປ່ອຍເກົ່າຫລືເຂດປົດ ປ່ອຍ ໃຫມ່ ກໍຕາມ ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮ່ວມກັນຢ່າງ ຕັ້ງຫນ້າປະກອບສ່ວນໃນ ການຟື້ນຟູເສດຖະກິດຂອງຊາດ. ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ ຖືກ ຖືວ່າ "ຮູ້ແຕ່ພຽງແຕ່ງ ຫນ້າແຕ້ມຕາ"ໃນລະບອບເກົ່າບໍ່ ຮູ້ວ່າ ການ ປູກເຂົ້າຫລືບໍ່ເຄີຍທີ່ຈະ ຢ່າງໃນຂີ້ຕົມ, ໄດ້ພາກັນສະມັກ ໄປ ເຮັດວຽກແລະກິນນອນຢູ່ບ່ອນ ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍຫລືສະຫະກອນການ ຜະລິດ (ຊາດດົກ ແລະ ຣອດເຊີນ Chaddok and Russell 1989). ຫລາຍເຫມືອງຝາຍກໍສາເລັດທັ້ງນີ້ຍ້ອນການປະກອບສ່ວນ ຢ່າງຫ້າວຫັນຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງ ລາວ. ຍ້ອນຄວາມມານະທີ່ຢາກຈະເປັນ ປະໂຫຍດແກ່ປະເທດຊາດ, ຍິງຫນຸ່ມຫລືອາວຸໂສ, ມີຄອບຄົວ ຫລື ຍັງເປັນໂສດໄດ້ພາກັນປະລະ ຄອບຄົວພໍ່ແມ່ໄປຊ່ວຍ ສ້າງເຫມືອງ ຝາຍຢູ່ອ້ອມແອ້ມອຽງຈັນເປັນເວລາ 10 ຫາ 15 ວັນ ກໍ່ ມີ. ເຫມືອງຝາຍທີ່ປະຊາຊົນແລະພະນັກງານ ຍິງ-ຊາຍ ໄດ້ ທຸ້ມເທ ຫມາກ ຫົວໃຈແລະເຫື່ອແຮງໃນເວລານັ້ນກໍຄືນ້ໍາຫຸມ , ນ້ໍາຊອງຫລື

ເກົ້າ ລ້ຽວ. ນອກຈາກການສຶກ ສົບ ສ້າງເຫມືອງຝາຍທີ່ສຳ ຄັນ ຕ່າງໆແລ້ວ ຜູ້ຍິງຍັງໄດ້ສຶກສົບສ້າງໂຮງຮຽນ, ໂຮງຫມໍແລະ ສະ ຖານທີ່ກໍ່ສ້າງ ຕ່າງໆແລະຍັງໄດ້ຊຸກຍູ້ລຸກຜົວແລະພີ່ນ້ອງໃຫ້ປະກອບ ສ່ວນກໍ່ສ້າງ ຫົນທາງ, ໂດຍ ສະເພາະຫົນ ທາງເລກ 9 ຫລື ເລກ 13 ທີ່ນຳໄປສູ່ແຄມທະເລຂອງຫວຽດນາມ. ວຽກດັ່ງ ກ່າວ ໄດ້ໃຊ້ເວລາຢ່າງຫລວງຫລາຍບໍ່ຫັນນັບເຖິງ ຫົນຮອນທີ່ໄດ້ເອົາມາ ຫຸ້ມເຫໃສ່, ແຕ່ຜົນໄດ້ຮັບອາດຈະບໍ່ເທົ່າກັບການຄາດຄະເນໄວ້ໃນ ເບື້ອງຕົ້ນ.

ໃນ ເວລາທີ່ສະຫະກອນກະເສດໄດ້ຖືກນຳໃຊ້ທີ່ລາວໃນປີ 1977 ຊຶ່ງແມ່ນ ການທ້າທາຍທີ່ໃຫຍ່ຫລວງຕໍ່ການດຳລົງຊີວິດແບບ ເກົ່າ ແກ່ ຂອງປະຊາຊົນລາວ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ເປັນຜູ້ໄກ່ເກ່ຍສຳຄັນໃນລະຍະດັ່ງກ່າວ. ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ພະຍາຍາມໃຊ້ຄວາມສາມາດຂອງຕົນເພື່ອເຮັດແນວໃດໃຫ້ ຊາວນາໄດ້ ເຂົ້າຮ່ວມສະຫະກອນກະເສດດັ່ງເອກກະສານທາງການ ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນວ່າຜູ້ ຍິງລາວໄດ້ຕອບສະຫນອງຕໍ່ຄວາມຮຽກຮ້ອງຂອງພັກ-ລັດໃນການສ້າງ ສະຫະກອນກະເສດແລະໃນຫລາຍບ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຊຸກ ຍູ້ຜົວແລະຄອບຄົວ ໃຫ້ ເຂົ້າ ສະຫະກອນ(Report of the LWU 1986 ຫນ້າ 9-10).

ແຕ່ ຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດ, ຫລາຍຢ່າງກໍຍັງຂະຫຍາຍຊ້າ. ຜູ້ ຍິງ ເຜົ່າຊົນຕ່າງໆ ຢູ່ຊົນນະບົດໄດ້ແບກຫາບວຽກຫລາຍຢ່າງໃສ່ບ່າໄຫລ່ ຕົນເອງຊຶ່ງບໍ່ມີ ຫຍັງປ່ຽນແປງນັບແຕ່ອີ່ປຸອີ່ປັ. ວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວ ມີ ຫ້ວງ ຫາບນ້ຳຊຶ່ງຫນັກຫນ່ວງແມ່ນຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດກໍຄືເຂດເຜົ່າຊົນ ທີ່ ຢູ່ ຫ່າງໄກ. ຄຸ ນ້ຳຈະຖືກຕັ້ງໃສ່ເທິງບ່າ ບາງຄັ້ງກໍບັນຈຸນ້ຳເຖິງ 40 ລິດ. ນັກ ຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງໄດ້ວິໃຈກ່ຽວກັບບັນຫານີ້ໃນປີ 1985 ພົບ ວ່າຜູ້ຍິງ ທີ່ອຽງຈັນມີເຖິງ 98% ເປັນຜູ້ຕັກນ້ຳລ້ຽງຄອບຄົວ (Maroczy 1985a). ນອກຈາກຕັກນ້ຳຫລືຫາບນ້ຳແລ້ວຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ

ຈຳ ນວນຫລາຍຈະເປັນຜູ້ລ້ຽງເກືອຫມູ, ຫມາ, ເປັດໄກ່. ອີງ ຕາມ ການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ຂອງ ນາຣິກຊີ Maroczy ຍັງພົບວ່າທີ່ວຽງ ຈັນຜູ້ ຍິງມີຈຳນວນຫລາຍກ່ວາຜູ້ຊາຍເປັນຜູ້ແບກຫາບວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວ. ນາ ຣິກຊີ Maroczy ຍັງໄດ້ຊີ້ໃຫ້ເຫັນອີກວ່າໂດຍທົ່ວໄປຜູ້ຍິງຈະ ເຮັດວຽກຫລາຍກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ 2 ຊົ່ວໂມງ (Maroczy 1985a). ດັ່ງນັ້ນການ ແບກຫາບວຽກຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໃນສະໄຫມກ່ອນຫລືດຽວນີ້ບໍ່ມີ ຫຍັງແຕກຕ່າງ ຫລືປ່ຽນແປງເທົ່າໃດ. ທ່ານບັນນາທິການວາ ລະ ສານຫນັງສືພິມ<u>ວັນນະສິນ</u> ດາຣາກັນລະຍາ ໄດ້ເວົ້າໃນເວລາ ທີ່ຜູ້ຂຽນສຳພາດໃນວັນທີ 3 ມີນາ 1987 ວ່າ "ປະຈຸບັນ ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງເຮັດວຽກຫລາຍກວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍ 3 ເທື່ອ". ໃນຄວາມ ເປັນຈິງແລ້ວ, ໃນແຕ່ລະມື້ ລະວັນ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈະເສຍເວລາໃນການ ເຮັດວຽກຕ່າງໆຫລາຍກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍແລະບໍ່ມີເວລາພັກຜ່ອນຫລື ນອນ ເທົ່າໃດ. ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍຜູ້ຊາຍຈະໄດ້ນອນຕື່ນສວຍ, ແຕ່ນ້ອຍຫນັກ ນ້ອຍຫນາທີ່ຈະ ເຫັນຜູ້ຍິງນອນເວັ້ນ. ລວມຄວາມແລ້ວ, ໂດຍທົ່ວ ໄປຜູ້ຍິງຈະເສຍ ເວລາປະມານ 13 ຫາ 18 ຊົ່ວໂມງເພື່ອເຮັດ ວຽກໃນແຕ່ລະມື້. ເມື່ອຜູ້ຍິງຈຳນວນຫລວງຫລາຍເປັນຜູ້ມັກ ເຮັດ ບຸນສິນກິນທານເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງຕ້ອງຕື່ນຈາກນອນກ່ອນຜົວ 1 ຫລື 2 ຊົ່ວໂມງ (ດິກແມນ Dickman 1989)ເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ ຫມໍ້ງ ເຂົ້າ, ກຽມແຕ່ງຈັ່ງຫັນໄປວັດ, ແລ້ວກໍກຳກັບນຳລູກທີ່ຈະ ໄປໂຮງຮຽນ ກ່ອນທີ່ຕົນເອງຈະໄປເຮັດວຽກຫລືໄປໄຮ່ສວນ. ເມື່ອກັບຈາກວຽກ ແລ້ວກໍ່ໄດ້ສືບຕໍ່ເຮັດວຽກຄົວເຮືອນເປັນຕົ້ນແຕ່ງກິນ. ເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຈະ ຢຸດ ເຮັດວຽກເຮືອນຊານກໍອາດຈະແມ່ນ 9 ໂມງແລງຫລື ບາງ ຄັ້ງ ກໍ່ດຶກກວ່ານັ້ນຖ້າຫາກເຂົ້າເຈົ້າຕ້ອງເຂົ້າຮ່ວມປະຊຸມໃນ ຖາ ນະທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກຂອງຄະນະບ້ານ, ຂອງພັກ, ຊາວຫນຸ່ມ, ກຳ ມະບານ, ແມ່ຍິງ, ກອງຫລວນຫລືສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ. ບາງຄົນ ກໍອາດຈະຢູ່ດຶກກວ່າທຸກຄົນໃນຄອບຄົວເພື່ອຕຳຫູກສາວ ໄຫມ ອີກ. ເວລາຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນອຸທິດເພື່ອວຽກຄົວເຮືອນ, ເບິ່ງລູກ, ເຝົ້າ

ເຮືອນແລະວຽກສ້ວຍຄົມກໍອາດຈະເສຍໄປ 8 ຫາ 10 ຊົ່ວໂມງ ຕໍ່ ມື້. ແຕ່ເຖິງ ຢ່າງໃດປະເທດລາວກໍຍັງເປັນຫນຶ່ງ ໃນ 10 ປະ ເທດທີ່ ທຸກຍາກທີ່ ສຸດໃນໂລກດັ່ງນັ້ນມັນຈຶ່ງບໍ່ເປັນສິ່ງທີ່ຫນ້າສົນໃຈ ທີ່ສະພາບຂອງຜູ້ ຍິງບັນດາ ເຜົ່າໃນຕົວເມືອງກໍຄືໃນຊົນນະບົດຍັງ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເຫມືອນດັ່ງເອື້ອຍນ້ອງເພດຍິງທີ່ປະເທດອື່ນທີ່ຍັງທຸກຍາກ ເຊັ່ນ ກັນເປັນຕົ້ນທີ່ປະເທດບັງກາລາເທດ Banglagesh ຫລື ປະເທດເນປານ Nepal ຊຶ່ງຕ້ອງເຮັດວຽກ 7 ມື້ແລະລະຫວ່າງ 8 ຫາ 13 ຊົ່ວໂມງຕໍ່ວັນ.

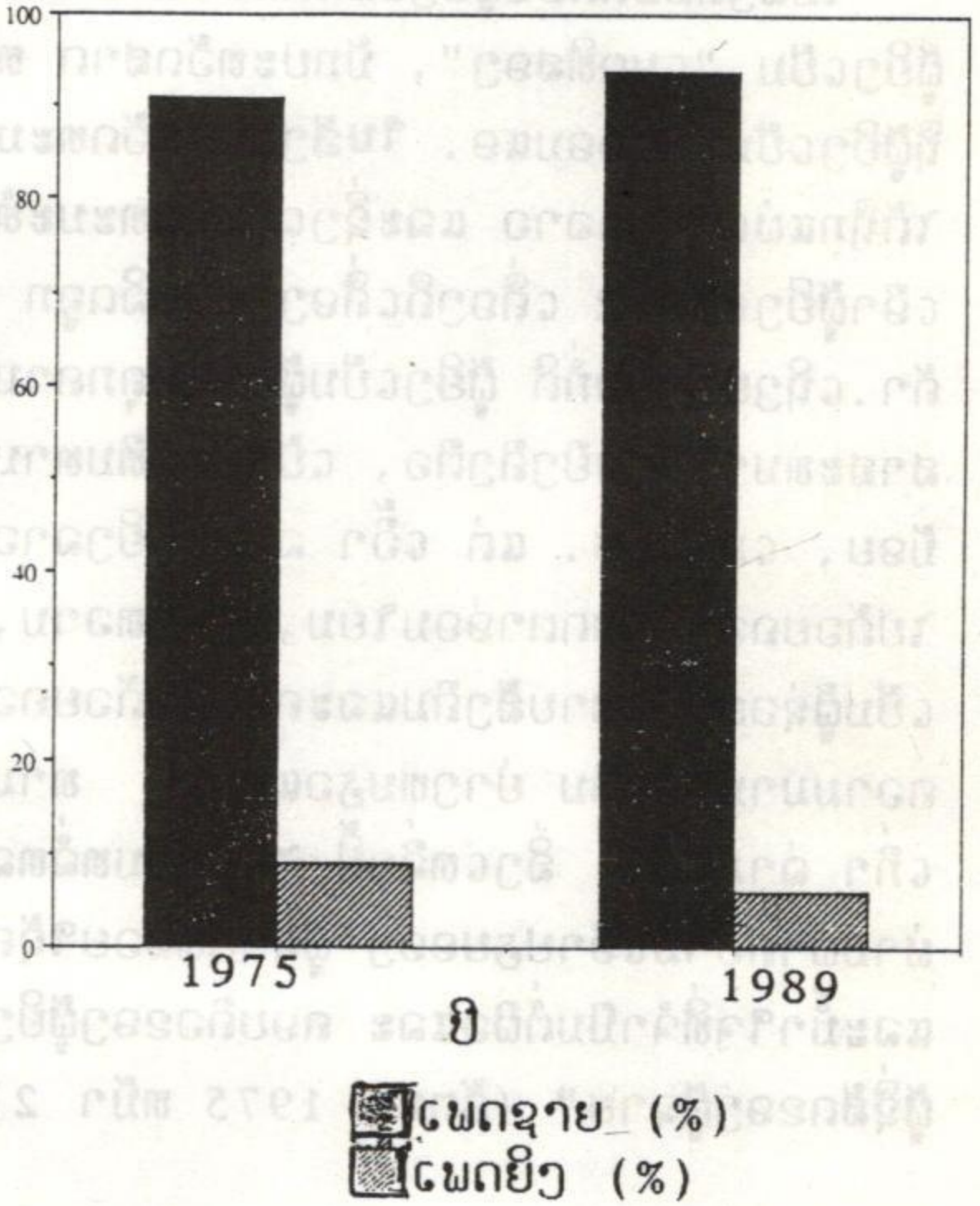
ເຖິງ ແມ່ນວ່າ 60 ເປີເຊັ່ນ ຈະແມ່ນຈໍານວນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ ຈັດເຂົ້າ ເຮັດວຽກກະສິກໍາ (ດາວອນ 1988), ແຕ່ການຈັດຕັ້ງກໍາລັງການ ຜະລິດໃນສະຫະກອນ (Evans 1990) ບໍ່ໄດ້ເອົາວຽກງານເພີ່ມ ໃນຄອບຄົວເຊັ່ນຄົວກິນ, ເຮັດຄວາມສະອາດ, ຕໍ່າຫູກຫລືເບິ່ງແຍງ ລູກ ແລະສັດ ລ້ຽງມາຄິດໄລ່ນໍາ ຫລື ຜູ້ຊາຍແລະຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ຮັບເງິນ ເດືອນ ຄືກັນ, ຜູ້ຊາຍໄດ້ 200 ຄະແນນ, ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ແຕ່ 210 ຄະແນນ ໃນວຽກ ດຽວກັນ (Maroczy 1985a; ຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງລະ ບົບຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກ ທີ່ບໍ່ເຫມາະແລະວິໃຈໂດຍ Evans 1990). ສະພາບດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຖືກ ຮັບຮູ້ໂດຍຄໍາແພ່ງບຸບຜາ, ໃນວັນ ທີ 26 ກັນຍາ 1988 ກ່ຽວກັບຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກທີ່ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍ ເວົ້າວ່າ

"ສະຫະກອນໃຫ້ຄະແນນ ເຮັດວຽກໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່າກວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍ, ສູນ ກາງແມ່ຍິງຮູ້ແລະພວກເຮົາ ກໍໄດ້ສະເຫນີໃຫ້ສະຫະກອນ ເບິ່ງບັນ ຫາດັ່ງກ່າວຄືນໃຫມ່. ການ ຄິດໄລ່ແມ່ນມາຈາກທີ່ວ່າຜູ້ຊາຍຖືເພດ ຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ". ການ ບໍ່ສະເຫມີພາບໃນການປະຕິບັດນະ ໂຍບາຍຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງກໍ່ພົບເຫັນເຊັ່ນກັນ ທີ່ສະຫະກອນກະເສດອື່ນໆ. ໃນ ສະຫະກອນກະເສດທີ່ແຂວງຈໍາປາສັກ, ຄະນະຈັດຕັ້ງໄດ້ອະທິບາຍ ຢ່າງບໍ່ຂ້ອງຄາວ່າຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງໄດ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກຕໍ່າກວ່າຜູ້ ຊາຍ. ໃນເມື່ອເປັນຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ດຽວໃນຄະນະຊຶ່ງມີແຕ່ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ຢ້ຽມຢາມສະຫະ

ກອນດັ່ງກ່າວໃນປີ 1987 ຜູ້ຂຽນຮູ້ສຶກແປກປະຫລາດທີ່ເຫັນວ່າຍັງ ບໍ່ມີຄວາມເປັນຫ້າຫລ້ຽງຈາກ 13 ປີແຫ່ງການປ່ຽນແປງ ຂອງ ລະ ບອບໃຫມ່ແລ້ວ. ຜູ້ຕາງຫນ້າຊາວຫນຸ່ມຂອງສະຫະກອນ ດັ່ງກ່າວທີ່ ຖືກຖາມວ່າເປັນຫຍັງຜູ້ຍິງຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກ ຕ່ຳ ກວ່າ ຜູ້ຊາຍ, ຜູ້ຂຽນໄດ້ຮັບຄຳຕອບວ່າ "ເພາະວ່າຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ໄດ້ອຸທິດຫມົດ ທຸກເທື່ອແຮງຂອງຕົນເພື່ອສະຫະກອນ, ເພາະວ່າບາງຄົນກໍມີສຸຂະ ພາບອ່ອນແອແລະບາງຄົນກໍຖືພາເລື້ອຍໆ". ໃນເວລາໃຮ້ລົມກັນຢູ່ ນັ້ນ, ຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ນັ່ງຢູ່ຂ້າງພາກັນມີດງວຽ.ແຕ່ຄວາມບໍ່ສະເຫມີພາບ ໃນ ການໃຫ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກນັ້ນບໍ່ມີແຕ່ຢູ່ລາວຫາກແຕ່ຍັງພົບ ເຫັນ ຢູ່ ປະເທດຈີນຊຶ່ງຜູ້ຊາຍໄດ້ 7 ຫລື 9 ຄະແນນ, ສ່ວນຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ແຕ່ 6 ຫລື 7 ເທົ່ານັ້ນ (ໄອເຕ Whyte, 1982), ຫລືທີ່ປະເທດ ຫວຽດນາມຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ 10 ຄະແນນແຫນທີ່ຈະໄດ້ 14 (ໄອ ເຕ White 1986). ຢູ່ປະເທດຫວຽດນາມຜູ້ ຍິງບາງຄົນ ຢູ່ສະຫະ ກອນ ກະເສດໄດ້ເວົ້າອອກມາຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍຕໍ່ການໃຫ້ ຄະ ແນນ ເຮັດວຽກທີ່ບໍ່ເປັນທຳຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ. ຜູ້ຍິງ ຈະຮູ້ສຶກຕໍ່ຄວາມບໍ່ ເປັນ ທຳດັ່ງກ່າວແຕ່ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍມັກຈະ ບໍ່ຢາກອອກສຽງຢ່າງເປີດເຜີຍ ເພາະຖືກຄອບງຳຈາກ ຮີດຄອງປະເພນີທີ່ຕ້ອງມີມາລະຍາດ ຕໍ່ ຜູ້ ຊາຍຊຶ່ງຫມາຍເຖິງວ່າຕ້ອງຮັບຮູ້ເອົາຫມົດທຸກເງື່ອນໄຂບໍ່ວ່າ ຈະຢູ່ ໃນສະພາບໃດທີ່ຜູ້ຊາຍວາງອອກແລະສ່ອນຜູ້ຊາຍເອງກໍຍັງ ຮັກສາ ແນວຄິດປົນດ້ອຍເປັນໃຫຍ່ ເຫນືອຜູ້ຍິງ. ບາງທີການບໍ່ກ້າເວົ້າກ້າ ວ່າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຕໍ່ຄວາມບໍ່ ເປັນ ທຳອາດຈະເນື່ອງມາ ຈາກ ບໍ່ຢາກ ເຫັນຕົວຫຍັງຫມົດ. ນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຜູ້ຫນຶ່ງ (Maroczy 1985a) ໄດ້ສັງເກດກ່ຽວກັບການໃຫ້ຄະແນນເຮັດວຽກແບບບໍ່ ເປັນ ທຳໄດ້ ເວົ້າວ່າ "ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ເຫັນເປັນສິ່ງແປກປະຫລາດການໃຫ້ຄະແນນແບບ ນັ້ນ". ເມື່ອສະຫະກອນກະເສດຖືກລົບລ້າງແລ້ວ, ບັນຫາຄວາມບໍ່ ເປັນທຳດັ່ງກ່າວກໍຖືວ່າຖືກຕົກໄປເອງ.

ເປັນ ຄັ້ງທຳອິດທີ່ໃນວັນທີ 23 ສິງຫາ 1975 ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ປະ ກອບເປັນຄະນະໃນ ຄະນະກຳມະການປົກຄອງຂອງປະ ຊາຊົນກຳ ແພງນະຄອນ ວຽງຈັນ. ຄະນະດັ່ງກ່າວປະກອບດ້ວຍຜູ້ຍິງ 1 ຄົນ ແລະຊາຍ 7 ຄົນ. ນອກນັ້ນຄຳສັ່ງນາຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີເລກທີ 419 ລົງວັນທີ 5ມິ ຖຸນາ 1975 ໄດ້ຢັ້ງຢືນໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງມີສິດເລືອກຕັ້ງແລະ ສະມັກຮັບເລືອກ ຕັ້ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນໃນການເລືອກຜູ້ແທນຄັ້ງທຳອິດໃນປີ 1975 ຜູ້ຍິງກໍໄດ້ ຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງເຂົ້າໃນສະພາຂັ້ນຕ່າງໆເຊັ່ນທີ່ກຳ ແພງນະຄອນວຽ ຈັນໄດ້ມີ 101 ຄົນ ທີ່ຖືກເລືອກ ໃນນັ້ນ ມີ 21 ຄົນເປັນ ເພດ ຍິງ (<u>ສຽງປະຊາຊົນ</u> 11 ພະ ຈິກ 1975). ຜົນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນ ບາດກ້າວ ອັນຫນຶ່ງ ເພາະໃນ ຫມົດ 14 ຕາແສງໄດ້ເລືອກເອົາຜູ້ ຍິງຕາແສງລະ 1 ຄົນ. ໃນລະດັບ ສູງ, ສະພາປະຊາຊົນໄດ້ເລືອກ ຜູ້ຍິງ 4 ຄົນຫລື 9% (<u>ສຽງ ປະຊາຊົນ</u> 5 ທັນວາ 1975). ຖ້າທຽບ ໃສ່ລະບອບເກົ່າ, ບົດບາດຂອງຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ຮັບການຍົກຂຶ້ນບາດກ້າວຫນຶ່ງ. ກ່ອນປີ 1956, ຜູ້ຍິງ ບໍ່ໄດ້ມີສິດສະມັກຮັບເລືອກ ຕັ້ງ.ໃນປີ 1958, ໄດ້ມີຜູ້ຍິງຜູ້ ຫນຶ່ງຊຶ່ງເປັນຕົວແທນຂອງແນວລາວຮັກຊາດໄດ້ເລືອກເປັນຜູ້ ແທນ ລາສະດອນ. ພາຍຫລັງ 15 ປີ ຕໍ່ມາໃນປີ 1974 ຜູ້ຍິງ 2 ຄົນ ໃນ 60 ຄົນ ໄດ້ ເປັນ ສະ ມາຊິກສະພາຜູ້ແທນ ລາສະ ດອນ (ພຶດ 1974). 14 ປີ ຕໍ່ມາ, ແຕ່ 1975 ເຖິງ 1989, ຜົນຂອງການເລືອກຕັ້ງສະພາປະຊາຊົນສູງສຸດຄັ້ງທີ 2 ໄດ້ມີ ຜູ້ຍິງ 5 ຄົນໃນ 74 ຄົນທີ່ໄດ້ຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນລະຫວ່າງ ການ ເລືອກຕັ້ງ 2 ຄັ້ງທ່ອປະເທດ, ຈຳນວນຜູ້ຍິງໃນສະພາໄດ້ເພີ້ມຂຶ້ນ 3 ເປີເຊັ້ນ (ຂໍໃຫ້ເບິ່ງແຜນສະແດງ 01.). ເມື່ອ ທ້າຍ ປີ 1992 ຜູ້ຍິງຖືກເລືອກຕັ້ງໄດ້ 5 ຄົນໃນຈຳນວນ 85.

แผนสะแดว 01.ภามปะภอบส่วนของผู้ยิวที่สะพาปะชาชีนสูวสุด



โดยผ่านดอามพะยายามถั่วกำ่อภามปิดป่อย ผู้ยิว ไปสู่ดอามสะเหมิพาบทุภย่าวละหว่าวยิวและชายแม่นถิภเสิมขะหยายเลื้อย ๆ. แต่บาวข้อถิวถ้าวแม่นจะหสิภล้ำวบ่ำได้ เมื่อผิบพั้เหดภามตือจิวโดยสะเพาะภามขาดภามปะสิบ ปะภามหาวด้ามคู้มดอวและแมอถิดเกิ่าที่ดูถูภมิ่นปะหมาดผู้ยิวย้วถิวถ้าว.

ສະຫລຸບ

ໃນສັງຄົມແຕ່ກ່ອນຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ມີສິດສະເຫມີພາບ. ສາສະຫນາ ຖື ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ "ເພດທີສອງ", ນັກປະຫວັດສາດ ຫລືນັກກົດຫມາຍເກົ່າ ຖືຜູ້ຍິງເປັນເພດອ່ອນແອ. ໃນສັງຄົມ ທີ່ວັດທະນະທໍາຕ່າງປະເທດ ໄດ້ຖືກແຜ່ເຂົ້າມາລາວ ແລະຊຶ່ງເປັນວັດທະນະທໍາທີ່ຂູດຮີດຜູ້ຍິງໄດ້ ເອົາຜູ້ຍິງເປັນ 2 ເຄື່ອງຄືເຄື່ອງຈັກຜະລິດລູກ ແລະ ເຄື່ອງສົ່ນ ຄ້າ. ເຖິງຢ່າງນັ້ນກໍດີ ຜູ້ຍິງເປັນຜູ້ລົ້ມລຸກຄຸກຄານກ້າສູ້ຊົນເຊີດຊູຄ້ໍາ ສາສະຫນາໃຫ້ຍືນຍົງຄົງຕົວ, ເປັນຜູ້ຕໍ່ສູ້ທົນທານ ຂອງລະບົບເມຍ ນ້ອຍ, ເມຍໃຫຍ່. ແຕ່ ເວົ້າ ລວມ ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ເປັນເພດທີ່ເຕັ້ມ ໄປດ້ວຍຄວາມເມດຕາອ່ອນໂຍນ, ອ່ອນຫວານ, ຈົງຮັກພັກດີ ທັ້ງ ເປັນຜູ້ຊ່ວຍແບກຫາບສັງຄົມແລະຄອບຄົວດ້ວຍຄວາມຍົ້ມແລະ ດ້ວຍ ຄວາມມານະອົດທົນ ຢ່າງຫນຽວແຫນ້ນ ທາມກາງ ໂສ້ຮີດຄອງ ເກ່ົາ ລ່າມໄວ້. ສິ່ງເຫລ່ົານີ້ ໄດ້ຝຶກຝົນຫລໍ່ຫລອມ ໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ຜ່ານຜ່າຄວາມເອົາປຽບຂອງ ຜູ້ຊາຍທີ່ສວຍໃຊ້ຄວາມ ເສຍສະລະ ແລະນ້ໍາໃຈທີ່ຈໍານົນຕໍ່ຜົວແລະ ຄອບຄົວຂອງຜູ້ຍິງຄື "ພຽງຂ້າຫາດ ຜູ້ຊີ່ສົດຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍ" (ຮ້ຕນາ 1975 ຫນ້າ 2).

ນັບແຕ່ສ້າງຕັ້ງລະບອບໃຫມ່ ເປັນຕົ້ນມາ, ຜູ້ຍິງລາວຈໍານວນ ກ່ວາເຄ່ິງຫນ່ຶງຂອງຟ້າ ໄດ້ຄ່ອຍ ໆ ມີບົດບາດດີຂ້ຶນ ທາງໃນດ້ານ ຊີວິດການເມືອງ, ເສດຖະກິດກໍຄື ສັງຄົມ. ແຕ່ຖ້າຫວນຄືນ ຫລັງ ແລ້ວ, ພວກເຮົາຈະເຫັນໄດ້ວ່າ ມັນເທ່ົາໃດ ທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງພວກເຮົາໄດ້ ຜ່ານ ຜ່າ ແລະ ໄດ້ອຸທິດຕົນເອງ ໃຫ້ແກ່ສັງຄົມກໍຄືຄອບຄົວ ແລ້ວ ພວກເຮົາຈະພູມໃຈ. ແຕ່ເມ່ືອພວກເຮົາຍັງມີຫລາຍສ່ິງຫລາຍຢ່າງ ຈະຕ້ອງໄດ້ເຮັດອີກ ແລ້ວເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າເກ ືອບສອງທົດສະວັດແລ້ວກໍ ດີ ພວກເຮົາກໍ່ຫໍ້ແທ້ໃຈ. ແຕ່ຕໍ່ຫນ້າສະພາບການດັ່ງກ່າວ ພວກເຮົາ

ກໍ່ບໍ່ຄວນເຫັນໄດ້ແຕ່ດ້ານຫຍໍ້ທໍ້ຂອງມັນ. ການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ ຊ້ຳແມ່ນ ກ່ອນອື່ນໝົດ ມາຈາກການຂາດທຶນຮອນເຊິ່ງບໍ່ພຽງພໍໃຫ້ສຳຫລັບຜູ້ ຍິງ ແລະ ນອກນັ້ນກໍແມ່ນເສດເຫລືອຂອງຮີດຄອງອັນຫລ້າຫລັງຍັງ ເປັນອຸປະສັກກີດໜ່ວງການເດີນກ້າວໄປໜ້າຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ. ເມື່ອປະ ເທດລາວຍັງເປັນໜຶ່ງໃນບັນດາ 10 ປະເທດ ທີ່ທຸກຍາກທີ່ສຸດໃນ ໂລກ, ການດີ້ນລົນ ເພື່ອຢູ່ລອດຂອງແຕ່ລະຄອບຄົວ ແມ່ນຍັງສືບຕໍ່ ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກແລະຍິ່ງຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງແບກຫາບພາລະອັນໜັກໜ່ວງ ຊຶ່ງບາງທີ່ອາດຈະໜັກໜ່ວງທີ່ສຸດໃນຍາມນີ້ ຍິ່ງກ່ວາໃນຍາມ ໃດ ໝົດ. ອີກດ້ານໜຶ່ງຄວາມຮັບຜິດຊອບ ຂອງຜູ້ຍິງແມ່ນໄດ້ ກ້ວາງ ຂວາງກ່ວາແຕ່ກ່ອນ ແລະ ຜູ້ຍິງເອງເຊື່ອວ່າຍັງຈະຕ້ອງ ແມ່ນຕົນ ເອງອີກທີ່ຈະເປັນຜູ້ແບກຫາບພາລະໜັກ ດັ່ງກ່າວ. ແຕ່ດ້ານສອງ, ພາລະໜ້າ ທີ່ ດັ່ງກ່າວກໍ່ຂັດກັນເຊິ່ງທັງຈະເຮັດໜ້າທີ່ເປັນທັງແມ່, ເມຍ, ແມ່ເຮືອນ, ຊາວໄຮ່ຊາວນາ, ພະນັກງານຫລືກຳມະກອນ, ຜູ້ຄ້ຳສາສະໜາ, ສະມາຊິກອຳນາດການປົກຄອງທ້ອງຖິ່ນ, ຊາວ ໜຸ່ມ, ແນວໂຮມ, ພັກ, ສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ, ກຳມະບານ, ກອງ ຫລອນ ຫລືສະມາຊິກສະຫະກອນ (ໃນເວລາ ທີ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນຖືກ ລົບ ລ້າງ). ແຕ່ເພື່ອເຮັດໜ້າທີ່ເປັນຜູ້ຄ້ຳສາສະໜາ, ຄວາມ ຮຽກ ຮ້ອງຕ້ອງການໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງປະກອບສ່ວນແມ່ນເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ.

ແຕ່ວ່າໃນຊຶມນະບົດກໍຄືໃນເຂດເຜົ່າຊຶມການປ່ຽນແປງບໍ່ຄ່ອຍມີ ເທົ່າໃດເຖິງແມ່ນຈະມີມູນເຊື້ອມາຈາກສົງຄາມຕໍ່ສູ້ປົດປ່ອຍຊາດກໍຕີ. ນອກນັ້ນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ຍັງຢູ່ສູນອົບພະຍົບຈະແມ່ນຍັງຢູ່ສູນທີ່ປະເທດໄທຫລືຢູ່ ສູນ ປະເທດເອເຊຍອາຄະເນຫລືຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃຫມ່ຢູ່ປະເທດທີ່ສາມ ແລ້ວ ກໍຕີຍັງພົບຫລາຍບັນຫາ. ຜູ້ຈະມີເອື້ອຍອ້າຍຢູ່ຝຣັ່ງ, ຜູ້ຈະມີ ພີ່ນ້ອງຢູ່ການາດາ, ອົດສະເຕຣເຣຍ, ຫລືຈະມີພໍ່ແມ່ຍັງຢູ່ສູນຫລືຢູ່ ລາວລ້ວນແຕ່ພົບບັນຫາໃນການປັບຕົນເອງເຂົ້າໃນສະພາບໃຫມ່ແລະ ສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມໃຫມ່. ບາງຄົນກໍສາມາດປັບໂຕໄດ້ໂດຍບໍ່ມີບັນຫາເທົ່າ

ໃດ, ບາງຄົນກໍບໍ່ສາມາດກໍອາດຈະເປັນຄົນເສຍຈິດແລະເສຍແນວ
ຄິດໄປ ຈົນເຖິງກັບຂ້າໂຕຕາຍກໍມີ. ບາງຄົນທີ່ຍັງຄ້າງຢູ່ສູນມາໄດ້
10 ກວ່າປີ ແລ້ວແຕ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນຮູ້ວ່າຕົນເອງຈະຖືກຕັກແຕ່ງຫົນໃດ, ຈັກ
ຈະໄດ້ກັບຕ່າວ ຄົນບ້ານເກີດເມືອງນອນຫລືຈະເປັນແນວໃດ. ໃນລະ
ຍະລໍຖ້າອັນໃດ ອັນໜຶ່ງເຂົ້າຕ້ອງອົດທົນຢູ່ສູນມີຊີວິດພາຍໄຕ້ລະບົບ
ຄຸມຂັງແບບ ທະຫານ. ແຕ່ຊາວລາວພົ້ນທະເລຫລື "ລາວນອກ"
ບາງຄົນເຖິງ ຈະພົບຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກເທົ່າໃດກໍດີຫລືໃນປະເທດທີ່
3 ກໍໄດ້ຍິບຍືນສິ່ງ ເປັນວັດຖຸເງິນຄຳຊ່ວຍພີ່ນ້ອງ "ທາງໃນ" ໃຫ້
ພົ້ນຈາກຄວາມຫຍຸ້ງຍາກສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງໃນເມື່ອປະເທດລາວຍັງ
ທຸກຍາກຂາດເຂີນທີ່ສຸດຂອງໂລກ.

ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າທ່ວປະເທດ ຈະ ໄດ້ມີການປ່ຽນແປງການເມືອງ
ແຕ່ການກ້າວເດີນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ຍັງພົບອຸປະສັກຍ້ອນລັດຖະບານບໍ່ມີທຶນ
ພຽງພໍແລະ ບໍ່ສາມາດຈະເພີ່ມ ລາຍໄດ້ໃຫ້ພະນັກງານຢ່າງພຽງພໍ.
ນອກນັ້ນມັນກໍເປັນຄວາມຈິງທີ່ວ່າການປະຕິວັດຢ່າງດຽວບໍ່ພຽງພໍຈະ
ປັບປຸງສັງຄົມ, ມັນຮຽກຮ້ອງໃຫ້ຫມົດທຸກຄົນປ່ຽນທັດສະນະ ທ່າ ທີ
ເບິ່ງຜູ້ຍິງເປັນພຽງກຳລັງແຮງງານຫລືເຫັນພຽງແຕ່ຮ່າງກາຍທີ່ ມີ
ຄວາມ ສາມາດພຽງແຕ່ຈະຜະລິດລູກ. ຜູ້ຊາຍຕ້ອງກຽມຊ່ວຍຜູ້ຍິງ
ໃຫ້ເທົ່າທຽມຕົນເພາະແນວ ທາງລັດຖະບານຢ່າງດຽວອາດຈະບໍ່
ພຽງພໍທີ່ຈະສິ່ງເສີມໃນພາກຕົວ ຈິງສິດສະເຫມີພາບລະຫວ່າງເພດ
ແລະ ລະຫວ່າງເຜົ່າ, ນອກ ຈາກ ວ່າທຸກເພດທຸກເຜົ່າ ຈະໃຊ້
ຄວາມພະຍາຍາມປັບປຸງຕົນ ເພື່ອກັນແລະກັນຈຶ່ງອາດຈະຊ່ວຍສ້າງ
ໃຫ້ຊົນຊາດຊົນເຜົ່າ ມີຄວາມກົມກຽວແລະທັ່ງມີລັກສະນະຊາດແລະ
ລົບລ້າງປົມດ້ອຍທີ່ຖື ວ່າຕົນເຫນືອກ່ວາຜູ້ ອື່ນ ທີ່ບາງລາວລຸ່ມມັກມີ
ແລະ ປົມດ້ອຍທີ່ຖືວ່າຕົນຕ່ຳຂອງລາວເທົ່ງ, ລາວສູງແລະຜູ້ຍິງມັກ
ມີ. ທັ່ງຫມົດນີ້, ຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍທ່ວໄປ ແລະ ໂດຍສະເພາະພາກສ່ວນ
ຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດແລະເຜົ່າ ຊົນແມ່ນຮຽກຮ້ອງ ນ້ອຍ ແລະ ຫນ້ອຍ

ທີ່ສຸດເພື່ອຍົກລະດັບຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່ ຂອງ ເຂົາເຈົ້າ. ເຂົາເຈົ້າ ຕ້ອງການມີເວລາຫລາຍ ເປັນຂອງຕົນເອງ ເພື່ອແຕ່ງຢູ່ແຕ່ງກິນ, ປຸກຕົ້ນໄມ້ກິນຫມາກ, ບຳລຸງຄວາມຮູ້ແລະຢາກ ມີລູກຫນ້ອຍຄົນ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນມັນກໍ່ບໍ່ແມ່ນສິ່ງຄາມໃຫມ່ລະຫວ່າງເພດທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງການຈະ ເອົາຊະນະຜູ້ຊາຍຫລືຈະປ່ຽນປັ້ນໂລກຫາກແຕ່ມັນແມ່ນຄວາມຕ້ອງ ການແບບທຳມະດາທີ່ສຸດແລະໃຫ້ເຫັນໄດ້ເຖິງຈຸດຫມາຍທີ່ຊາຍແລະ ຍິງ ມີຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກ ທີ່ຕ່າງຄົນຕ່າງນັບຖືເຊິ່ງກັນແລະກັນແລະ ຊ່ວຍ ເຫລືອເຊິ່ງກັນແລະກັນ ໂດຍທີ່ຜູ້ຍິງບໍ່ຕ້ອງຖືກເບິ່ງຂ້າມໄປໃນບ່ອນ ສຳຄັນໆຂອງເວທີ່ການເມືອງ, ເສດຖະກິດ, ການຄ້າແລະວັດທະ ນະທຳ. ຄຽງຄູ່ກັນນັ້ນຍ້ອນເປັນຄົນອ່ອນໂຍນແລະ ບໍ່ຄ່ອຍໄດ້ ຮັບ ຄວາມຍຸຕິທຳແລະເປັນຄົນທີ່ຖືກຫລໍ່ຫລອມໃຫ້ອົດທົນ, ຜູ້ຍິງຈຶ່ງມັກຕິ ຕົນອອກຫ່າງຫລືມັກຢູ່ຫັ້ງຫລັງຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍເພາະ ເຄີຍຖືກອົບລົມບົ່ມ ສອນມາແຕ່ເກົ່າຫລັ້ງ. ເຖິງຈະຢູ່ແຫ່ງຫົນໃດ ຫລືຈະຢູ່ໃນສະພາບ ໃດຜ່ານມາຜູ້ຍິງລາວຍັ້ງນິ່ງຢູ່ແຖວຫລັ້ງ ຂອງຜູ້ຊາຍຢູ່ເລື້ອຍໆເຖິງ ຈະພະຍາຍາມດິ້ນລົນຕໍ່ສູ້ໃຫ້ສຽງຂອງຕົນໃຫ້ໄດ້ຖືກຍິນກໍດີ.

ແຕ່ ຂໍ້ ຄວາມ ອັນ ສຳຄັນນະທີ່ນີ້, ຜູ້ຂຽນຢາກຝາກສີ່ຢ່າງ. ກ່ອນ ອື່ນຢາກໄຂ່ຂໍສະແດງຄວາມຫມັ້ນໃຈວ່າດ້ວຍການເອົາໃຈໃສ່ ຂອງ ລັດຖະບານລະ ບອບໃຫມ່ຕໍ່ຜູ້ຍິງ, ເຖິງຖ້າຫຽບໃສ່ລະບອບ ການ ປົກຄອງຫລາຍ ຍຸກຫລາຍສະໄຫມຜ່ານມາ ຈະເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວທີ່ ເຄີຍໄດ້ຜ່ານການກົດຫນ່ວງຈາກກົດຫມາຍພື້ນເມືອງ, ກົດ ຫມາຍ ສາສະຫນາຕະຫລອດກົດຫມາຍຂອງລະບອບສັກດິນາມັບແຕ່ ອົດທິພົນຂອງ ມານດາທິລາດ ໄດ້ຖືກຕີຖ້ຽໂດຍອົດທິພົນຂອງ ບິດາ ທິລາດ ນັບ ເປັນຫລາຍຮ້ອຍປີມາແລ້ວນັ້ນ, ຂໍໃຫ້ຜູ້ຍິງລາວ ເວົ້າ ສະເພາະ ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ມີໂອກາດເຜີຍໂສມຫນ້າຂອງຕົນດ້ວຍຄວາມເອກ ອ້າງຕໍ່ ໂລກປາສະຈາກຄວາມປົ່ມດອ້ຍ, ຄວາມກົ້ນແຫນງແຄງໃຈ ຍ້ອນ ຊຶກໂສ້ເກົ່າ, ໄດ້ມີອົດສະຫລະພາບແລະຄວາມສະເຫມີພາບ

ແລະເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າລະບອບໃຫມ່ຈະໄດ້ໃຫ້ໂອກາດແກ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ແຕ່ຜູ້ຍິງ ລາວ ກໍ່ຍັງເປັນ ຜູ້ລຶກລັບໃນສາຍຕາສັງສັງຄົມລາວກໍຄືໃນສາຍຕາ ຂອງໂລກ.

ສິ່ງທີ່ສອງທີ່ ຜູ້ຂຽນຢາກສົ່ງຂ່າວຜ່ານປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ວ່າປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ໄດ້ພະ ຍາຍາມໄຂປ່ອງຢ້ຽມໃຫ້ຮູ້ກ່ຽວກັບສະພາບເບື້ອງຕົ້ນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ, ດັ່ງ ນັ້ນປຶ້ມຫົວນີ້ຈຶ່ງເປັນການເຊື້ອເຊີນນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າທັງຫລາຍທີ່ສົນໃຈກ່ຽວ ກັບບັນຫາຍິງ-ຊາຍທີ່ປະເທດລາວກໍຄືທີ່ເອເຊຍຕະເວັນອອກຂໍໃຫ້ສຶບ ຕໍ່ຄົ້ນຄວ້າຕື່ມເພາະ ຍັງມີຫລາຍໂຂງເຂດສຳຄັນທີ່ຍັງບໍ່ທັນໄດ້ ແຕະ ຕ້ອງເທື່ອ.

ບັນຫາທີ່ສາມ ແມ່ນ ຜູ້ຂຽນເຫັນວ່າ ໃນສະພາບ ສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມ ເສດຖະກິດການເມືອງ ວັດທະນະທຳໃຫ່ມ ຜູ້ຍິງຕ້ອງການຫ້ອງການ ຫລື ສຸມຄົ້ນຄວ້າກ່ຽວກັບຜູ້ຍິງໂດຍສະເພາະເພື່ອໃຫ້ຮູ້ແບບ ວິທະຍາ ສາດ ກ່ຽວກັບເພດຍິງບໍ່ແມ່ນຮູ້ພຽງແຕ່ກ່ຽວກັບປະເທດລາວເທົ່ານັ້ນ ຫາກ ແຕ່ຮູ້ບົດບາດການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວກໍ່ຄືການປະກອບສ່ວນຂອງຜູ້ຍິງ ໃນບັນດາປະເທດອື່ນນຳ ເຊັ່ນຜູ້ຍິງໃນປະເທດເອເຊຍອາຄະເນ.

ສຸດທ້າຍ ຜູ້ຂຽນຄິດວ່າຜູ້ຍິງລາວແລະຫນຸ່ມນ້ອຍຕ້ອງການຍາມນີ້ ຍິ່ງກວ່າຍາກໃດຫມົດແມ່ນຫ້ອງການທີ່ມີຄວາມສາມາດໃຫ້ຄຳແນະນຳ ປຶກສາຫາລືທັງຮັກສາຄວາມລັບໃນດ້ານກົດຫມາຍຄອບຄົວແລະສັງຄົມ ເຊິ່ງອາດຈະປະກອບສ່ວນໃຫ້ແກ່ສັງຄົມເວົ້າລວມແລະເວົ້າສະເພາະ ໃຫ້ແກ່ຄອບຄົວ.

ເອກະສານເພີ້ມຕື່ມ

ຊ່ວຍຜ່ ! ຊ່ວຍຜ່ !

★ ຍ້ອນພວກເຮົາທຸກຍາກແທ້ ເອົາປ່າໄພພົ້ງຕືບ
ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງສົກກະປົກເປື້ອນ ຄວາມສະອາດກໍ່ຫາກຮູ້

ໂອ ພົນລະເມືອງດີ ຊົນນະບົດຫ່າງໄຫເມືອງ
ໝູ່ສັດເປັນເພື່ອນ... ຫລາຍຮອຍເຊັນຍຸ້ນປ່ອງ
ແຕ່ທ່ຽໄດ້ບ່ຽງງ່ຽ ນ້ຽງສູ່ຊົນນະບົດ ຮຽນເນີ!

★ ທ່ານເອີຍ ! ໃຫຍ່ກວ່ປົດປ່ອຍເປົ້ອງ ການສຶກສາບໍ່ທັນເກ່ົງ
ເຊົ້າຊຸ່ງ ນິແຕ່ທ່ຽງ່ານສ້ຽງ ຫ່ຽກໄປແຕ່ລະມື້...

ຝ່ຽຍລະດັບບໍ່ນິຊ້ຽ ຕ່ານພາສາຄົນປ່ຽ
ບໍ່ຟັນພ້ົ່ອນຈະເລີນ

★ ຢ່ົງລ່ວກ້ຽຝ່ຽຍເປົ້ອງ ບໍ່ຈັກຄວາມຫຍັງ ?
ນຸ່ງກ່ືໄປຕ່ານບ້ານ ເຄື່ອງນຸ່ງປົກຫໍ່ເປ້ືອ

ຊົນນະບົດປ່ຽຊຸມເຮົ່ຽ ຝ່ຽຈະເລີນບໍ່ເຄ່ີຍພ້ົ
ປະເພນີເຄ່ີຍຢູ່ ກໍ່ພ້ໄດ້ສ້ືບວັນ

★ ຊ່ວຍຜ່ ! ຊ່ວຍນ່ຽຄວາມຊຸ່ງຜ່ຈ້ຽ ໄປສູ່ຊົນນະບົດ
ຊ່ວຍນ່ຽການສຶກສ່ານ່ຽ ໃຫ້ໝູ່ເຮົ່ຽໄດ້ຮຽນຮູ້
ຊ່ວຍນ່ຽອ່ານ່ຽໄນເຊ້ົ່ຽ ພວກເຮົ່ຽລ່ໍຄອຍຢູ່
ຊ່ວຍນ່ຽເລີນສ້ຽຢ້ ວຽກ່ຽງ່ານສ້ຽງຜ່ນ້ຽ
ຜ່ທ້ອນ !!

ປະຊ່ຽຊົນວ້ນອ່ຽທ້ດ, 18/7/1993, ໜ້ຽ 9.

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LAO WOMEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn

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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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ห้ามจำหน่าย

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

Simone De Beauvoir, <u>The Second Sex</u>

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 heritance 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

Dr. Martin Stuart-Fox,
Reader in South-East Asian History, University of Queensland, Australia.

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ข้ามจำหน่าย

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 circomjacent 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 ancestoral prototype of all Lao women, better known as แม่ยาง่าม(Mae1Nya1 Nga:m1 or Nya1 Nyeu) (grandmother ย่าญี) , sacrificed herself with her husband, Pu1 Nyeu (grandfather ปู่ญี,) 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 "มาญี, กินญี"! (Comë *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 meuang[2] (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 ผีเมือง , 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 ผีหลักเมือง , 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 หลักเมือง , "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 Mael 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, สาวสี , 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 สาวสี , 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 สาวหมื่น

(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 Mae1 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 ມາຈ dresses as a man. This often happened in Luang Prabang.[8]

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 นางเทียม 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 Africa°; in Latin America, such as in Sao Polo, Porto Alegre (Brazil); in Thailand (Wijeyewardene, 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, democraticising 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 young[11], 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 April[13], and, surprising though this may be ceremonies are placed under the aegis of a woman called Nang Sa:ng 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. Giai (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 glutinuous 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 ขวัญจกสิบ (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 community[18]. 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 sorceror, 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 net, 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 Ua1(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 the city[21]. 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; Kabilsigh, 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[22], 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 kot mon 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 (Na:ng 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 SaiSetthathiraj (1373-1415) ruled Xieng Mai (northern Thailand) with a virtuosity in managing the politics of Laos (Hall, 1976:262).

Later, a Phuan princess called Cao1 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 Laos[24] 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 others[25], she was a daughter of King Sam Saene Thai as recorded in the 'Phongsavadane Meuang Luang Prabang. Some[26] considered her to be the youngest sister of Sam Saene 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 Khohng 'Khruru Sa:pha, 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 (Ogier, 1972:112). All this suggests that มาฎแก้วพิมพา 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 conscupiously 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 misacane 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 Mulatantay (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 script[30], 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).[31] 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 judments 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: 'Na:ng 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 'Khamsone (chronicles of Thav2 Khamsone) (1966); and Nyot 'Khamsone 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 worship[33]. 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 'Na:ng 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 'Na:ng 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 councel. 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 'Na:ng Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom Rajathiraj'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[34], 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 'Khamsone Buhane (1972), 'Na:ng Seu Inthinyane

Sone Luk (1965) and Nithane Thav2 'Khamsone (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 jossticks, 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).[35] 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 literature[36] encouraged the practice of this respect for the husbands during the vansin[37], in which women have to ask pardon for wrong acts done in the past and to swear fidelity to theirs. Today, many married women over fifty, living in and out of the country continue to observe these traditions.[38]

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).[39]

According to traditional Lao custom, when sleeping with her husband, the Lao woman's head must lie lower than her husband's head.[40] 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.[41] 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).[42] 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 'Buddha', 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.[43] 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.[44]

"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).[45] 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.[46]Lao folk tales, such as Nithane Thav2 Khamsone (1966) also say that, "a woman must let her husband take at least three first mouthfuls of food before beginning to eat herself."[47]

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 expressely 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).[48] This segregative tradition has strongly shaped social interaction up to the presence 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.[49]

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 sav, 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 (citrux 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 ดอกจำปา dork campa, 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 garnment worn by the majority of Lao ethnic Lao Lum women, and has since become the national dress (see more Bounyavong D., 1992). A ผ้าสิ่น 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 ผ้าสิ่น 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 embroided 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 สิ้น 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 bav1 (young Lao boy) and a phu2 sav (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 Presbytarian 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 (Vongsakdaphoumixay, 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 appropitiate fee, commonly called paeng 'heuan (repair the house)[52], 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).[53] 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)[54] 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 K02 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 sav '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 extorsion (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 andthe 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 pa:sane ngane" (Department of Police Co-ordination), 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, แก้วญาว kaeng2'nyang (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 commissionner 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 communitie. 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 Vannasin 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 Vieng

Latry (Vientiane's night life) - also known as the "Lucky Bar", "El Morrocco", 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 states-man 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 Somsaiphol, 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" (Seizt, 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. Unfortunatelly, 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 become 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 be 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 glutinuous 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 si1 ('Three Clean Dwellings and Four Waters').[55] The Lao literature, such as Nithane Thav2 Khamsone (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.[56] 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[57], 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 Douang Champa (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 on impossible love that challenges family authority or proposes a forbidden interracial marriage. "The Lao espouse 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 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 kha2, one of the Lao Theung (Austro-Melanesian), and the heroine, Nang Malong as a lowland Lao (Archaimbault, 1961b:2597-8,2602; Ketavong, 1968). Identical stories occur in Luang Prabang in the tale of khun Lu, Nang Ua2 (1970) (Archaimbault, 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 (Archaimbault, 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 (Archaimbault, 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 fiance's. She will be despised as a girl who engagement was broken off[58], 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 reflecte 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.[59] 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 (Massieu, 1901:267).[61] 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.[62] 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.[63] 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.[64] 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 disillusions 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). Since the adoption of the New Economic Mechanism and the enforcement of the Property and Heritage Laws, in practice, women let their husbands the responsibility dealing with legal papers including land titled (Viravong M, 1994).

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 home 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-law. The rationale behind such a situation is generally clear, as Alzon (1978:278) stated: "In societies with a patriarcal 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 in often practised in the Huaphanh province, northern Laos (Kasetseri, 1987:158; Dore, 1987:285), and by the ethnic Hmong.[66] One Lao researcher said of patrilocality 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-law, aimed not at brutality 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 Rajathiraj, 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 oppportunity 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 jewelelry, 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.[67]

Polygamy in Laos stems from an archaic belief in the superiority of the male (Saysanasy, 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 Kin1 Sav 'Khav Phu2 Xay (Female smelly, Male smelly) or in Leng Boupha Ngoen, ຜູ້ຍິງ ຜູ້ຍິງ (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.[68]

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 Souligngavongsa (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 heros customarily number from 10,000 to 84,000.[69] 84,000 is a symbolic number: it is a reminder of the age of Lord Gotama, and the number of the verses (gà'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 noy2, 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 Si1 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 noy2. She then takes a knife and cuts what the writer called "his most beautiful ornament" and threw it to his mia noy2. 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).[70] 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 xao1' (hiring wife), or 'mia b0likane'(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 to 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 house hold 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 pendamus 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 Khamsone Buhane (1972), and Nithane Thav2 Khamsone (1966). All the heavy tasks pile no 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), Kab Pu1 Sone Lane-Lane Sone Pu1 (1970), 'Na:ng Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965) relate that women must keep busy with their silk and cotton weaving. 'Na:ng 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 diar:, "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 Thi1). 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 Rajathiraj (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 critize 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 Mai, 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-developement 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 organisation 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 weigth
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, Macdonals, 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 leec. 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 (occuring, 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 (Ngaosyvathn, 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 foestus of a three month pregnant woman has a soul. If the foetus dies through miscarrage, 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 seen 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 LPRY, 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 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 conciousness. 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 Khǒ2 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.[71] 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).[72] 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 practioners 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.[73] Women workers who go for training for a short or long period, in country or overseas, receive a premium.[74]

Kindegarten 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 (Xieng 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 (Keoluangkot, 1959:445). In 1977-1978, there were 54 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 Tamphaen1 (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 unpre-cedented 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 alloted 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.[75] 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 Tohng2, 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 embarassment 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".[76] 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.[77] 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 Parlimentary 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).

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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 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 tocl 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); Seidenfaden (1958:35); and Pallegoix (1854:50-2).

3. On the pagoda of Si Meuang, see Deydier (1954:90-2); Archaimbault (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 Mael Si Meuang (Lady Si Meuang) had become incarnated in a Nang`Thiam in Hawaii.

6. About "Trance", see Wijeyewardene (1981). In southern Laos, it is also called Mael Lam (Mother of sings), but if it is a man, it is called 'MΘ Thiam, see Pottier (1973:106). In Luang Prabang, it is called Thil Na:ngl (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 Hours (1973b:140-1); Dore (1973:113); for Thailand, see Wijejewardene (1981); for more on the difference between shamanists and 'MΘ Theva:da (celest 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 Tenhula (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 Wijeyewarde (1981:6).

13. It is also an occasion for the children to perform a rite of Somma 'khalava:, 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 Sa:ng 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); Giai (1981a:48).

15. Also known as Mael Khao2 (Mother of Rice). See also Deydier (1952:68-70). In Thailand, it is known as Mael Phosob; for more see Hubert (1981); while in Cambodia, it is known as Phrah Peisrap, 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 Rajadhon (1961:39); Seidenfaden (1958:94-6). "The spirit cult is presided over by an elderly female of the household as its specialist", noted Kajiwara (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, Mael`Phosob, Nang 'Khosob, Thevi Phosob, or Mael Khao2 (Mother of Rice), see Deydier (1952:68-70).

18. For Thailand, see Rajadhon (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; Mougne, 1984b; in China, Thireau (1987).

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

22. One example is The Little Orphan's Spirit (kaml'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; Bua 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 Oraphim (Lady Oraphim) (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. ນາງພາວ 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 (Aymonier, 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 Han (Lady Han) 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); Viphakphotchanakit (1987:20).

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

27. `Phongsavadar Meuang Luang Prabang (1969:9); PhongSavadane Meuang Lav (page 82); Sasorith (1959:27); Boun Souk (1972:120).

28. In the mythology of Khun Bulom, 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 Bulom (Na:ng Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom, 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. Thammasat Buhane or "Code of Vientiane", was gathered by Thao Bounthisen Channaksouvanh and compiled by Sila Viravong under the title `Khamphi Phra: Thammasat 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 khθ, 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 somma), 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), Nithane 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 Na:ng Seu Inthinyane Sone Luk (1965:33-34); Nithane Thav2 Khamsone (1966:4); Nyot Khamsone Buhane (1972:4th-5th point), and also Peltier (1988:358).

37. ວັນ,ສີ 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. Wongthej (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 tattoed 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 tattoed, 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 khangl (stick-lake) is being carried out: khangl 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 (Bounyavong 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 `Na:ng Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom (1967:37).

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

47. See also, `Na:ng Seu Pheun2 Khun Bulom (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. ᨩᩪᨩ means repairing, and ᨧᩮᩢᨾᩪᨶ 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 Methivorakhoun (1967:27); and also in Thailand, see Banthao Southi Ruang Nong Krung (1984:81-84).

56. See also Peltier (1988:107); such as The King of Toads (Phaya`Khaǹkhark) (1970), The King of Elephants (`Khatthanam) (1970), The Little Orphan's Spirit (Kam1 Pha2 Phi Noy2) (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 `may (Following the letter. Short stories from modern Lao writers), 1991.

58. See Archaimbault (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 khal kheu: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); Zago (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, Mulam, Lia; and generally by the Day, see Natchamnong (1987:58-65, 71-3, 76-9); Berlie (1990); Prasithrathsint (1990); Zheng Yiaoyun (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. Saysanasy (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 Nang Oraphim (totalled of 10,000 wives) (1970:16; Peltier, 1988:294); in Bua`Hohng Bua`Hiao (60,000) (see also Peltier, 1988:346); in Kalaket

(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 certains 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; Huang Boupha, September 19, 1988; Cf. Boupha, interview 26, 1988).

72. The Ministry of Agricuture 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 Extraordianry 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 Pasason (3, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 13 December, 1988; February 27, 1989).

APPENDIX

Transliteration

1. Consonants

บ	B	ธ	'H		ทล	L	ผ	'PH	ทว	W
ป	P	ท	H		ม	M	ฝ	PH	อ	'A
จ	C	ถ	'KH		ทม	'M	ส	S	ย	Y
ด	D	ข	KH		น	N	ฆ	X	ง	NG
ต	T	ธ	'R		ทน	'N	ท	TH	ทง	'NG
ฝ	F	ทธ	R		ย	NY	ฤ	'TH		
ก	K	ล	'L		ทย	'NY	ว	V		

2. Vowels and Diphthongs

a:	◌ะ	a	◌า	i:	◌ี						
i	◌ิ	eu:	◌ึ			eu	◌ื				
u:	◌ู	u	◌ุ			e:	เ◌ะ				
e	เ◌	ae:	แ◌ะ			ae	แ◌				
o:	โ◌ะ	o	โ◌			ɵ:	เ◌าะ				
ɵ	◌ั	oe:	เ◌ี			oe	เ◌ิ				
ia:	เ◌ียะ		ia	เ◌ีย			ua:	◌ัวะ			
ua	◌ัว		eua:	เ◌ือ	ɵ		eua	เ◌ือ	ɵ		
ai	ไ◌	ao	เ◌า		am	◌ำ		oy	◌ุย		
ay	◌าย		aev	แ◌ว		an	◌ั◌	ม			
ane	◌าม		a:ng	◌ั◌	ง		ang	◌าง			
ohng	◌ุง		ong	◌ั◌	ง		uay	◌ัวย			
ao	เ◌า		uam	◌ัวม			um	◌ุม		om	◌ั◌ ม

en ◌ั◌ ùang ◌ั◌ a:m ◌ั◌

ok ◌ั◌ ak ◌ั◌ iam ◌ั◌ ian ◌ั◌

uy ◌ั◌ eu:k ◌ั◌ one ◌ั◌ ib ◌ั◌

an ◌ั◌ ob ◌ั◌ ung ◌ั◌ ork ◌ั◌

it ◌ั◌ ak ◌ั◌ uaeng ◌ั◌ eb ◌ั◌

ohng ◌ั◌ ong ◌ั◌ ab ◌ั◌ ing ◌ั◌

in ◌ั◌ eu:k ◌ั◌ eng ◌ั◌ ome ◌ั◌

om ◌ั◌ un ◌ั◌ euang ◌ั◌ oht ◌ั◌

ark ◌ั◌ uang ◌ั◌ iao ◌ั◌ ot ◌ั◌

ok ◌ั◌ av ◌ั◌ iang ◌ั◌ uan ◌ั◌

oen ◌ั◌

I only used two tonal accents x1 and x2

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ສາວເລຂາຕໍ່ວ່າ

ໂດຍ ວິເສດ ສະແຫວງສິກສາ

* ອ້າຍຜູ້ແຕນກົ້ນກ່ານ
ແນວຫມາກນາວ
ອ້າຍຫນ້າສື່ອ
ອັນວ່າ ມີໂວອ້າຍ
ເອົາໄວ້ເຂົ້າຫ້ອງນ້ຳ
* ອັດສະຈັນຕາສົ້ມ
ຫລື ອ້າຍເອົານ້ຳອ້ອຍ
* ຢ່າໄດ້ມາທຳໂກ້
ສ້ວງບໍ່ຈອມແມ່ປັກນ້ອຍ
* ຖືວ່າ ນ້ອງຕ່ຳຕ້ອຍ
ຈົ່ງໄດ້ລອມລາມຫວັງ
ບຸນບໍ່ພໍເສຍແລ້ວ
ຄອຍແຕ່ຫາບ່ອນໄດ້
* ເຈົ້າຍີ້ອົ່ງ
ແນວເມັດຊາຍ
ຄືຊ່າງຈົ່ງໃຈກ້າ
ສ້ວງກະສິຕາບຫນ້າ

ເຊື້ອທ່ານຄໍຍາວເອີຍ!
ໃຜຊຸ່ມຕາຫລື່ອ
ແອວກິ່ວແມ່ງໄຍ
ຂາຍສາເດ ນ້ອງຊິຈ່ອງ
ຕາງເຈ້ຍຈົ່ງຊິສົ່ມ
ຫວານໃນສະນ້ອຍນິ່ງ
ກອຍໄວ້ຈົ່ງຄ່ອຍຫວານ
ໂຊຊົ່ງໄວ້ຫລ່ອນ
ບ່າຍຄ້ອນ ຕ່ອຍກະບານ
ຄອຍຊ່ວຍເປັນເລຂາ ຊັ້ນບໍ?
ໄຂ່ແດ່ງຫມາຍປຸ້ນ
ແນວນາຍອ້າຍຖ້ອຍ
ກຳໄລມວັນໃສ່ຖົ່ງ
ແຂນກົ່ງຊົ່ງນາຍ
ແກມຕົ່ມໄຮ້ຄ່າ
ມາຍາບໍ່ເຂົ້າທ່າແຫ້ນ
ບໍ່ອ້າຍຈົ່ງບໍ່ອາຍ?

(ຂອນຈາກສຽງຈົ່ມຂອງສາວເລຂາ...)

ເຊົາ: ຢ່າມາເລຍຂາ

ໂດຍ ວິເສດ ສະແຫວງສິກສາ

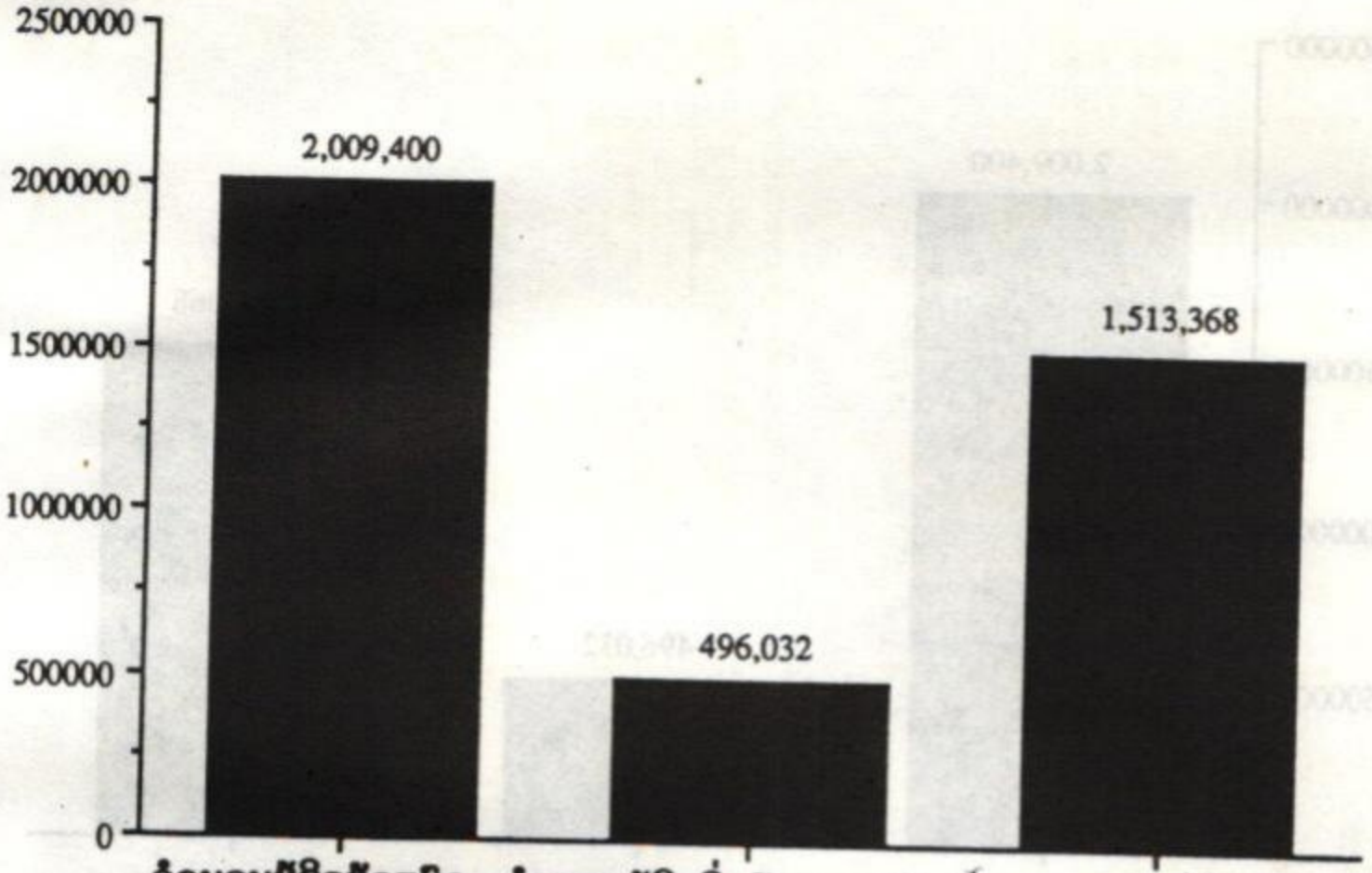
* ເຈົ້າຜູ້ສາຍຕາສັ້ງ ຫລິງແລຄື້ອກົ່ງ
ຄືດ້ວງວິງອີ່ເກົ້ງ ເຫິງຝ້າກໍ່ບໍ່ປານ
* ຄັນຮອດຍາມຝົນຫົ້ນ ເຫລືງຢ່າໄດ້ທ່ຽວ
ຢ້ານວ່າຄີ້ນ້ອງບ້ຽວ ຊິຫຽວແຕ້ມຕື່ມຫາ ວ່ານາ
* ເຈົ້າເກີບຢ່ອງ ແອວກົ່ວສິບແດງ
ຍາມຄ່ຳແລງ ລຳວິງແຍະແຢ່ງ
ຢ້ານນ້ອງລົ້ມແປ່ງແວ່ງ ເກີບແຢ່ງຫວາຍຫມາ
ຢ່າໄດ້ທຳຊົ່ວບໍ່ ຊູຊີ້ໂອມອ່ອຍ
ແມ່ບັກນ້ອຍ ຄ່ອຍອ້າຍຢູ່ເຮືອນ, ແລ້ວນາ
* ເຊົາສາຫ້ອນ ງາມງອນແກ້ມບ່ອງ
ອ້າຍຊິເຮັດບ້ອງຄ້ອງ ຄຽນນ້ອງແກ່ເມືອ
* ອັດສະຈັນຕົນສົ້ນ ເກີນວາຍາວຢຶ່ນ
ຝົນສົ້ນພຽງຄ່ຳກົ້ນ ຕົນນັ້ນຜັດຄ່ຳວາ
* ຍາມເມື່ອໄດ້ແຕ່ງຕົ້ງ ຮຽກຊື່ເລຂາ
ຢ່າໄດ້ໂລເລຫາ ຫລ່ຽມລາຍໂລມເລົ້າ
ເຊົາ! ຢ່າເລຍຂາອ້າຍ ກາຍຍາມສະເຫມ່ອຍ
ໃຈຍ້ອຍແຂ້ງແກ່ນກ້າ ມາຍານ້ອງຢ່າສູ່ຫວ້ັງ ດອກເນີ
* ອັນວ່າຕາຫວານນ້ອງ ຂາຍເລອ້າຍຊິຈ່າຍ
ຊິເອົາໄປແຊ່ນ້ຳ ໃຫ້ຫວານຈ້ອຍດົ່ງຕາ
* ອ້າຍນີ້ເຊື້ອໄມ້ໃຜ່ ກໍໃຫ່ຍຫນາມຫລາຍ
ແນວນາມນາຍ ບໍ່ຫ່ອນເປັນຊາຍຊູ້
ປູບໍ່ຍອມຈາເວົ້າ ເຫວົ້າໃຈນົກຍີ້ຖີ່
ເຮັດຫລີ່ຕົນໂຄກແລ້ວ ບໍ່ຫວ້ັງໄດ້ອ່ອມແກ້ວ ດອກນາ

(ຂຽນຈາກສຽງຈິ່ມຂອງຫົວຫນ້າ . . .)

ປະຊາຊົນວັນອາທິດ ສະບັບ ວັນທີ 26/12/1993 ຂ

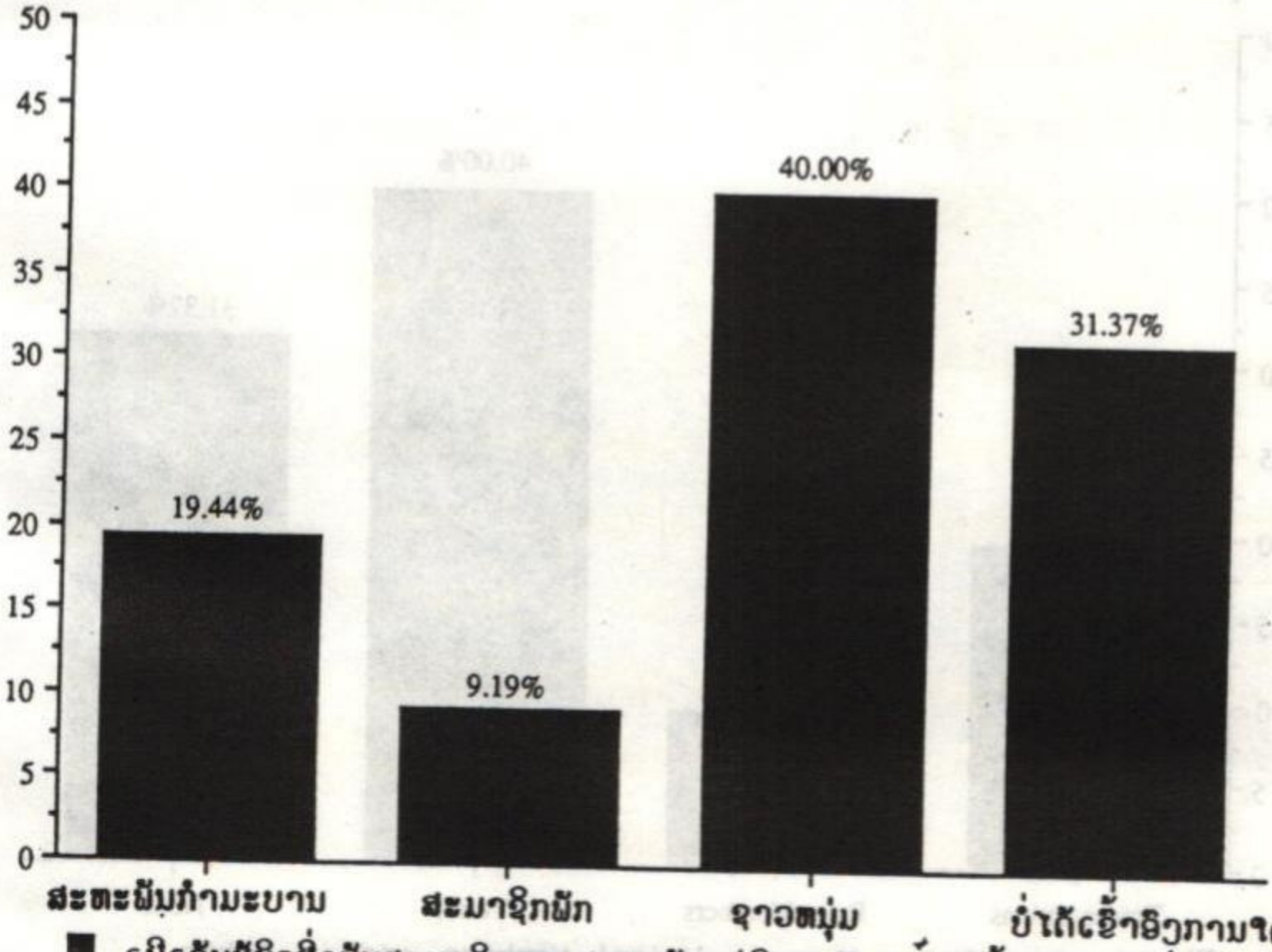
ເປີເຊັນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງແລະອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນອື່ນ ໆ 1988

(ກ) ເປີເຊັນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ



■ ເປີເຊັນສະມາຊິກຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໃນປີ 1988

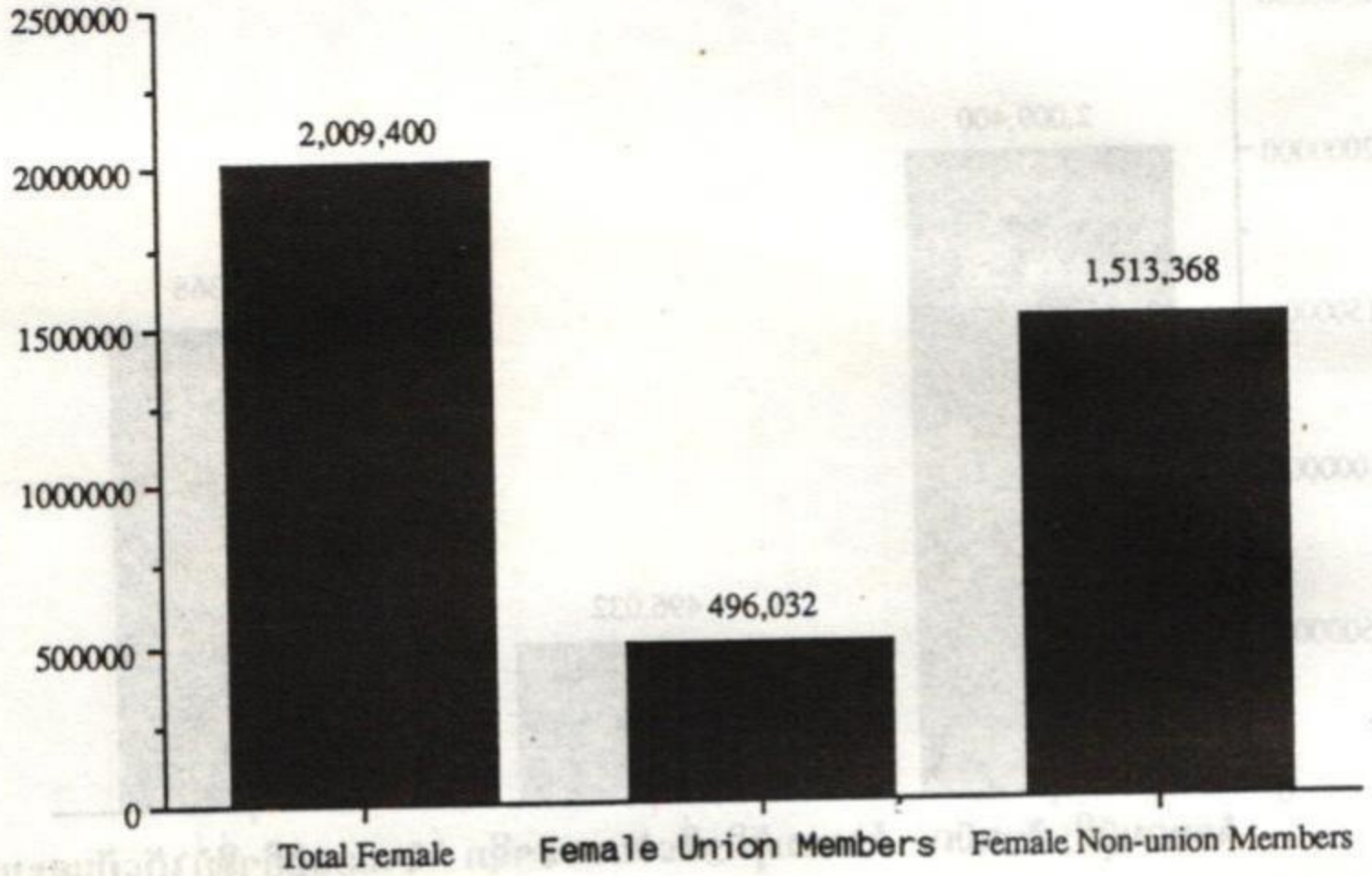
(ຂ) ເປີເຊັນສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກພັກແລະອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນອື່ນ ໆ ໃນປີ 1988.



■ ເປີເຊັນຜູ້ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໃນອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນອື່ນ ໆ ໃນປີ 1988.

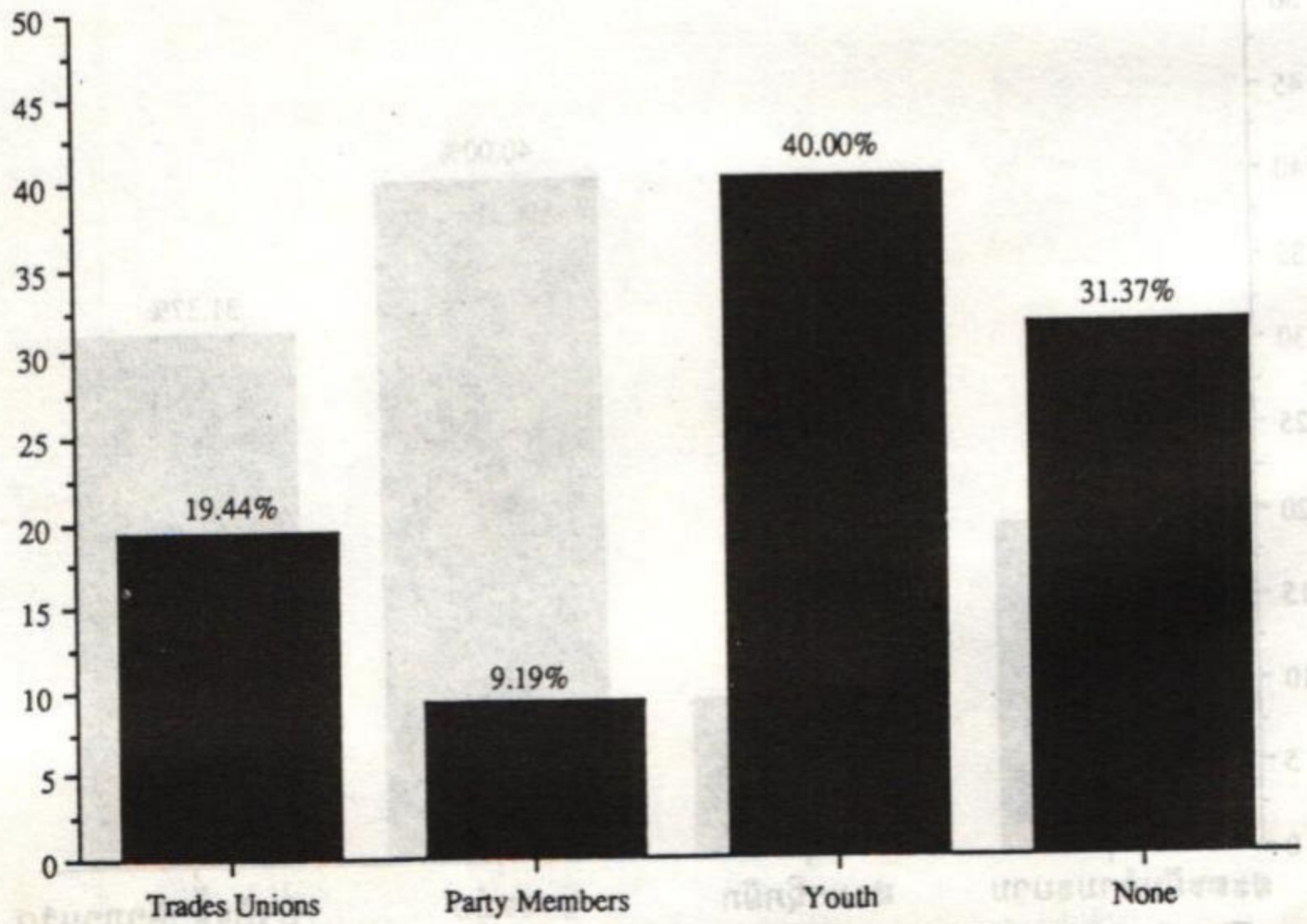
Percent Lao Women's Union'Members in the LPRP and in Other Social Organisations in 1988

(a) Percent of Lao Women's Union's Members



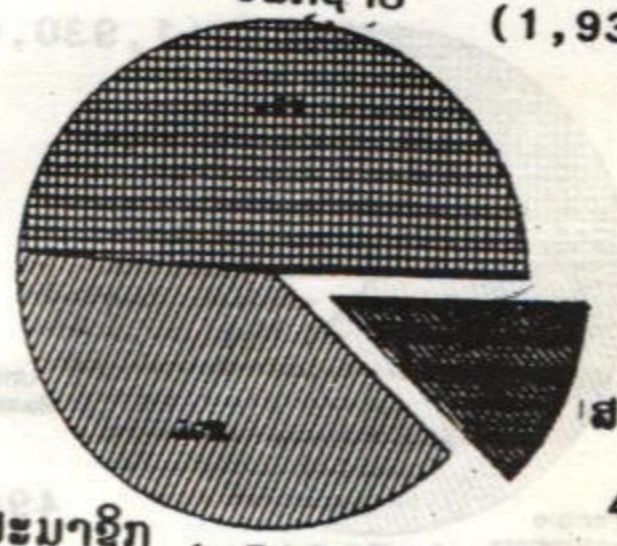
■ Percentage Lao Women's Union'Members in 1988

(b) Percent of Lao Women's Union'Members in the LPRP and in Other Social Organisations in 1988



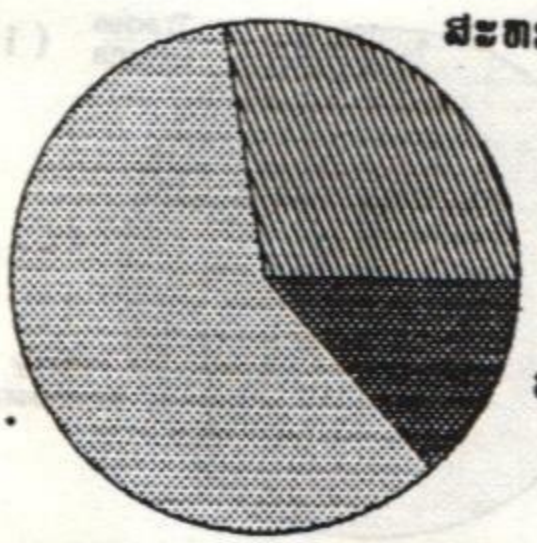
■ Percent of Lao Women's Union' Members and in Other Social Organisations, 1988

ສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງໃນອົງການ ຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນອື່ນໆໃນປີ 1988



1988 ຈຳນວນປະຊາຊົນທັງໝົດ 3,940,000 (ເພດຍິງ: 2,009,400).

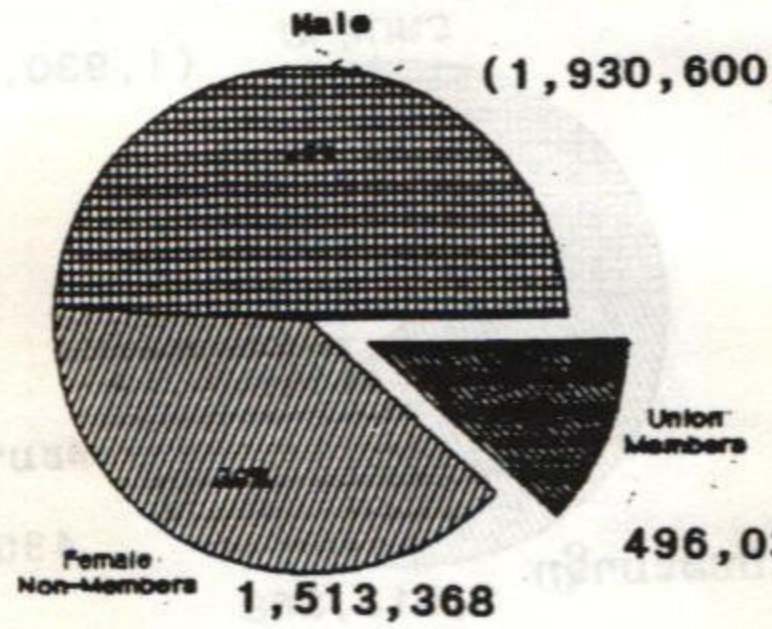
ສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງເປັນສະມາຊິກໃນ ອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນຕ່າງໆ



ເປີເຊັນສະມາຊິກສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງທີ່ເປັນສະມາຊິກພັກ ແລະອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນອື່ນໆ ໃນປີ 1988.

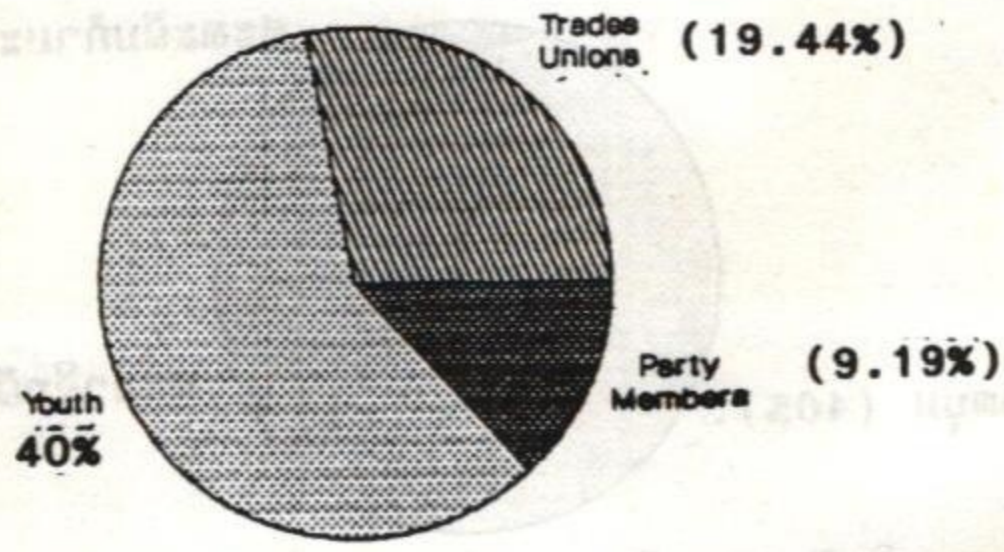
ຄັດມາຈາກ: ລາຍງານຂອງສະຫະພັນແມ່ຍິງ, 1988:77;1989:9.
ສູນກາງສະຖິຕິແຫ່ງລັດ, 1989:14.

Women in Lao Social Organisations
Members of Women's Union
in 1988



1988 total population 3,940,000 (Female: 2,009,400).

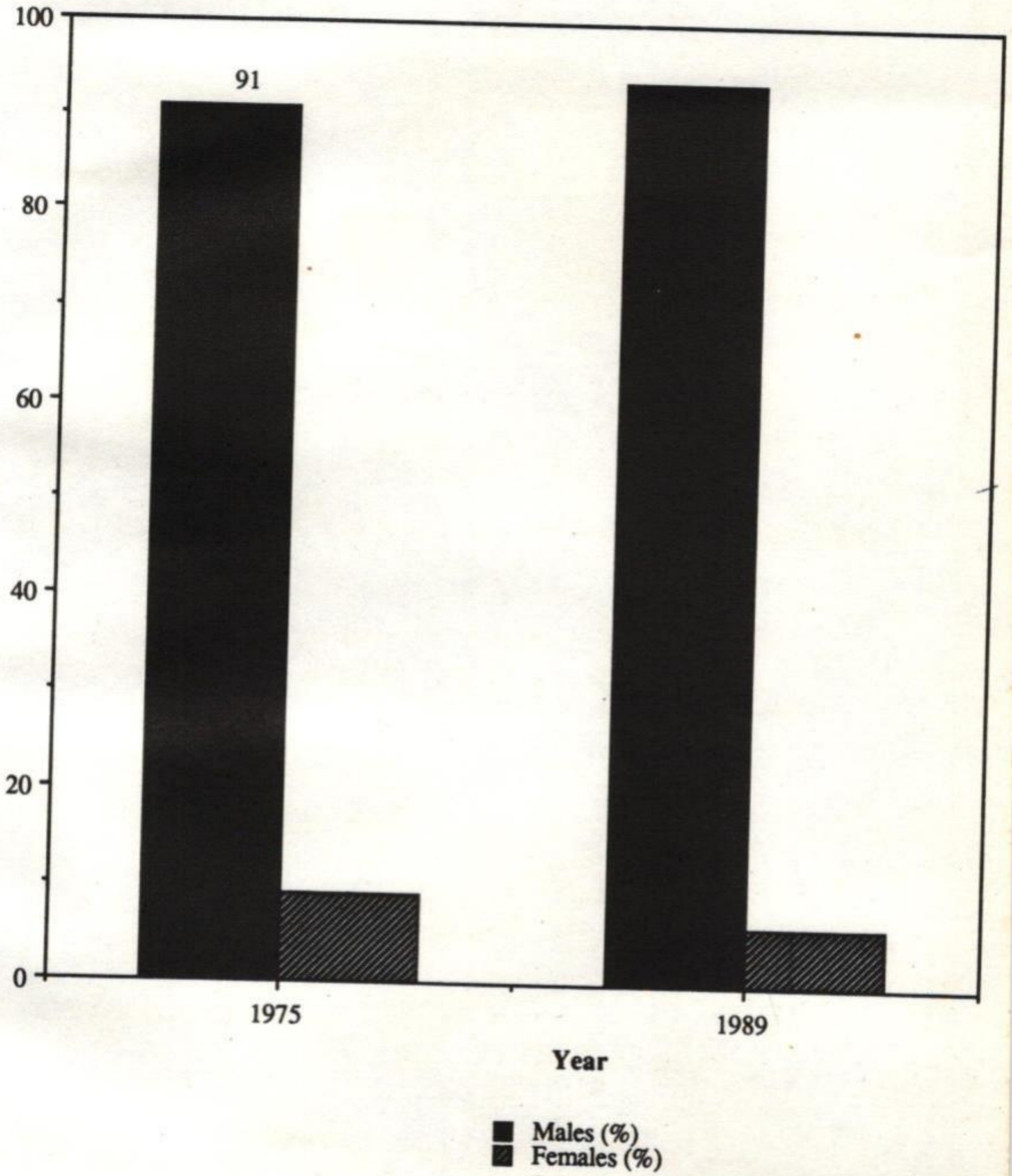
Women's Union Members in Other Social Organisations

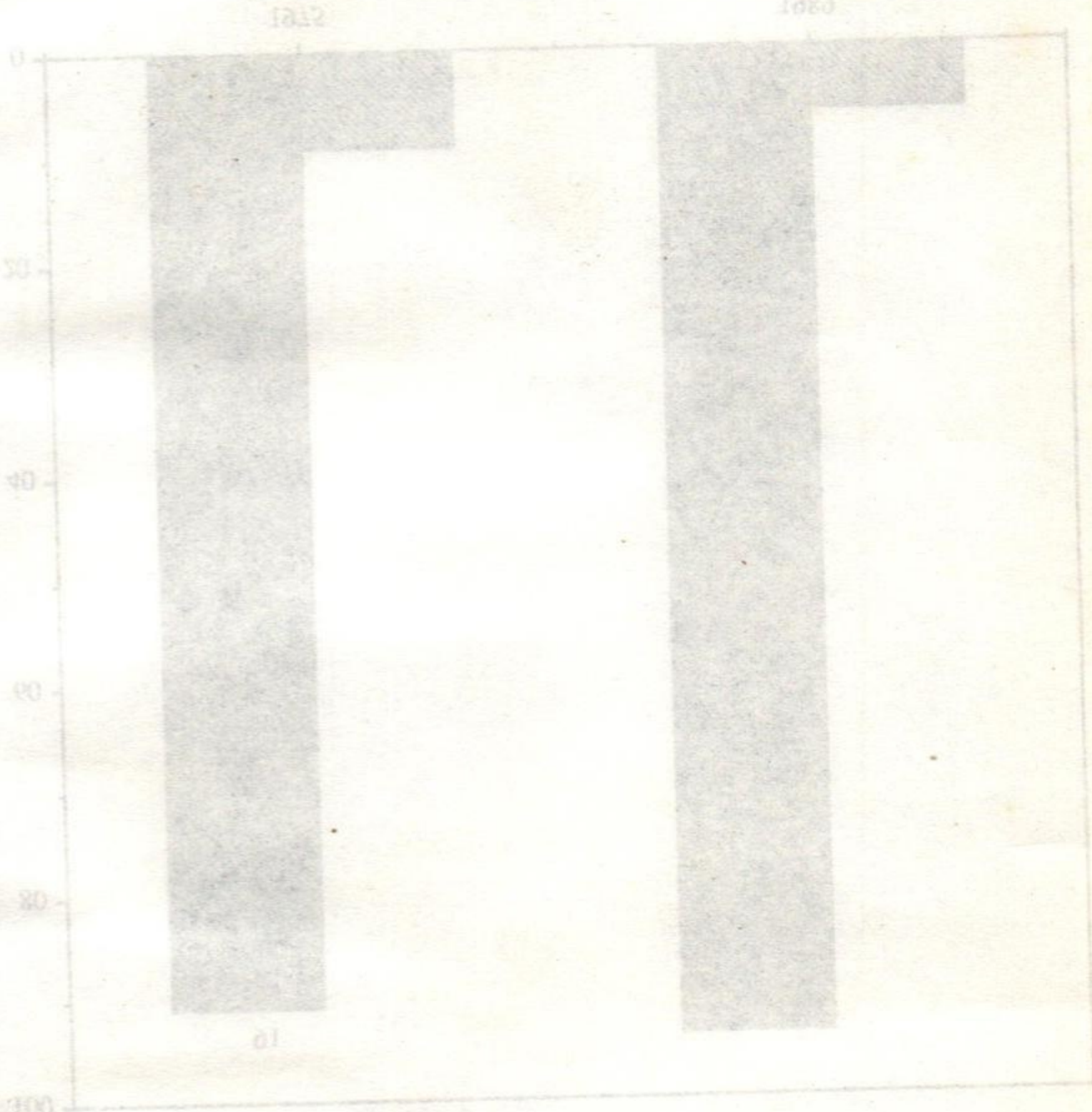


Percent of Lao Women's Union Members in Other Organisations in 1988.

Source: Lao Women's Union's Report, 1988:77; 1989:9.
State Statistical Centre, 1989:14.

Participation of Women at the Supreme People's Assembly





Biographical Note/ก่ยวกับผู้ยยม

Dr. Mayoury was in 1975 appointed Counsellor of the Royal Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Laos. She lectured at the Royal Institute of Law and Administration, then the School of International Relations, and the High School of Law in Lao PDR. She was Deputy-Director for the Ministry of Justice from 1975 to 1978, and Deputy-Director for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1979 to 1986. Since then, she devoted herself to do research on Southeast Asia history, 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.), a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Hawaii. a Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore), a Research Fellow at Griffith University (Australia), a Research-Associate at *Women and Human Resource Studies Unit* (School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia). She is also a SIDA Legal Consultant.

She delivered several papers at many professional international conferences, and her works have been published. These include: *The Lao in Australia: Perspective on Settlement Experiences*, 1993 (Australia: Griffith University); *Remembrances of a Lao Woman Devoted to Constructing a Nation: Khampheng Boupha*, 1993 (Lao PDR: State Publishing Enterprise); *Migrants, Crime and the Law: The Cambodian, the Lao and the Vietnamese Experience* (Forthcoming); "Buddhism, Merit Making and Gender: The Competition for Salvation in Laos", in Wazir K.J., *'Male and 'Female' on Southeast Asia*, 1995 (London: Berg); Tribal Politics in Laos", in Turton A., *Savagery and Civility. Ethnic Relations in Southeast Asia*, 1995 (London: Oxford University Press). On the Lao-Thai history, she has co-authored many articles and books with her husband, Dr. Pheuiphanh, such as *Chao Anou, 1767-1829: The Lao People and Southeast Asia (Old Story, New Meaning)*, 1988 (Lao PDR:Samnakphimchamnai S.P.P. Lao; *Kith and Kin Politics: The Relationship Between Laos and Thailand* (Manila & Wollongong: Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers); *Chronicle of Our Imperial Court's Behavior Towards the Affairs of the Country of Ten Thousand Elephants* (Tokyo: Centre for Study of East Asian Culture); *A Present of the Past Fifty Years (1778-1828) of Diplomacy and Warfare Among Mainland Southeast Asian Polities. Politics Nemesis in Modern Laos, Thailand and Vietnam* (New York: Cornell University's Southeast Asian Program). She is also co-editored with Dr. Kennon Breazeale, *Studies on Lao History and Historiography* (Forthcoming).

"One knows something special has been written when a barely literate Lao grandmother says,"I stayed up all night reading that book on women by Dr. Mayoury. I have never done that before. I must give this book to my daughters". Thank you Dr. Mayoury for moving the study of Lao women from the undeveloped to the developing world. (Jacquelyn Chagnon, Gender and Development Specialist in the Lao PDR).

"*Lao Women, Yesterday and Today* by Dr. Mayoury Ngaosyvathn is an important first step in the exploration of the history of women in Laos and will hopefully stimulate further study, not only in history but also in anthropology, sociology and psychology". (Dr.Grant Evans, Prof. of Anthropology at the University of Hong Kong).

"Richly grounded in Lao history, culture and politics, *Lao Women* (...) makes an important contribution to our understanding of gender in Southeast Asia. It brings out all the complexity, contradiction and paradox of gender, and provides a fascinating glimpse into the world of Lao women, long missing from the social science literature on Southeast Asia". (Dr. Penny Van Esterik, Prof. of Anthropology, York University, Toronto).

"This book on *Lao Women (...)* came just at the right time. It is not only very informative and written with great compassion but also as important encouragement for further gender studies in the region. Thus, it is truly a pioneer's work and therefore highly recommended (Dr. Hans U.Luther, formerly Professor of Thai/Lao Studies in Berlin).

"The author, Mayoury..., a remarkable woman (....). All three books (*Lao Women, Yesterday and Today; Remembrances of a Lao Woman Devoted to Constructing a Nation: Khampheng Boupha*, and *Kith and Kin Politics: The Relationship Between Laos and Thailand*) contribute to an understanding of modern Laos as it heads into the twenty-first century". (Prof. Constance M. Wilson, Northern Illinois University).

"Mayoury's Ngaosyvathn's *Lao Women Yesterday and Today* is a first-ever major study on Lao women written from the perspective of a Lao scholar. Providing a refreshing glimpse of the social and cultural evolution of Lao women through the ages, this meticulously researched study is an indispensible reference for anyone interested in Lao historiography and sociology (Dr. Ng Shui Meng, Project Officer, Unicef, Vientiane).

"While few studies have been devoted to Laos, even fewer have focused on understanding Lao women and their changing roles and status...)". *Institute of International Studies and Programs, University Minesota, 1994.*

"If the truth be told, I bought a copy of just-published *Lao Women* (...) by Dr. Mayoury...not because she is a woman but because it seemed like a miracle that anything at all was being published in Laos written by a Laotian, male or female, of her calibre". (Richard Henderson, January-March 1994).