

WOMENS EQUAL RIGHTS AND PARTICIPATION IN THE THAI BUREAUCRACY SUPIN KACHACUPT pdf

1: Women and Politics in Thailand | Nias Press

Women and politics in Thailand: continuity and change. Kazuki Iwanaga --Women's equal rights and participation in the Thai bureaucracy / Supin Kachacupt.

By Robert Stephens 27 The political climate of the European Union EU is often marked by the struggle of its 28 member states to build consensus and forge policies for the region. As the European Union expanded, it required greater emphasis on the equalization of opportunity throughout the zone. After the Southern European Enlargement brought Greece, Spain, and Portugal into the EU Region, the need arose for a series of policies to promote economic equalization among the member states, despite their varied levels of development. Of provided funds, Objective 1 structural funds, also known as convergence funds, focus on underdeveloped regions, historically including Poland and Southern Italy. Both regions lag behind the rest of the EU economically and have received an influx of structural funds aimed at boosting their economies. The success of structural funds must be analyzed first according to their ability to redistribute resources and second according to their ability to create self-sufficient growth in developing economies. In this paper, I will examine the success of Objective 1 structural funds at equalizing opportunity in the European Union and then predict their future impact on EU policies by considering their impact on Poland and Southern Italy. The convergence portion of the structural fund policy is comprised of three major funds. The last fund, the Cohesion Fund, provides for environmental and transportation infrastructure and renewable energy. Access to these funds is restricted to member states whose gross national income GNI per capita is lower than 90 percent of the EU average. Traditionally, structural fund policies target regions with economic, territorial, or social disparities with the rest of the EU and the funds act as an equalizing force among the member states. In order to receive convergence funds, a member state must have a GDP below 75 percent of the European Union average. Recipient states usually converge on other development indicators as well, such as low levels of investment in development, an unemployment rate higher than the EU average, a shortage of services available to in- 28 dividuals and businesses, and poor infrastructure in the region European Commission The EU often requires that recipient member state co-finance the investment in an attempt to instill confidence that funds will be spent as intended Hubner Structural fund investment success depends on two critical factors. The first measure is statistical: The second measure is less straight forward: One nation state of interest is Poland, which became a member of the European Union in May Since its entry, assistance to boost the Polish economy has gradually increased. According to European Union documents, over half of all projects funded in Poland were infrastructure-related. By Poland saw positive GDP growth of about 0. Initially, cohesion fund support brought benefits to the region. Structural fund investment continued in In the second lending period, the European Union invested As with previous investments in Poland, shepherded in more direct investments in infrastructure. New goals included doubling the length of motorways and railways, investing in innovation, and improving environmental practices through efforts such as waste removal and recycling European Cohesion Fund Policy In Poland, infrastructure investments resulted in the construction of 1, kilometers of new roads, 7, kilometers of new motorways, and kilometers of upgraded rail lines. According to estimates, 87, jobs were created and 2, startup corporations were founded. Poland also saw numerous improvements to environmental practices Cohesion Policy Such trends indicate that while the funds have redistributed resources throughout the European Union, they did not engender stable growth in Poland Tradingeconomics Both the and structural funds provided the additional infrastructure and other improvements that brought the level of resources in Poland closer to that in the rest of the EU by redistributing the wealth of some EU nations to Poland. By improving infrastructure through the ERDF, Poland gained a basis for economic growth by making the transport of goods and people more reliable. By improving infrastructure, the funds have trickled down to the Polish workforce. Also, the infrastructure helped Poland politically and culturally align with Western Europe after years of communist rule. In terms of the second measure of

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success--self-sufficiency--Poland embodies a rare success story. However, in other Polish regions, problems remain despite impressive infrastructure improvements. During the latest allocation of structural funds, Poland was still the largest recipient under EU cohesion policy European Commission While the first measure of success in Poland shows positive measures, the second measure of success, self-sufficiency, has not yet been achieved. In Italy a large disparity 31 exists between the economically successful, more industrialized northern regions and the relatively poor regions in the south. EU support historically flows to the southern regions, causing tension between the more industrialized northern regions of Italy and the southern regions receiving structural funds European Commission As in Poland, infrastructure is a major investment area. The largest investment was the ERDF, which saw a The cohesion and structural investments brought impressive results. The funds led to 60, new jobs, supported 4, startups, and helped firms finance investments through 51, projects. The funds saw the building of 1, kilometers of railways and the pursuit of 6, research projects. Like in Poland, the structural funds in Italy improved infrastructure through the ERDF funds and successfully redistributed funds from wealthy northern EU regions to the less industrialized south European Parliament However, when investigating the Structural and Cohesion policy effectiveness in Southern Italy, it is important to consider the case of the Abruzzi region. Abruzzi exited the structural fund program six years after its entrance without institutions in place to handle the transition between and In terms of redistributing the funds of the European Union, the structural funds allowed Abruzzi to enjoy a higher level of investment and a certain sense of equalization with the rest of the European Union by proxy. However, after the EU removed structural funds, new mechanisms for growth were not created. In fact, since the region ended its participation in the program, GDP growth has been weak, leading some experts to question the effectiveness of the structural funds in creating the framework necessary for regions to achieve self-sufficiency Aiello Calabria, Italy is another region dependent upon EU spending for growth. Structural fund expenditures increased in , leading to local GDP growth. However, unlike Mazowieckie in Poland, Italian recipients receive an increasing amount of structural funds each year to support their economies. The national debt of Italy also paints an alarming picture. Both the magnitude of Italian debt and total debt as a percent of GDP have increased since , rising from It continues to drop European Commission Increasing debt coupled with decreasing GDP suggests that while Italian regions underwent massive infrastructure projects and resource investment processes, GDP did not increase. Calabria exemplifies the fact that structural funds in their current state do not promote robust GDP growth in the states in which they were heavily implemented. Overall, while the structural funds have successfully redistributed EU wealth to poorer member states and have launched massive infrastructure projects to upgrade resources, they have not consistently contributed to the self-efficiency of developing economies at a high-performance benchmark. Yet, in the next structural fund cycle the European Union plans to allocate investments in the same locations as in previous cycles: Eastern and Southern Europe. This time, the programs are expected to expand despite the fact that recipient states like Poland and Italy have not displayed consistent GDP growth. Thus, this trend begs the question of limitations on EU aid--what are they, when will they be reached, and can mechanisms to generate sustained growth be put in place before those limitations are reached? The Mazowieckie region of Poland exemplifies fund-facilitated, positive economic growth. However, a number of factors must be present to guarantee the effectiveness of structural funds. First, each region in the European Union varies in its capacity to sustain additional growth. Additionally, corruption in a system could hamper the effectiveness of the structural fund policy, as is commonplace in several failing regions in Italy and Greece where state institutions failed to transform structural fund investment programs into sustainable growth. While the most recent period of structural funding that began in provides the most extensive observed support for infrastructural revitalization programs, the European Commission introduced new measures to improve program effectiveness. The EU now requires demonstrated sustainable improvements in return for the continued receipt of funds and streamlined program requirements. These improvements represent a step in the right direction toward improving the effectiveness of funds and their ability to create sustainable economic improvement in stagnant states. Structural fund policy

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in the European Union has had a mixed record of success. While the policy effectively redistributes European wealth, helping low-achieving 33 regions reach consistently higher levels of short-term growth, most recipient states continue to suffer from entrenched inequality and unsustainable growth mechanisms. The Mazowieckie region of Poland is a notable exception. While provided assistance increased in the structural fund cycle, it remains to be seen whether the funds will enable poorer regions of the European Union to achieve sustained economic success. Hopefully, the reforms of the cohesion plan will allow structural funds to continue redistributing European wealth and will finally provide a reliable framework for helping low-achieving economic zones to be self-sufficient and economically successful. Growth in the South of Italy.. Supporting Jobs and Growth in Poland. European Cohesion Policy in Italy. Cohesion Policy and Poland. European Union Cohesion Policy. European Cohesion Policy in Poland. Outside of school, Robert has a passion for baseball, especially his hometown Chicago Cubs, is involved with Catholic Student Ministry, and loves travel and the outdoors. It first presents several theoretical frameworks which argue that improved quality of and accessibility to education has great potential to decrease economic and social inequality in developing nations, a premise which is taken as an assumption for the remainder of the paper. This paper will primarily focus on the quality and quantity of primary education and its implications for development; however, in several instances, I will draw upon work done on higher education and seek to apply its lessons to primary education, while keeping in mind the differences between the two. After examining existing Indian educational policies and basic educational statistics, I will draw upon a variety of secondary sources to seek connections between educational policies and economic development in India, reviewing a small sample of the key 41 literature in this field. The purpose of this paper is not to yield policy recommendations, but rather to identify some key strengths and weaknesses of Indian educational policy and their implications on Indian economic development. The key findings of this paper include the following: In the aggregate, income inequality closely tied to social inequality, according to most mainstream sociologists and anthropologists theoretically decreases as education levels increase. A further explanation for the connection between access to education and reduction in inequality rests on theories of human capital-because human capital development and higher-skilled and educated participants in the labor force can lead to more productivity and innovation, widespread education has the potential to not only reduce income inequality, but also to spur broader macroeconomic growth. Branko Milanovic is one such proponent of this view, and develops it extensively in his book, 43 Global Inequalities. However, Milanovic qualifies this argument by pointing out that benign mechanisms, including increased access to education, are only likely to work effectively in economies which are already growing, as these benign forces are typically lacking in countries with static mean incomes. In other words, there is a meaningful correlation between nations with higher incomes and nations with higher levels of education. This connection, among other factors, partially explains the decline in inequalities found in Kuznet waves. This theory implies that enhanced access to education holds great promise for developing nations, particularly for India, one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Joseph Stiglitz expresses similar views about the potential of education to improve the plight of the economically disadvantaged in his book, The Price of Inequality. Though the book focuses on income inequality in the United States, the lessons concerning the importance of improved access to education and the policy implications for such a goal are applicable to any developing nation. He points out the decreased support for public education, especially at the level of higher education, for-profit schools, and income-segregated residential communities which typically correspond to the quality of schooling available to members of that community are all contributing factors to unequal access to education, which is in turn a factor behind broader economic inequality. Stiglitz argues that any substantive change to these policies would require concentrated efforts at the national level, even in a nation where education is largely meant to be a responsibility of individual states.

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2: Women in Vietnam - Wikipedia

Women's equal rights and participation in the Thai bureaucracy / Supin Kachacupt Political participation of Thai middle-class women / Tongchai Wongchaisuwan and Amporn W. Tamronglak My story as a woman in Thai politics / Supatra Masdit.

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marijuana related activities. Many respected law enforcement officers and agencies support this measure. It will weaken drug cartels and generate billions in needed revenue. Redistricting of Congressional Districts. In , voters approved the creation of a Citizens Redistricting Commission to draw state legislative districts, removing that authority from the Legislature. We agree that gerrymandered districts drawn by state legislatures result in fewer congressional seats than the party in the political minority would be otherwise entitled to and is consequentially undemocratic. But all the states do it. This needs a national solution not a state-by-state fix. We support additional state and local funding for parks and wildlife programs, but it should be done by the respective legislative bodies as part of their normal budget process. While we agree that the state should not balance its budget on the backs of the cities and counties, this Initiative Constitutional Amendment could severely limit the ability of the state to provide vital services. California has led the nation in establishing clean energy and air pollution standards. This is a cynical attempt, principally funded by Texas oil companies, to turn back the clock on clean energy. It threatens public health with more air pollution, increases dependence on costly oil, and kills competition from job-creating California wind and solar companies. These tax measures were an integral part of the negotiating that led to budget agreements for and They should be respected. The California budget process is broken. The current law requiring two thirds of the legislators to agree to pass a budget holds the majority hostage and often results in bad public policy provisions being agreed to in order to pick up a vote. This will end the budget gridlock. And it does not lower the two thirds requirement to raise taxes. This proposition broadens the definition of taxes to include many payments currently considered to be fees or charges. It would invite the same type of gridlock we currently have with the two thirds requirement for a state budget. It would severely limit the ability of state and local governments to provide essential services. Eliminates State Commission of Redistricting. Consolidates Authority for Redistricting with Elected Representatives. This proposition would repeal Proposition 11 adopted by the voters in establishing a Citizens Redistricting Commission to draw state legislative boundaries. One of the reasons the state Legislature is so dysfunctional is because the districts for state Assembly and Senate are drawn by the legislators themselves. A fairer drawing of districts would make the districts more competitive and, hopefully, a legislature that is more responsible. I will feel very proud to see this district, which includes the Castro, represented by a woman supervisor for the first time. And I am concerned about the volume of independent downtown committees spending lots of money mailing us fliers for the candidate you endorsed first, Scott Wiener. Furthermore, and finally, we have personally observed her as she inspires newcomers and our youth to discover new ways to become engaged politically and, of course, to show their pride. Thank you, Bay Area Reporter, for providing a much needed service and supporting our community; keep up the good work. Charlie Spiegel San Francisco M. Scott Wiener, first choice Rebecca Prozan, second choice Dist. His LGBTQ youth to more harassment and discampaign mailed out a flier this week, with an crimination. Pelosi surpassed the critical Mark Daniel Snyder vote margin for a win, and credit is due to her leadership. Either is unacceptable for a congressional candidate. Naturally, we to even mention his political affiliation on his flier. A simwere particularly thrilled about the September 2, article: In fact, we bewww. The failure of progress on these issues was the result of out lesbian City Council member currently running for overwhelming opposition by the Republican Party. A win mayor "€" was instrumental in reigniting the Oakland LGBT by Dennis would put the House of Representatives one step Leadership Roundtable and that she was also a major politcloser to a Republican majority, and this is certain doom ical ally and force behind the Oakland Pride celebrafor any advancement of our civil rights. My vote is, and will remain, with Nancy Pelosi. If given the opportunity and an office that allows Other races Oakland Mayor: Kriss Worthington Campbell City Council: Gavin Newsom Attorney General: Kamala Harris Secretary of State: John Chiang Insurance Commissioner: Dave Jones Superintendent of Public Instruction: Tom Torlakson Board of Equalization District 1: Steve Pougnet Seeking gay couples with children to participate in a SFSU study examining the impact of parenting on the health and wellbeing of gay men with children. Participation involves completing one face-to-face interview. Interviews take between minutes to complete. Funds are

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available to help offset the cost of childcare while participating. In his dream, Election Day is not a day for dreary civic obligations, but a reason for a citywide party after the civic obligations are taken care of. Miller noted that bars usually shy away from politics out of fear of alienating any customers, but he feels that increased voter participation is something that everyone can support. So far, Miller has only been targeting bars for the program, as opposed to retail or restaurants. This is the first year for Straight Up: Vote, and Miller has signed up approximately 15 bars across the city, including both gay and straight watering holes.

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3: Overcoming Fear of Monarchy in Thailand | Junya Yimprasert - www.enganchecubano.com

This edited volume, including contributions from some of the leading scholars in the field, addresses the challenges, obstacles and opportunities for increased women's political representation in Thailand.

Tendency to Blame Nature Figure Lock-In on the Floodplain. See text for discussion. Thus, any effective policy-making process will involve an iterative "learning loop" Figure For this reason, we believe that it is useful to recognise policy making as a form of the basic experimental process of "adaptation". In his discussion of the functioning of a wide range of adaptive systems, Gell-Mann notes that: In each case, there are various competing schemata, and the results of the action in the real world feedback to influence the competition between those schemata. Gather information about effectiveness of policies history Apply policies as experiments Identify patterns in the information Use new understandings to build new policies Use patterns to improve understanding mental models of system and its interactions with environment Figure Policy Making as Adaptive Experiment. The boxes represent the basic steps in an iterative "learning-from-experience", or adaptive, process. In this experimental process, policies are used as the basis for action, the actual outcomes of actions are compared with the intended outcomes, and then the policies and the mental models upon which they are based are adjusted in an attempt to reduce discrepancies between intended and actual outcomes. This iterative process is fundamental to all human learning and forms the basis for the scientific method. It has long been recognised as fundamental in a range of fields. Sterman presents a good discussion of the role and functioning of "learning loops" in our attempts to understand complex systems. Note that this diagram represents the flow of an iterative process; it is not a causal-loop diagram. Regarding policy making as an experiment in adaptation also clarifies the role that history needs to play in the process. Holland points out that one of the fundamental questions that arises in all attempts to adapt is: Clearly, it is not possible to learn from experience without assessing the results of past actions. Even when history appears to be absent, it is actually present in the mental models or formal laws that have grown from experience. The maturity of this field, made possible by its dynamic simplicity, becomes obvious when we consider the remarkably small set of succinct mathematical laws that now can be used to capture 14 Conflict and Cooperation Related to International Water Resources: Historical Perspectives the essence of the patterns revealed by experiments and observations that had stretched over centuries. Because feedback delays are prevalent, system responses to policy changes can have characteristic times of decades, centuries, or even longer. Without historical studies, these delays between implementation and outcomes make it difficult for policy makers to see beyond individual events to the patterns of behaviour that can reveal the underlying system Figure In addition, some experiments that policy makers could learn from are unethical or dangerous. In all such cases it is clearly impossible to proceed via a step-by-step learning process, as outlined in Figure 12; policy makers must instead rely on existing "experiments" in the form of past policymaking endeavours. It is here that the feedback loop that should exist between system understanding and historical studies becomes apparent. According to Forrester "[a] perceptive history of past managerial situations is one of the inputs to the better understanding of system dynamics". Conversely, an understanding of system dynamics "should make historians more sensitive to the important system variables" and so able to contribute more effectively to a "better understanding of system dynamics". Thus, in any attempt to build good policy, the probability of success depends critically on the degree to which policy makers understand the dynamics of the system that they seek to design or influence. When policy makers understand the dynamics of the system, as was the case for the Voyager navigation team, then their policies will have a high probability of working as expected. When policies produce outcomes that take the policy makers by surprise, as was the case at Nyngan, then we can be sure that the dynamics of the system were difficult to understand. We believe, therefore, that our attempts to improve the policy-making aspects of natural resource management will benefit if we can: Continue to educate ourselves in systems principles and methods of analysis. While a "systems approach" has long been used in a

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number of disciplines including many areas of policy making , and its use is maturing and spreading, we need to sharpen our understanding of dynamics. Dynamical theory, particularly as captured in the rapidly-developing field of System Dynamics Stermann , has wide applicability and offers a powerful way to strengthen interdisciplinary endeavours. See policy making as system design and develop ways to implement a solid experimental approach to the task. Such approaches should aim to take advantage of those "experiments" already carried out by our predecessors, as well as recognising the need to track the impact of new policies over generous time periods. Where possible we need to compare the outcomes or likely outcomes of competing policies. We also need to recognise that it is often possible to redesign the structures, decision rules, and parameter settings of selected sub-systems in order to reduce their dynamic complexity. Simplification of sub-systems will help us to build better understanding of the dynamics of the whole system and thus improve our ability to anticipate policy outcomes. Those charged with the protection of Nyngan were dealing with a complex system that comprised at least the Bogan River in flood, the levee system, individuals and groups in the Nyngan and 15 International Hydrological Programme, TDH No. Their policy-development task, in many ways more difficult than that which faced the Voyager navigators, continues to this day. As noted above, the likelihood that we will be successful in meeting challenges of this type depends directly on the extent to which we understand system dynamics. The adequacy of these models, in turn, depends critically on the extent to which we have observed, and interpreted well, the largely unintended policy-making experiments of the past. This is why policy makers need history. Ingle Smith for useful discussions. Richard Grove drew our attention to recent New York Times articles concerning levees. The University of Michigan Press. Van de Ven eds. Ecology, and the requirements of adaptive management", in N. Adventures in the Simple and the Complex London: Little, Brown and Company. Making a New Science New York: Does the Traditional Approach Need to Change? Complexity in Political and Social Life Princeton: Historical Perspectives Jehl, D. Form and Process in Alluvial Channels London: Resources and Management Melbourne: Problems, Issues and Opportunities", in D. The Mathematics of Chaos London: Predicting the Problems of Progress London: Historical Perspectives Eric Mollard The meanders of history: Gilles Saussier, Are disasters natural? Bangladesh, unstable ground1 Introduction Before tackling some aspects of a history of water in deltas, I wish to remind the main issue. We all agree on the fact that the history of water raises multiple issues including ecology, agricultural economy, political economy, cultural and social aspects and, finally, the history of technology. Building an aqueduct, digging an irrigation canal or practicing irrigated agriculture is determined both locally and globally2. Among these multiple factors, I wonder about a major one which could determine the others. Does ecology lead to shape both the culture and the specific constraints for implementing irrigation infrastructures? Or what is the impact of political forces on dynamisms and crises while infrastructures would be simply the result of an adaptation due to the local inventiveness and empiricism? Existing thesis are many: Boserup, Mazoyer neo-malthusian Political and institutional: Jaubert de Passa and Wittfogel Cultural: Steward, Geertz 3 Technique as history of hydraulics: The thesis I would like to suggest through deltas is that of a history of water, which is much more political than social practices, institutions and government polity let suppose. Indeed, recent but omnipresent power of Occidental technocracy water administration and agencies led to impose a point of view, a social representation and words which form a coherent and common-sense-shaped system. But words as delta, irrigation or still watershed4 are much less disinterested and neutral than 1 Le Monde diplomatique, December, In , Jaubert de Passa wrote an authoritative history of irrigation. His exhaustive analysis allowed him to highlight countries with no more or with no irrigation at all as Greece and Roman Italy. For a hydrologist, the obvious entry will be technology as if empiricism had not driven the most sophisticated works for millenniums. They introduce a bias into the analysis and even mark out conclusions. To try to answer such questions, I shall deal with the biggest, not aquatic wet territories: More exactly, I shall call on the Chao Phraya delta Mollard, Doras at which I tried to aggregate bibliographical knowledge, discussions or personal information6 about other deltas: This variety makes possible to take into account a range of cultural groups, scales of time and types of delta.

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At first, I shall try to show convergence or difference in the historical agricultural pathways. I shall deduct from it the relevant features about technical, cultural, ecological and political issues. My conclusion will try then to estimate the gap between the delta concept in the public opinion and among the administration, on one hand, and the current and historical reality, on the other hand. Thus the deconstruction of a preconception aims to identify the stakes in power. Governance in irrigation is currently the stake of such a fight between technical or social dominance. Before beginning, and to be more precise, here are, at first, the remote images of the three deltas SLIDE 2 , since an image is part of the social representation and, then, the definition of the delta which is given in the international glossary of hydrology. By the way, the glossary adds: Such an addendum raises the question if it is a geographic entity and especially a hydraulic management unit. The answer is already provided by Herodotus. Herodotus was not obsessed by irrigation, watershed and other concepts whose aptness, universality and bona fide sincerity, today, has to be questioned. Speaking about the queen Nitocris confronted with the invasions of Medes, he writes: It was made sinuous upstream to delay waters. Political development model of delta Through three contrasted deltas, I show that agricultural water is not inevitably a good guiding thread for the history of a fitted out region, nor water is a good guiding thread for the history of a wet region. The omnipresence of water does not guarantee indeed the continuity of stakes, the continuity of infrastructures or still the continuity of economic functions of water. As a result, we suggest the absence of any single pattern of historic development in deltas. I thank Thierry Ruf for his experience on Egyptian agriculture.

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4: Overcoming Fear of Monarchy in Thailand - PDF Free Download

Women's Equal Rights and Participation in the Thai Bureaucracy / Supin Kachacupt 8. Political Participation of Thai Middle-Class Women / Tongchai Wongchaisuwan and Amporn W. Tamronglak.

According to established practice, the King summoned the belligerents, pardoned everybody and appointed a new Prime Minister who, with no electoral mandate, pushed through bills in one year. This was Thai democracy-under-monarchy in action: Exorcising the corruption embedded in the civil service, military and police, and consequently the political culture, needed more than clauses in a constitution. These signs of positive development were completely shattered by the military coup that brought down Thaksin Shinawatra and began pushing Thailand to civil war. The coup made it impossible for many Thai to remain on the side-lines. In their tens of thousands people became politically active, many brushing aside their fear of monarchy and openly discussing why, for six decades, their hopes and aspirations had been smashed and stunted by the Privy Council, Royal Guard and Chief Justices. There are 66 million people in Thailand of whom more than half are still either fully or partly dependent on produce from their family farmland. The vast million self-employed sector has almost no social protection and difficulty to register for health care. In it was ranked at All articles can be found at www. Facing their own problems the Burmese withdrew leaving the City of Ayuthaya under the command of a weak garrison. Within a few months Governor Taksin had defeated the garrison and brought most local barons to heel. Aged only 34, he installed himself as the new Ruler of central Siam in , in Thon Buri, on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River opposite a trading post called Bang Makok. Another fifteen years of campaigning to re-establish dominion over the old territories of the Ayuthayan kingdom, and a bit more, appears to have left Taksin tired probably from bloodshed itself. According to most sources his days ended when he was dragged-out from monastic retreat by order of his long-time associate TongDuang, and beaten to death in a sack. He then installed himself as the new Ruler in Bang Makok in - the first-in-line of the Chakri dynasty. Feeling the need to legitimise their common, bloody origins, the Chakri court began adopting a plethora of regal customs - borrowing from Ayuthaya, from Angkor, from Brahmanism, Confucianism - from wherever. And they imposed and developed rajasap, the old court language of subservience for those who must serve or appear under the feet of the monarch. All of this was mixed into a genuine soup of Chakri confusion. Royals and generals on the top, workers and slaves at the bottom, Siam became not less but increasingly feudal. Until the ies slaves born into slavery continued to represent about one third of the population. From the age of 20 until 60 all males were bound to serve royal or military masters for a total of 6 months in every year. A man could buy his own freedom on an annual basis with cash or produce, and perhaps permanently if he could provide the military with three sons. Leading to the arrival of more armaments, more wealth and more westerners in Bangkok, it had long-term impact. In Thai forces destroyed Vientiane, divided Laos into small units and forced huge numbers of Laotian people to re-settle south of the Mekong, on the Korat Plateau, as slave workers in Bangkok and so on. Also, the war waged by Siam against the Vietnamese between and , whether won or lost, at least tightened Siamese hold on some Khmer lands. British gunboat diplomacy forced Mongkut into the Bowring Treaty of , a kind of free-trade document that 3 gave the British privileged access to, especially, timber and agricultural produce. To be able to placate the British and especially the French, first Mongkut and then Chulalongkorn Rama V, - had to trade away most of the territories conquered by Taksin and Tong-Duang - city states in Lao, Cambodia and Malaysia. Even then Chulalongkorn was still under pressure to show that his Kingdom could stand-up, and standing-up in an era of competitive, imperial pomposity was an expensive business. To be able to counter western imperial moves with least possible loss, Chulalongkorn had to learn and, to some extent, mimic the attitudes, postures and approaches of the colonial powers. To remain in the command seat he had also to bolster his brand of monarchism - by fostering nationalism, and he had to increase his revenues. The only way he could do that was to bring the peripheries of Siam under direct control, and the only way to do that was to

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send his own princes to take direct command of provinces long accustomed to living as kinship societies with their own social order. Outside Central Thailand most people thoroughly resented any Chakri attempt to further their subjugation. The Sultanate of Pattani had resisted Thai colonisation for centuries and was never fully incorporated into the Kingdom of Ayuthaya. With the fall of Ayuthaya the southern sultanates were relieved to find themselves free of Thai vassalage for a few years, but the Chakri were no less determined than their predecessors to incorporate Pattani - still a lucrative trading hub. The violence was terrible and ended in the symbolic marching of hamstrung prisoners km to Bangkok. The ancient trading hub was smashed - gone the golden age, never to return. Again, when Rama V attempted to place Pattani under direct taxation armed resistance was fierce. Like all before and all that followed, the Phrae Revolt was mercilessly crushed by Bangkok. With no end in sight, about 4 people have died in recurrent spats of horrendous violence since Hundreds of Isan partisans were executed, many at public be-headings by the sword - at Thung Sri Muang for instance, in Ubon Ratchathani. The wars to consolidate the Kingdom of the Chakri went hand-in-glove with the imposition of the Thai language and an artificial re-centring of religious identity - to fit the borders set by the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of By this treaty Britain loaned Bangkok many millions in sterling to build the railway to Penang in exchange for dominion over the city-states of Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Terengganu. Roads were built to join all corners, and schools and temples to infuse the required religious nationalism. It was Chakri taxation that kick-started the modern resistance to Chakri hegemony, especially over the nominally subjugated out-lying provinces. Fearing assassination Mongkut arrested , of whom 25 spent 12 years in prison. It was during the first global, economic recession, from amongst the dissatisfied voices of the newly westernised Thai elite, that the Kanaratsadon, led by Pridi Phanomyong, was finally able to engineer the surrender of monarchical power. The Kanaratsadon had two key leaders: Colonel Plaek Phibunsongkram leading the military wing, and Pridi Phanomyong, a socialist with a farming background, leading the civilian intellectual wing. For example, during his time as Minister of Foreign Affairs between and , he was successful in annulling most of the humiliations of the old trade pacts with the old colonial powers. A growing movement, especially amongst academics, would like to reconsider to Siam. Although Pridi had the support of some princes and high-rank military people, he faced royalist opposition throughout the 15 years before his expulsion by the royalist military coup of By failing to reach out to the people and build a popular base, the Kanaratsadon was forced to make unsavoury compromises with the military, leaving the military too much political space and thereby ensuring that post-war Thailand would not be able to experience much in the way of democratic governance. Although several parliaments did manage to convene before the outbreak of World War II, the Chakri Palace never embraced democracy and continued, together with the USA, to look for ways to limit the process of democratisation, as it has continued to do so all the way to the present. Cold War monarcho-militarism Emerging with a freshly re-built industrial economy from the horror of World War II, the United States lost no time in moving into the bombed-out mercantile vacuum with infamous, bucko diplomacy. Before the last Japanese soldier had left Indo-China the world was back in geo-political deadlock. While the ordinary folk struggled with rice shortages, in Thailand a Pentagon-backed Royal Thai Army was fighting an ugly duel with a CIA-backed Royal Thai Police, both sides tramping in the mud of who shot young King Ananda and why in All 16 constitutions since then have carried an almost similar clause, the clause that keeps the door to obsessive monarchomilitarism wedged open, that orders people to revere the King whatever he is or is not, does or does not do. On 16 September , Field-Marshal Phibun, as a Prime Minister loosing power to the militarists, fearing a military coup and secretly wishing he could have Pridi back, went too late to seek support from Bhumibol. The divine young king was already in cahoots with his favourite general and asked Phibun to resign. Two hours later Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat seized power, two hours after which Bhumipol imposed martial law throughout his Kingdom and issued the following statement: Pibulsongkram is not trusted by the people and could not keep peace in the country, the military led by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat has taken over the administration and the position of the Military Defender of the Capital. He fled with a couple of aides first by car and then by fishing boat to Koh Kong in Cambodia. Police Chief Phao, an

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opium baron, fled to Switzerland. Nobody countersigned this Bhumibol command. Openly breaching the Constitution, Bhumibol acted and spoke as an absolute monarch. Full powers of dictatorship! In thanking Bhumibol, Sarit re-introduced crawling before the feet of the King. From thence forth any person not actively demonstrating loving reverence for the King, or refusing to grovel at his feet or speak rachasap or to stand for his anthem risked violent repercussions. Royalist-autocrat FieldMarshal Sarit Thanarat set fearfully high standards for the string of dictators that followed him. The ten years or so between and form a critical period in Thai history. Never-the-less, for the sake of the future of Thailand, there is a most important historical question that needs more exploration. The King visited and the Queen enjoyed several extravagant visits. Massively oppressive, Thai-centric anti-communist campaigns were launched by the Sarit junta - to brainwash the people, smoke-screen the usurpation of their democratic rights, legitimise military intervention in democratic procedure and hide endless royalist violations of constitutional law, scandal and stupidity. During the monarchist campaigns on so-called communists in the 60ies and 70ies, whole villages were burnt to the ground, notably in the Northeast. Those not arrested or killed were pushed into the jungle where, whatever they were or were not, they had no choice but to seek the protection of the Communist Party. The horrors of these times remain inexplicable. Between and about 3 villagers from the southern province of Pattalung were brutally put to death by Royal Thai forces. The villagers were burnt alive in drums of oil, pushed off the top of mountains and dropped in sacks from helicopters. Nearly 80 students and young 7 workers were massacred by the military, some of them right outside the gates of the Jitlada Palace. The King appointed a PM, the PM organised a National Assembly to draft a new constitution, and a relatively broad-based General Election in gave the peoples of Siam a remarkable, rare, two years of democratic governance, which they used, in May , to order US forces out of Thailand. Having lost all face in their war against the Vietnamese people, the US military was already running from massive war crimes, and 27, troops and aircraft had all but fled Thailand by June Nevertheless the departure of US armed forces presented Thailand with a serious problem - a whole bunch of fat generals hanging on a high hook at risk of loosing their pants. After the military crackdown came in October , when 42 students and workers were massacred, the labour movement was, more-or-less, silenced. Regal jealousy The Privy Councils and juntas of the 60ies and 70ies adopted all measures to ensure that they controlled all public resources and could maintain a never less than satisfactory flow of public money and US military dollars to the Royal Guard, Royal Projects, Chakri Treasury and their own pockets. To advance his own interests, when Thaksin Shinawatra came to power in he tried also to please the Monarchy, and channelled huge money to the Chakri treasury. If the Royal Household requested 3 billion Baht for a Boeing to add to their fleet, which already included a Boeing , Airbus and Airbus-ACJ , he signed the check. But, paying tribute to a bottomless pit like the Chakri treasury was an unlikely winning card. The trouble was that Thaksin had gathered real power and that, in the Kingdom of Chakri, was not permissible or forgivable. Through his sweeping electoral victories with the Thai Rak Thai Party in and , through his connections in earlier life as a Police colonel, through family connections to the military and through his own dynamic intercourse with big business, Thaksin had gained power enough to be able to re-structure post-war Thailand and put the wind under the skirts of the Old Power 8 Gang - the Monarchy, Privy Council, military top-brass, Crown Property Bureau and Democrat Party. He played their game, out-manoeuvred them all and gave himself, and the great majority of the electorate, possibilities to neutralise the Old Power Gang, but Thaksin was, like them, too greedy. He used rather than tackled deep-rooted corruption. He himself provided his enemies with reasons and space enough to mobilize and pull him down. The people benefit nothing from this soul-destroying, high-level gaming. Red Shirts are again rallying in their tens of thousands. It was the support for the coup shown by the Palace, and the Palace-supported political sabotage that followed, led most noticeably by the Queen, that slapped the people in the face, raised their indignation to new levels and fired their determination. Just the name adopted by the junta - Council for Democratic Reform Under Constitutional Monarchy - was a direct insult to the people. In the last 60 years, tens of thousands of innocent people have been murdered by Palace-approved purges and crackdowns. Official records are hard to come by or

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non-existent but, as time goes by, research will most likely indicate close to 30

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Mathur, who met the delegation assured appropriate and speedy action in accordance with Commission procedures. Shrikant Prasad Purohit and Ajay Rahirkar. Instead, Special Judge Y. So immense was her trauma that she even contemplated committing suicide. She was subjected to narco-analysis and brain-mapping tests without her consent; these methods of interrogation are used to make accused persons incriminate themselves, and they were continued even though they repeatedly failed to achieve this objective. The affidavit was so damning that the NHRC - that should have taken suo motu notice of the case the same day - could not sit silent once matters were presented before it in black and white. Give me a break! Purohit said investigating officials had threatened to plant RDX at his home so it would be easy for them to finish him in an encounter. Roy on 26 October Roy to submit a factual report on the situation within two weeks. I am ashamed to admit that some concerned citizens rang up Chairperson Girija Vyas for an appointment, only to learn that she was on leave the entire week, and was probably helping the election campaign of a political party though naturally the office would not put this on record. We then sent email petitions, and petitions by courier, to Members and Chairperson. Then, on 21 November, riding piggy back with the visit to the NHRC, we took a signed petition to the National Commission for Women, personally interacted with a Member who was present, and got our petition received in the complaint cell. Since it is inconceivable that the Commission would not have informed Ms. Vyas about the petitions and our visit, it was truly shocking to find her stating on television on Monday evening while surfing channels that she had received no complaints regarding Sadhvi Pragya! Within the country, the impression is fast gaining ground that the entire sequence of arrests and alleged Hindu terror theory was a gigantic conspiracy to weaken the institutions of the state which were joining hands and combating terror fairly competently. The votebank aspect of such a conspiracy is too obvious to need stating. What remains to be done is a thorough probe into the entire investigation to unveil the conspirators and their devious game-plan. Exterminatory zeal November 02, For Hindus, and indeed, for all nationalist Indians, the Batla House encounter is non-debatable. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the encounter that ended in this tragedy. Those who do so have an axe to grind. Muslim leaders would do well not to push the Hindu community beyond endurance. Hindus are willing to view jihad as an issue that can be settled by sound police work focussed against terrorist cells, and not view the Muslim community as a whole as villains on a murderous spree. But if persons like the Shahi Imam and Shabana Azmi, and Hindu-in-name-only activists too numerous to mention try to malign the police without credible evidence, then Hindus will be forced to come to their own conclusions about the Muslim community as a whole. The saving grace in the current situation is that the respective crusades against Hindu civilisation are separate and distinct – Muslims quietly withdrew support from Christians after the West stepped up its campaign to demonise Islam, while humiliating Muslims in occupied Muslim lands. As India has a long and unhappy memory of suffering at the hands of Muslim conquerors and rulers, the Western campaign fooled many Hindus into believing the West would support India in the modern jihad inspired by Wahabi Islam. Few understand that the Saudi version of Islam was and remains a tool of Western imperialism, and that there is a qualitative difference between the early medieval Islam which launched an autonomous drive for conquest, and the post-colonial jihad that has repeatedly wounded India, but brought no commensurate gains for Islam, either in India or anywhere else in the world. Ideologically-savvy Muslims, however, are feeling the pressure of this pincer. They have not retreated from the path of jihad largely because the pressure to retreat is politically inadequate, but they have ended their jugalbandi with the Christian community. Hindu society, however, is fast losing patience with jihad. The repeated targetting and killing of innocent civilians in city after city, the claims of victimhood in a nation where the majority community alone has no right to publicly affirm and demand respect for its religious identity, the refusal to engage with the modern world while demanding the benefits of backwardness, and

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above all, the belief that jihad is immune to legal justice, have enraged Hindus. For Hindus, and indeed, for all nationalist Indians, the Batla House encounter is non-debatable. A few points may be noted. One, jihad is the only concept invoked to explain and justify the premeditated murder of hundreds of innocent civilians besides army, para-military, and police personnel from the time of the Great Calcutta Killing of The term jihad is Koranic, and though Muslim scholars and apologists argue that the term has two meanings, the fact is that it is invoked by Muslim organisations to wage war on Hindu India over grievances ranging from a separate nation Pakistan was granted in ; Palestine where India had no roleâ€”yet no violence ever took place in any Western country till a few isolated incidents in recent times ; and Kashmir which legally acceded to India in October under the same process that created Pakistan. Two, the other jihad is internal to the individual who chooses to practice it. It cannot be given a public face, which Muslim leaders fallaciously seek to do, to mislead the common man. Unfortunately for them, Hindu-Indian suffering in jihad attacks has been too immense and intense to swallow this lemon. Third, only rare intellectuals can perceive that from the time of the Shimla Delegation that led to the creation of the Muslim League, separate electorates, and finally Partition, important Muslim leaders have served as agents of Western colonialism, and that this pattern played out in much of the Muslim world from the First World War itself. In the minds of ordinary Hindus, the pre-British Raj and Raj-inspired jihad are fused inseparably as unending Islamic violence against Hindus and India. Ironically for Indian Muslims, this phenomenon has been entrenched by the refusal of Muslim and Leftist scholars to permit an honest review of Indian historyâ€”warts and all. This prevented the academic delineation of distinct phases of Indian history when different powers held sway at different times; inhibited a proper understanding of the mischief played by the British Raj and missionaries in undermining Hindu civilisation and fostering animosity leading to Partition; and left Muslims bearing the brunt of collective Hindu resentment over decades of Muslim appeasement in the post-Independence period. In these circumstances, Muslim leaders would do well not to push the Hindu community beyond endurance. Muslim leaders must answer why, if Muslims stand by the Deoband resolution against terrorism, do leaders rush to the service of those accused of terror? And if terrorists really have no religion, why is the defence of alleged terrorists made only on religious grounds? To borrow Marxist terminology, there can be no doubt that the Christian leadership perceives itself as a vanguard for the en masse conversion of Hindu India, and feels emboldened by the political ascent of the Italian-born Congress president. Smt Sonia Gandhi has done much for her co-religionists under the UPA regime, putting the Christian cross on coins and sending an official delegation when the Vatican elevated a little known Kerala nun to sainthood. Sainthood is, of course, purely political, intended to spur more conversions, so that either a portion like the north-east can be partitioned a la East Timor , or the Christian population upgraded into a decisive vote bank like the Muslim vote bank, so that it can have a decisive say in the polity. It is necessitated because charities run by the Albanian nun, Mother Teresa, who was given the Nobel Peace Prize to promote the Christian agenda, have come under a cloud in the West itself. It is pertinent that the widespread Hindu angst against evangelists owes much to a popular perception that the Christian population is much larger than admitted to census authorities, perhaps as high as seven per cent. Should evangelists succeed in raising numbers by another five-seven per cent, the combined minority vote bank would render Hindu vote ineffective and completely alter the political demography of the Indian Parliament and assemblies in several states. This is not a small threat, and the spreading confrontation with locally ignited Hindu populations suggests that the danger is real. Indeed, this may well be the reason why Smt Sonia Gandhi remained silent in the face of the on-going anti-Christian agitation rocking Indiaâ€”she cannot afford to answer questions about her religious affiliations. But as someone who spares no opportunity to malign organisations defending Hindu culture and civilisation, Smt Gandhi must be asked to publicly explain her position on conversions, especially as prominent Christians are spreading the canard that the Constitution grants the right to convert. There are distortions in Hindu society. Fight within Counter Point August 17, In an age with a plethora of god-men, gurus, preachers, some so popular as to have ashrams in many states and even in many countries, it is an astonishing truth that society is rudderless, adrift on an ocean of hedonism, without spiritual and moral

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guidance. The fault lies with Star Gurus who seek self-aggrandisement by building huge cult followings and five-star ashrams where rich Indian and foreign devotees can practice yoga and meditation in comfort, in salubrious, resort-like environs. As the majority community, the ill-health of the Hindu community impacts the nation as a whole. Other religious communities may have problems, but their impact is in proportion to their relative numbers. Hindus therefore dominate the national discourse when it comes to social problems, most notably the growing menace of dowry, female foeticide, sexual harassment, and new forms of exploitation in the natal and marital homes. Then there are new forms of caste animosities and perverted forms of addressing religious issues. In sharp contrast to the vigorous debates by social and religious reformers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, independent India and particularly the twenty-first century is conspicuous for an absence of social, religious, and political leadership. In an era in which mass communications have made it so easy to reach out to the people, there are no great men to analyze and articulate the ills of the day, much less offer solutions. Today, the most obvious place to begin a critique of our religious leadership is Amarnath. This was deliberately exploited by a section of the ruling coalition to whip up sentiments in view of the forthcoming elections, and violence broke out. While all the Muslim political leaders of Kashmir have come out and opposed land transfer for Amarnath pilgrims, the few sane voices of Muslim religious leaders have been drowned in the din. But the deafening silence of Hindu religious leaders on the matter is inexplicable. The events in Kashmir must legitimately be viewed as a new form of jihad against Hindu pilgrims, but no high-flying international swami has dared call upon the Hurriyat leadership to stem the violence! Worse, some of them have actually asked the aggrieved Hindus to practice non-violence - after sustained police violence that is taking Hindu lives daily. Clearly Hindu society has to provide its own leadership in such critical times. Just 80 years ago, social reformer Swami Shraddhanand made such an impact upon north Indian society that even Muslims were attracted to his meetings, and some converted back to the dharma this was the reason why he was murdered. Today, very well-known gurus are refusing to help the families of devotees asking them to speak up against inter-religious marriages, and to counsel their young children from taking the risk of breaking community ties for marriages that may not work. It is well-known that many high profile inter-religious marriages have ended in divorce, leaving young mothers in a peculiar quandary regarding the upbringing of their offspring. Closer home, there are too many distortions within the Hindu family that are going unaddressed by social and religious leaders. Most pressing are the rising incidents of dowry - which even the highly publicized incidents of returning barats and refusing to marry greedy grooms - have not been able to quell. Even the full salaries of working women - grabbed instantly the minute they are received - do not satisfy the greed of those addicted to getting everything free. Closely related to this is the rising incidence of female foeticide, as families who regard young wives as a resource to extract funds from the natal families of the girls, do not want daughters who might need similar dowries! Many communities now pay a bride price to buy brides from girl-surplus states, yet female foeticide increases among groups that do not bother to think that by the time their sons marry, there may be no girls with dowries but girls for whom a price has to be paid! Hindu religious leaders - barring Jathedar Vedanti who declared it immoral and illegal for Sikhs - have maintained inexplicable silence on these rising atrocities within the family and society. Such myriad problems naturally cause a spiralling divorce rate. Here again, there are complex issues, which are not addressed by social activists, the legal system, or religious leaders. Women seeking exit from unworkable marriages need a break, not a sermon. Old evils are being reinvented in more virulent forms because there is no desire to invest time and energy in identifying the fixing the problems. Thus, the cults of various gurus rise and their personal affluence soars heavenwards in direct proportion as society languishes in escapism and despair. The flip side of this story is that an increasing number of people, thousands upon thousands, are fast making their way back to the traditional temples and pilgrimages that have ever been the sources of Hindu dharma. As the hoary founts of dharma are rejuvenated by the bhakti of believers, the glitter of 5-star ashrams will dim, and traditional bhajan-mandalis, kathas, and lilas will return to the centrestage. As small groups congregate in small temples and compounds, the real problems of the people will be heard and solutions

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found. Hindu dharma was created by sadhus and sants who walked on foot, not by those who travelled in aeroplanes. It was created by those who talked to the people, not by those who talked to media. Like Prahlad who had to find his own way in a universe dominated by his father Hiranyakasipu and aunt Holika, Hindus will have to find their own way out of the morass. Husain has hurt Hindu sentiments May 25, It needs to be emphasised that Hindus who believe in sarvadharmasamabhav cannot demand that Mr. Husain defame the sacred personalities of his own or another monotheistic faith if he claims artistic liberty and pretends he had no intention to defame the Hindu dharma. To my mind, there are two separate and overlapping issues involved, which must not be mixed up in a manner that promotes communal disharmony, when this is entirely avoidable. The first and most obvious is inter-religious disrespect, and the second related issue is intra-religious discourtesy to fellow believers. First, however, it must be pointed out to unhappy members of the Hindu community that Mr. Husain left the country of his own accord to evade the judicial system, and has since profited from the controversy to sell his paintings at startling prices. He was free to return at any time and face the charges against himself manfully, but he chose to cock a snook at Hindu sentiments and enjoy himself abroad. The critical charge against Mr. Husain is that as a member of a non-Hindu faith specifically, as a Muslim , he should not have dabbled with the powerful religious symbols, specially the female divinities, of another faith, with so much contempt and disrespect.

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7: Wilson Journal – Fall by Wilson Journal of International Affairs - Issue

Hanabusa supports repeal of the federal DOMA and, in a survey by Progressive Democrats of Hawaii, said she would be a strong advocate in Congress for equal rights for gay and lesbian couples.

Acknowledgements Acknowledgements I thank Luisa Teish for her opening of the conference with her interactive performance. There were endless details to take care of and snags and miscommunications of all kinds, which had to be dealt with and resolved. Many thanks to Luciana Ricciutelli for her tireless help with the manuscripts and the many versions of the table of contents as well as innumerable details of corrections and revisions. Individual copyright to their work is retained by the authors. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronically or mechanically, including photocopying, recording, or any information or storage retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher. Val Fullard Interior Design: Women and the gift economy: Includes bibliographical references and index. Gifts – economic aspects. Indigenous peoples – Economic conditions. Sharing – Economic aspects. Mutualism – Economic aspects. Vaughan, Genevieve, HQ This is the book we urgently need in these neoliberal, destructive, disoriented times. We all know that a profound change in our economy and culture is necessary, that we need to think in another way. Beyond the Globalized Economy and Women: The Last Colony Wow, what a great book. If more people could embrace this kind of thinking the world would be a much better place. Thus according to our traditions the creators of this volume deserve special recognition as their work is a gift for the rest of us who have the privilege of reading it. This anthology, Women and the Gift Economy, offers the fruit of myriad scholars on the subject, examining the gift economy from nearly every imaginable vantage point—from history, spirituality, sexuality, and matriarchal social structure to language, finance, childcare, and warfare. Women and the Gift Economy is guaranteed to guide the reader into new and invigorating paradigms, clarifying the economic choices facing humanity. The Gantowisas and editor of and contributor to Daughters of Mother Earth Genevieve Vaughan has for decades been active in progressive causes—generous with her time, energy, and material resources. Now she gives the best gift of all: This is, simply, a visionary book. Read it, let it into your heart and brain—and you will change the world. Gifting operates especially well among people with fewer resources, in rural areas and urban townships. It is through sharing gifts that many of us survive. In this, the book is an invaluable contribution to motherhood studies. In the introduction Vaughan outlines the logic and impact of the gift economy. This is a must read for feminists in all countries for it provides a coherent philosophical system based on the power of nurturing for rethinking political and economic thought just as the Enlightenment once based its philosophical innovations on the power of human reason. Genevieve Vaughan and her collection of essays by activists and visionaries show us an alternate economic worldview that existed for most of human history, and could exist again. This brave and path-breaking book will give you hope—and hope is a form of planning. The conference took place just after the U. Bush, an event, which some believe was his second theft of the presidency. Even if Bush II had not won however, Patriarchal Capitalism 1 would have continued in its life-threatening course. The conference and now this book are attempts to respond to the need for deep and lasting social change in an epoch of dangerous crisis for all humans, cultures, and the planet. This goal cannot be achieved without a new perspective, a change in paradigm, which brings with it a radically different vision of the nature of the problems, and of the alternatives. I have been working on the change of paradigms toward a gift economy for many years, both as an independent researcher and as the founder of the feminist Foundation for a Compassionate Society, which had an international scope but was based in Austin, Texas, from , and then functioned in a reduced mode from When it became clear that the work of the foundation could not continue for lack of funds, we decided to hold two conferences as the last two major projects. This book about the worldview of the gift economy, presents the first of these conferences. The second conference, which was devoted to Matriarchal studies, under the direction of Heide Goettner-Abendroth her second

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international conference on the subject took place in September-October. I believe that in discussing the gift economy we are naming something that we are already doing but which is hidden under a variety of other names, and is disrespected as well as misconstrued. It is thus an important step to begin to restore its name and acknowledge its presence in many different areas of life. It is also important to re-create the connections, which have been severed, between the gift economy, women, and the economies of Indigenous peoples, and to bring forward the gift paradigm as an approach, which can help to liberate us from the worldview of the market that is destroying life on our beautiful planet. Most of those invited to speak came from those encounters. I have been honoured to get to know a number of Indigenous women in this way and thus was able to invite them to speak at the conference, which indeed could not have been held without their participation. All of the speakers, academics, and activists, are gift givers in their own ways. Some had thought deeply about the gift economy, others were new to the idea. I believe that all of them found it enlightening to hear the gift economy being discussed in so many different contexts. Some 35 women from 20 different countries gave presentations. The choice of location came both from the desire to take advantage of cheap airfare, and to have access to the goddess Temple of Sekhmet, a Foundation project in the desert near the U. An analysis that links different levels and areas of life on the basis of an alternative paradigm can suggest that much of what patriarchy has put into place is artificial and unnecessary. A radically different frame would make different strategies possible, and eliminate some solutions that would otherwise bring us all women and men back under patriarchal control in different forms. In order to make this analysis we make a basic distinction between gift giving on the one hand and exchange on the other as two distinct logics. In the logic of exchange, a good is given in order to receive its equivalent in return. There is an equation of value, quantification, and measurement. In gift giving, one gives to satisfy the need of another and the creativity of the receiver in using the gifts is as important as the creativity of the giver. The gift interaction is transitive and the product passes from one person to the other, creating a relation of inclusion between the giver and the receiver with regard to what is given. Gift giving is qualitative rather than quantitative, other-oriented rather than ego-oriented, inclusive rather than exclusive. Gift giving can be used for many purposes. Its relation-creating capacity creates community, while exchange is an adversarial interaction that creates atomistic individuals. Our society has based distribution upon exchange, and the ideology of exchange permeates our thinking. Introducing the Gift Economy In the Americas, before colonization, there were million people, more people than there were in all of Europe at the time Mann, C. For example the Iroquois Confederation, where women farmers controlled the production and distribution of agriculture, practiced gift giving in local groups and participated in long distance gifting circles among groups. Mann Though wampum, made of shells, was seen as a form of currency by the Euro- peans, Indigenous researchers like Barbara Mann consider it not to have been money at all but a form of character writing in beads based on metaphoric relations of Earth and Sky. Gift economies are typical of Matriarchies. In Africa and Asia as well as the Americas, various kinds of woman centered-peaceful societies existed and continue to exist today. Goettner-Abendroth , , ; Sanday , , My hypothesis is that not only were there and are there societies that function according to the direct distribution of goods to needs, non-market gift econo- mies, but that the underlying logic of this kind of economy is the basic human logic, which has been overtaken and made invisible by the logic of the market economy. In spite of this cancellation, gift giving continues to permeate human life in many ways, though it is unseen and has been misnamed and obscured. The worldview of the peoples of the Americas was indeed radically different from that of the Europeans, so much so that the two groups had difficulty understanding one another. Europeans consistently misinterpreted what the Native people were saying and doing, their spirituality, their customs, their intentions. We live in the aftermath of this genocidal invasion, but this should not blind us to the fact that alternative peaceful ways for organizing the economy and social life did exist before colonization. I am not suggesting that we directly imitate those societies now. At the same time that we begin to see the light of the alternative, we need to use it to illuminate the problem. That is, we have to see how Patriarchy and Capitalism work together to dominate and de-nature the direct distribution of goods to needs and how they turn the gifts toward

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an artificial system of exchange, not-giving, and property for the few. The radically different worldview that we need now is not the worldview of the gift economy as practiced by Indigenous peoples only, but a worldview that recognizes and derives from the gift economy both in Indigenous societies and, though hidden and misnamed, inside Patriarchal Capitalism itself; we might even say, inside every human being. In The Papal Bull of Innocence VIII was published, marking the beginning of the Inquisition, during which, by some estimates as many as 9,000 witches, most of whom were women, were killed over a period of years. It is perhaps not coincidental that these two genocides, of Native Americans and of European women, happened simultaneously. One of the reasons why a common collective platform does not presently exist is that approaches that are alternative to the status quo appear to have to do only with self-interest, individual penchants, or personal morality. For feminists the critique of essentialism does not allow the construction of such a platform on the basis of a common identity, yet curiously, even if the identity is not common, the problems are, and links among individuals and groups are made on the basis of shared issues and responses to oppression. However, perhaps it is not from identity anyway that we should try to derive a common perspective, but rather we should trace such a perspective to an economic practice, gift giving, which women everywhere and non-patriarchal men and cultures engage in, often without realizing it. This practice is positive but it makes those who engage in it similarly vulnerable to oppression by market economies. It would be important not only to unite on issues sporadically to oppose the oppression in its various manifestations but to link positively and long-term on the basis of the hidden alternative economy and its perspective. A recent re-visioning of Matriarchies sees these societies as having gift economies and power structures different from those of Patriarchy Allen ; Goettner- Abendroth , ; Sanday , , They are not women-dominated societies but rather women-centered societies. They are not mirror images of Patriarchy, but are egalitarian and consensus-based. A number of examples of these Indigenous Matriarchal societies continue to exist worldwide. We can also look at our present societies as the coexistence of two kinds of economies: Two value systems come from the two economies. The exchange economy fosters competition while the gift economy fosters cooperation. Moreover, the exchange economy competes with the gift economy in order to dominate it. The paradox of competition between a competitive and a non-competitive behaviour carries within it the victory of the competitive behaviour unless it is possible to move to a higher logical level and weigh the two as general principles for organizing life. The question is how to understand the interrelatedness of the two behaviours well enough to collectively move from one of them to the other. In order to achieve this understanding we need to look at the underlying logics of the two behaviours and the economies in which they are embedded, and at the paradigms or worldviews these economies give rise to. My proposal for this task draws not only on the idea of economic structures that determine superstructures of ideas and values Marx [] , but also on the simple consideration that what we do over and over in daily life influences the way we think. The economy of exchange, on which the Patriarchal Capitalist market is built, functions according to the self-reflecting logic of exchange: It requires an equation of value, quantification, and measurement according to a standard. Gift giving, directly satisfying the needs of the other, functions according to a logical movement of its own but has usually been considered instinctual or illogical.

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8: Debs Pamphlets: Indiana State University Library

Gay Liberation - Swp. For Later for equal campus recognition, against rights legislation, is rejecting for her rights is stepping out of The women 5 her.

Turley, "the role of women in traditional Vietnamese culture was determined [partly] by During this time, Confucianism was the official ideology, the Chinese language was primarily spoken, and the Chinese occupation had enormous influence on literature and art creations. According to Peter C. Phan , that "the first three persons leading insurrections against China were women Turner, in the 3rd century A. The quote is "giac den nha, dan ba cung danh" in Vietnamese and the quote actually means that fighting in war is inappropriate for women and its only when the situation is so desperate that the war has spread to their home then women should enter the war. They were defeated in A. For example, only males of the noble class could attend school and become members of the civil service. The Vietnamese continued to fight against Chinese influence, but in the country was once again under Chinese Rule. They also wanted to bring more missionaries into the country. The Nguyen dynasty disliked French involvement in Vietnam, and executed several missionaries and Vietnamese coverts. This was particularly true in the upper-class, where marriage to a European male was seen as an opportunity for advancement. Often, this marriage was a temporary arrangement. A Vietnamese women married a European man for a certain amount of time. Since objects like clothes, coins, or jewelry were given in exchange for sex, women could make a profit in this way. When their European husband left, the woman were often remarried. This was seen as a profitable arrangement for most parties. In fact, Vietnamese nobles had "thought it no Shame or Disgrace to marry their daughters to English and Dutch Seamen, for the Time they were to stay in Tonquin, and often presented their Son in Law pretty hand- somely at their departure, especially if they left their Wives with Child. It was believed that "When [a trader] wants to depart he gives whatever is promised, and so they leave each other in friendship and she may then look for another man as she wishes in all propriety, without scandal. European religious leaders began blaming East Asian women for being prostitutes, and the temporary marriages came to be seen as shameful instead of honorable. They were labeled as "prostitutes" and assumed to be of the lower-classes. Historian Barbara Andaya said that although "well into the nineteenth century Europeans continued to take concubines , the tendency to see concubines akin to prostitutes meant that the standing of the temporary wife had been fundamentally eroded. Following the nationalist military leadership of the Trung sisters, other women became heavily involved in non-communist nationalist movements, especially in the Vietnam Nationalist Party. These nationalist movements stressed the idea that women were oppressed under the French occupation and espoused the idea that liberation for women could only come through a nationalist revolution. They recognized that gender equality was an issue that cut across social lines and could be used to build nationalist support. They served as nurses, guides, couriers, and propogandists. Although they were not allowed in the regular army, they fought in militia and guerrilla units on the home front. The Revolution did not result in immediate empowerment, as only 10 of the seats in the Nationalist Assemblies were occupied by women. It did spread feminist ideology, however. The Vietminh were in the North, and the French and those who supported them were in the south. The North became a communist society, while the South was anti-communist and received support from the United States. Rising unrest in the South, because of religious and social intolerance by President Ngo Dinh Diem, created an opportunity for North Vietnam to try reclaiming the South. This led to a long and bloody conflict, in which American troops became very involved. In , the Communist government was able to take over South Vietnam, despite the American bombing of Northern cities. This division did not remain for long, though, and the two sides were united in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in The paid maternity leave for government employees, which was extended from three to six months, was changed back to three months a few years after its passing. Vietnam was slowly extending greater rights to females. In , the state of Vietnam was created during the first Indochina War, in which

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Vietnam attempted to gain independence from France. A move towards equality was evident in the original constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which stated that "women are equal to men in all respects. The Marriage and Family Law made further progress as it worked on ending systems of concubines, child marriage and forced marriage. Under the socialist regime, both male and female literacy increased. They took roles such as village patrol guards, intelligence agents, propagandists, and military recruiters. Historically, women have become "active participants" in struggles to liberate their country from foreign occupation, from Chinese to French colonialists. This character and spirit of Vietnamese women were first exemplified by the conduct of the Trung sisters, one of the "first historical figures" in the history of Vietnam who revolted against Chinese control. North Vietnamese women were enlisted and fought in the combat zone and provided manual labor to keep the Ho Chi Minh trail open. Some women also served for the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong intelligence services. Some, like in the WAFC, fought in combat with other soldiers. During the Sino-Vietnamese War Vietnamese women were used for propaganda images on both sides, as the Vietnamese released pictures of Vietnamese women militia with captured Chinese male troops while the Chinese released pictures of injured Vietnamese women prisoners being treated well by Chinese. The Chinese held 1, Vietnamese prisoners and the Vietnamese held Chinese prisoners; they were exchanged in May-June After surrendering, they were transferred by the Vietnamese soldiers to a prison. The Chinese prisoners reported that they were subjected to torturous and inhuman treatment, such as being blindfolded and having their bodies bound and restrained with metal wire. Vietnamese women soldiers made up one-third of the guards who held the Chinese male prisoners captive in the prison. The Marriage and Family Law, for example, banned forced marriage, child marriage, wife beating, and concubinage. They did this for the purpose of industrial development. The government of North Vietnam influenced the role of women during the war of reunification during the mids, when mobilizing women was viewed as crucial to winning the war. Most of these quotas were filled by the s. They passed this resolution because, with so many Vietnamese men away at war, they needed more women to support the economy. When the war ended, female involvement decreased, actually sinking below its pre-war involvement rates. However, the desire for economic efficiency under the free market reforms of the new regime caused some of these reforms to be scaled back. Maternity leave, for example, was shortened to four months when employers began complaining that they lost money by hiring women. The reunification of North and South Vietnam after the Vietnam War, in , also allowed women to take on leadership roles in politics. The new state implemented free market economics but political participation was not expanded. After the war was over, it was no longer seen as a crucial organization by the government. There was also an increase in occupational segregation as women returned to more roles within the home and men returned from the war. Traditional Confucian patriarchal values have continued to persist, as well as a continued emphasis on the family unit. Instead of being involved in their society, women worked as trade intermediaries and were expected to marry and become housewives. A common belief was that after the mid-twenties, women were considered undesirable and marriage was a way of life. The cap for marriage was at this age because after this time, women could no longer bare children, a necessity for the survival of the family name. In addition, the notion of "a one-person, self-sufficient household was not very acceptable" [46] and was looked at as selfish and lonely. After the age of twenty-five, single women enter a period where they "make the transition from temporary to permanent non-marriage. They were happy with their decision to opt out of a possible "miserable" life with a husband. From a young age, the eldest child of a Vietnamese family had a variety of obligations to uphold. One of which was having to care for their younger siblings. During time of war, it was difficult for the parents to overlook agricultural labor while taking care of all their children. Because of this obligation, women rejected offerings of marriage. After the war, women continued to help around the household and replaced the men they lost in combat. Although many still had proposals for marriage, they believed that it was fate that they had been single for that long and that they were meant for singlehood. The gender imbalance that followed the Vietnam War was also a cause in the rise of single women. It was hard for them because men living in rural areas were hesitant to marry them. In addition, those

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who work at state farms and forestry stations were stationed in remote areas. This limited women from socializing with the opposite sex. Studies have shown there are marriage discrepancies between rural and urban areas in Vietnam today. According to Nguyen et al. The cultural differences between northern and southern Vietnam include "marriage rituals, family living arrangement, household composition, and premarital sexual behaviors" according to a study by Teerawichitchainan et al. Household chores and labor are still primarily performed by Vietnamese women; however, women in Vietnam have shown increased influence in familial decisions, such as household budgets and the education of the children. In terms of childcare responsibility, men have shown an increased participation at the earlier ages of childcare, though women overall still bear the main responsibility. Vietnamese society tends to follow the ancestral line through males, pushing women to the periphery. Vietnam has a two child policy. This is not an organized religion, however it does adopt many Confucian views. One of the main views that it takes from Confucius is the Patrilineal Society. Men are the head of the family and more their lineage is to be protected. As it pertains to motherhood, Vietnam women are seen as and used primarily as mothers. Female virginity is of extreme importance, especially in rural areas, and the Society condemns abortion and female divorce. If a women wants to show respect to her husband, the best way she can do that is to bear him a son. In one study by Nguyen et al. However, the same study has found that the higher education level a woman received, the later the age at which she gives birth to her first child. Speculation has rose on the viability of divorce as a solution to those in situations of domestic violence. Several cases have occurred where Vietnamese women were abducted or deceived to be sold to Chinese men. In , the sex ratio was found to be men per women throughout Vietnam, higher than the established normal sex ratio of men per women.

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9: Still a struggle for working women | The Japan Times

Women do not have equal political participation, they are victims of gender based violence, and are subject to trafficking and discrimination ("Humanitarian").

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