



# 2020

# **Working Papers**

### **CHAPTER 6**

## A Discussion on the Role of Buddhism in Contemporary Cambodian Gender Roles

Ms. CHIN Leabphea

#### Abstract

This paper discusses how the current practice of Buddhism shapes the concept of womanhood in contemporary Cambodian society. Interviews are used as the primary research method employed to understand this question. Specifically, three women are interviewed across three generations to gain insight on their perception between the practice of Buddhism and female roles in society. Additional methods include the use of field observations at Pagoda's within Phnom Penh, and the content analysis of online preaching materials. Primarily, this paper finds that female (and male) roles continue to be shaped by the current teaching and practice of Buddhism. Characteristics such as softness and subordination continue to remain prevalent within the self-identified perceptions of the females interviewed. Considering these findings as a baseline for continued study, further research is needed to understand the particular features of Buddhist practice that influence contemporary Cambodian ideals.

Key words: Womanhood, Buddhism, Attitudes, Culture, Masculinity

#### **Buddhism and Feminism: An Overview**

From domestic to international affairs, Cambodian women have always taken part in the development of the country. Approximately 88% of women participate in the labor force, and 65% of small and medium enterprises are owned and operated by women (Kem, 2016). Despite these valuable contributions, Cambodia ranks poorly in terms of gender mainstreaming (Nakagawa, 2019). Female participation is predominant across low-skilled sectors of the economy, mainly the garment and footwear sectors (Kem, 2016). Moreover, 70% of employed women, compared to 59% of employed men, are found undertaking additional unpaid family work. Women have the additional burden of remaining more vulnerable than men when it comes to facing low minimum wages and discrimination in employment (Neary Rattanak 4, 2014). From the ages of 18 to 64, women work an average of 3.5 hours per day more than men (ADB, 2015). Even women who are well educated, working outside the home and bringing in a high monthly salary are still expected to at least know how to do the chores (UNIFEM, WB, ADB, UNDP and DFID/UK, 2004).

As in many other Asian nations, a predominantly patriarchal society design has burdened its members with cultural constraints in which men and women undertake pre-determined roles around 'breadwinning' (men) and family rearing (women). In the Cambodian context, the social norm, "Chbab" draws a line that separates women and men into certain roles that require them to conform (Brickell,2010). This line is further demarcated by the role of Buddhism, such that may promote conservative roles as the status quo. The interpretations and evaluations of the local people on the roles of men and women creates a hierarchy in power and status which permeates economic and socio-cultural patterns. (Fraser 2003; Ghosh 2005). As Nancy Fraser explains, a hierarchy that is established to reinforce misrecognition and injustice, happens when institutions deploy cultural "norms of normality" to structure social interaction (Fraser, 2008). In a nation where Buddhism is the majority belief system, this paper seeks to identify

3

the role that its teachings play on reinforcing gendered roles in Cambodian culture and society.

To further understand the issue, this paper will use in-depth interviews and field observation studies to examine the perception of women, the concept of womanhood, and explore how the practice of Buddhism might have shaped the concept of womanhood in Cambodia.

#### Buddhism in Cambodia

A major transformation of religion in Cambodia took place between the 12th and 13th centuries when King Jayavarman VI and his family began to adopt Buddhism with a collection of Mahayana and Theravada practices (Kent & Chandler, 2008). Between the 13th and 18th centuries, Buddhism was nationalized and became the state religion of Cambodia (Jacobsen, 2013). Buddhism to Cambodian people is more than a religion. It is a part of Khmer culture (Buddhism for Development). To do this day Khmer people find spiritual security in a pagoda. The pagoda is a physical symbol of Khmer Buddhism. Khmer people do have a lot of pride in Buddhism. Their respect of the yellow-saffron robe that represents religion has denied their negative judgment toward the monk (Kent, 2008).

The flourishing of Khmer society is seen as having been assisted by the teachings of Buddhism whereby laypeople were able to learn and eliminate all worries and concerns from their daily lives through meditation (Khlot, 1997). The concept of Khmer Sok is described as 'good security and the absence of suffering' which is provided by the Buddhist monastery (Kent, 2010). Inside the pagoda, Dhamma teaching guides the people to be calm and create peaceful states of mind, while Sangha provides the chance for people to make merit and hope to have a better future. Unfortunately, in a contemporary sense, the ordeals of the Khmer Rouge era has eroded the power and the presence of Khmer Buddhism (Kent, 2007). Many of the Buddhist pagodas were destroyed and monks were banned from religious work and forced to work as farmers (Kent, 2009). The absence of Khmer Buddhism at this time downgraded its power in Khmer society. The lack of real practitioners of Buddhism continues to exist, resulting in an insecurity in Khmer society (Kent, 2006). Where previously women were considered spiritually equal to men in Cambodia (Jacobsen, 2013), contemporary teachings appear to promote an unequal sense of role between the genders. The practice of equal treatment between both sexes dramatically changed during the early eighteenth century. This aligned with the emergence of the Khmer code of conduct, the "Chbab Srei". The code was composed by monks for the purpose of outlining virtue in society (Kent, 2011) and outlines the correct behavior for women. In particular, it outlines how women should be nice, soft and silent. This has led to the cultivation of increased male dominance in society (Santry, 2005).

When discussing Buddhism and feminism, we must look at the equal spiritual capability of women and men within the Buddhist boundaries (Byrne, 2012). Since the life of the Buddha was about living far from home and the search for enlightenment, early Buddhism did not mention much about women (Armstrong, 2002). Initially the Buddha was reluctant to ordain women, but the first was his stepmother (Tomalin, Emma, 2009). After allowing women to be ordained, the Buddha included an extra 85 roles for women to maintain their second position to monks and eight rules among the eighty-five have been strictly followed (Sirimanne, 2016). Moreover, the rules formed a strong subordination of nuns toward monks (Mrozik). Despite the fact that these rules were created to be imposed on women, it did not mean that Buddhist teaching discriminated against women by their gender, and status (Keown, 2013). Buddhist teachings state that there should be equal treatment between males and females. Women and men enjoy equal spiritual status within Buddhism (Salgado, 2013).

There is an interpretation of Buddhism in Southeast Asian countries that being born female is a result of karma (Falk, 2008). Women have to earn merit and pray to be born a man in the next life (Andaya, 2002). In Cambodia, the Khmer cosmos focuses on the reciprocity between both females and males. The male's center of power is in the middle or core and the female's is in the periphery where the

5

strength and power are in the hands of women (Ledgerwood, 1994). In this sense, Judy Ledgerwood explains that men, in order to have the power, need to control the female's power. If the men are not capable enough to govern the female's power, it could create chaos. When we talk about Buddhism, it resembles the relations between monks and laypeople (ibid).

#### **Research Design**

Rooted in the historical development of Cambodian Buddhism and the unequal treatment of women in contemporary society, this paper seeks to understand the reality of women living in Cambodia today. To this end one will undertake a series of interviews rooted in the identified problem and questions contained in Table 1 below. The manner of operationalization and methodology are covered in the same table.

Research Problem	The impact of today's practice of Buddhism in Cambodia on the concept of Womanhood	
Research Questions	<ol> <li>How do Cambodian women conceptualize womanhood?</li> <li>How has the formal and informal practice of Cambodian Buddhism affected the meaning of womanhood?</li> </ol>	
Operationalization	The concept of womanhood will be defined based on three variables: <i>cognition, attitude, and behavior</i> . Cognition refers to the kind of knowledge that women should have which also includes formal education. Attitude is a certain characteristic that women think they should have by being a woman. Lastly, behavior refers to	

Table 1 Research Design Overview

	<ul> <li>the manner in which women perceive they should act, including:</li> <li>Attitude: the behavior of a woman toward her surroundings</li> <li>Movement or Action or Gesture: the way a woman should walk, talk, sit, sleep, eat</li> <li>Education: what is the level of education that a woman should obtain. For example, high school or Bachelor degree or Master's degree.</li> <li>Career: should a woman have a job or not. What kind of jobs?</li> <li>Home management: doing the household chores and childcare</li> </ul>	
Methodology	<ul> <li>and childcare</li> <li>The paper will use interviews and field observation methods to collect data. Since the paper focuses on women, sequential sampling will be deployed by interviewing 23 women from three generations (or four if possible). The 23 women are from 5 different households.</li> <li>The first generation is the young women who have obtained bachelor's degrees and those who are not as well educated (secondary school diploma or lower).</li> <li>The second and third generations are the mothers and grandmothers who possibly live in provinces or cities. Venerable monks, nuns, and researchers are the key informants. Moreover, the paper also includes two field observations in pagodas and information from an informal talk with monks and nuns. The field</li> </ul>	

or hierarchy that has been employed within the practice of Buddhism. Lastly, the paper will also take into account the digital preaching that has become a popular tool for spreading Buddhism in Cambodia society.

#### **Empirical Analysis**

This section explores the perceptions of women from across three generations around the expected roles, attitudes, behaviors, and the need for women to have a job. The analysis will look at the common and divergent perceptions across the three generations. Twenty-three women from five families were interviewed. A semi-structured interview format was followed. Five main questions were asked that focus on the role, attitude, behavior, knowledge, and the effect of Buddhism in daily life were designed. The second half of discussion explores how Buddhism is practiced and its interplay with the topic of gender. Information for this section was garnered between two field observations studies and a review of digital preaching content<sup>1</sup>

#### Intergenerational Interviews

Section A contains the discussion and analysis from the interviews with Cambodian women of different generations. Table 2 provide a roundup of key insights from these interviews across generations and key discussion areas. The analysis itself is contained in Table 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This content was found across social media sites such as Facebook and YouTube.

	Attitude & Behavior	Housework vs Formal Education	Having a job or own source of income
Generation 3 (Grandma) Generation 2 (Mother) Generation 1 (Daughter)	Soft, polite, gentle, humble, and friendly. Walk silently, talk quietly, show respect to the people who are older.	Housework Both housework and formal education Well educated: formal education is more important Less educated: house is more important (they lost interest in learning plus family condition)	Important because women do not have to depend on their husband and have power to decide

#### Table 2 Interview Key Attitude Points

# Interview Analysis: How Do Cambodian Women Define Attitudes and Behavior?

#### Theme 1: Femininity vs Masculinity

The data comes from the interview shows, there is a certain view that has been passing from one generation to another. The majority of respondents have a fixed view of the attitude of Khmer women. The ideal Khmer woman should be soft, gentle, humble, friendly, and polite. Also, being soft is a distinguishable trait that defines a person as a woman. Moreover, women should not behave like men. A Khmer woman has to walk silently and talk with a soft voice. Besides, a dutiful daughter should respect older people by bowing.

"We don't behave like a man. It is okay for men to behave aggressively since that is their nature. Women should have appropriate behavior. For example, when there are guests visiting us at home, my daughter has to come out and greet them in a gentle manner and be friendly" (Interview with the second generation, August 29, 2019).

This particular judgment implies that femininity represents women. All Khmer women have a sense of being soft and polite. Masculinity needs to be in men where she assumed it naturally comes when a person is born male. A mother was born into a family where men take more of a leadership role which is common in other Khmer family. Her husband is involved a lot in educating and telling their daughter to do the chores. She based her claim on her experience meaning that in an environment where she grew up, men are more aggressive, and women tend to be more feminine. This is not surprising information. The ideas of having a good attitude and proper behavior are also found in Chbab Srei, the moral code of conduct where women are expected to be soft and sweet (Brickell,2011). There is no clear answer on how Chbab Srei has so much influence on the attitudes and behavior of Khmer women. But it is clear that Chbab Srei has a connection with Buddhist ideas. The Chbab Srei was published by the Buddhist Institute; most of the ideas had been taken from the Buddha's advice.

"I believe that the Chbab was clearly written with a Buddhist morality in mind. Moreover, the idea that women should wear a certain type of clothing and behave in a certain manner came from both Buddhism and Khmer culture. In the Buddha's time, he was at first reluctant when a woman wanted to be ordained because men who become monks have to abstain from sex. So, having men and women living together will increase the temptation. That led to the prohibition of women staying in specific places or areas." (Interview, October 03, 2019).

The ideas and experiences which women went through and passed from one generation to another have determined and shaped women's view on who they should be and undermine their ability of expressing their true selves. To a certain extent, the normalization of gender roles can also equally pressure men and boys to balk at becoming a breadwinner, head of the family and a leader.

# Theme 2: Household chores vs Education, and Household chores vs Having a career

Being a Khmer woman presents a dilemma. At the beginning choosing between formal education and learning how to do the chores. Then, is the problem which confronts most married women, deciding to prioritize their career over the housework or handling both tasks. There are some noticeable changes in how the norm passes across the generations which is quite positive compared to Theme One. When the twenty-three women were asked what kind of knowledge a woman should have, all of their answers involved the knowledge of the chores and formal education. They missed mentioning information about many other useful skills which exist for the job market which women should possess. The grandmother's generation constantly identified housework as a crucial area of knowledge for a woman. On the same question, the mother's generation places formal education and housework at the same level of importance. The mothers want their daughters to learn as much as they can in terms of formal education. But they further their desire by expressing satisfaction with the idea that girls have to be good at chores as well. Moving on to the youngest generation, there are two different ideas based on the educational background. The well-educated women place priority on formal education. These young women perceive education as a window or open door to a bright future. Education will create a new working environment where women are able to occupy an equal position with men, with the same duties and rewards. Equally important, they have faith that education will help women to make the old tradition, where women cannot pursue higher education, become obsolete. A young lady in her twenties mentioned:

"The status that I really want to challenge is that girls should not study to too high a level. I grew up in Phnom Penh and I could still see the social expectations on

11

women. Even though women are provided with equal opportunities in the workplace, they are still living with the burden of doing the chores." (Interview with the first generation, September 14, 2019).

The idea of women who are facing the double burden problem was also mentioned by Brickell in her paper which she referred to as the first main "stubborn" issue. Women are involved with many different tasks such as childcare, housework and other unpaid family work (Brickell, 2011).

Contrasting the previous group, the young women who are not as well educated tend to stand with their grandmother's generation. These women re-emphasized the significant value of housework over education. One of the two ladies said:

"I think doing the chores is more important because I am able to share the burden with my parents. I help them by doing the laundry, wrapping the floor and cooking while they are busy making money. These kinds of work are not for men. It is my brother's job to study."(Interview with the first generation, September 23, 2019).

The obvious evidence which shapes the youngest generation's perception is how much they are exposed to a new culture and environment. The well-educated girls who happened to join many events on gender issues and worked in a diverse group of people have an opposite view from the girls who were not as well-educated.

The oldest generation (grandmothers) hold a conservative view in expressing their ideas. A grandmother from a province said: "It is essential for what I called a proper lady to possess knowledge of housework. A proper lady knows how to cook, do the laundry and organize the house. If the woman lets the man do all of the housework, she would be a useless woman. Why? It is because the housework is what she is supposed to know and do. Boys only learn from school." (Interview with the third generation, September 23, 2019).

Men also hold the view that they are not allowed to do the laundry and cooking because it violates men's rights based on Khmer culture. In addition, the ideas of masculinity view men as the head of the household where women play the role of a supporter. If women in the household do not behave well, it means the masculinity of the man has declined. (Mona Lilja, 2011)

The three generations shared a common thought on the beneficial engagement of women in the economy. Women should have their own source of income. They all believe that an independent source of income would increase the independency rate from their husbands. Moreover, to be financially independent of men positively impacts women's decision making in the family. The old proverb that says that women cannot move far away from the kitchen is out of date. The support from family for women to work outside motivates women to become exposed to a new working environment. A mother mentioned: *"Even though I am a woman, I cannot beg my husband for my daily expenses. It is easier for me to decide on what I purchase with my own money. Also, I can stay at home and take care of children while I am running my business. The old traditional concept is not suitable in today's context."* (interview with the second generation, September 23, 2019).

Undoubtedly, this is how society has been evolving over time. The result of today's society is a combination of two trends. In the past, the pagoda was a learning center. The monks played a crucial role as teachers when the religious buildings were used as schools. People who are curious and wish to further their understanding will become monks or join a class with monks. Men will spend from between six months to two years as monks to learn. When they finish and leave the monkhood to become a householder, they are recognized as well-educated men and can have their own families (Jacobson, 2013).

In the meantime, women follow a different path of learning. A grown-up woman will start the so-called "Chuol Mlup" where women learn the house chores and many other Chbab including Chbab Srei. Similar to men, when a woman leaves Chuol Mlup she is ready to be a wife. The tradition has been passed through generations until housework becomes one of many other characteristics said to belong to women. This is a real challenge for women in contemporary Cambodia. The old expectation has never loosened, and the new expectations are gaining more and more attention. Unquestionably, today's ideal type of woman has to learn skills at school, work and at home.

#### **Buddhism Online**

About 50% of Cambodian people have access to the internet (Heng, 2018). Approximately 6.8 million Cambodian people use Facebook according to the Telecommunication Regulation of Cambodia (Fuentes, 2018). There is no statistic to show how many monks are accessing Facebook, but it is anecdotally well-known that they are using it as a tool to spread their ideas and teach about Buddhism. Some of these teachings touch on the role of women in society. In 2019, there were 37 preaching videos and written lessons posted on Facebook which contained gender related topics<sup>2</sup>.

The purpose of the sermon is to guide the devotees to maintain good behavior as well as attitudes. The monks show what women should and should not have done through case studies of Indian women in the time of the Buddha. Most focus on married women while the rest concern women in general. For example, *a wife should not use violence against the husband, a wife should not be a thief by using his money without any permission,* and *a wife should not believe that she is equal to him.* 

Beyond the daily life of the devotees, the gender issue is also seen in the pagoda. The nuns are always busy with matters related to chores while the monks spend most of the day learning. Moreover, in the monastery community, only men are seen at the leadership and decision-making levels. Women usually are seen as devotees and nuns whose main role is of being a supporter or a donor.

"Khmer women play a role as a donor in Buddhist culture. Women do the cooking and donate the food to the monks. This is also seen in the everyday life of women in society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This information was gathered from the social media of two Buddhist monks' accounts on Facebook and three YouTube channels. These materials can be found in Appendix 2.

*They are caregivers to the husband, children, and parents.*" (Interview, October 03, 2019).

The Buddha promoted spiritual equality between men and women which means both have religious freedom. Women, in theory, are encouraged to be ordained. Through informal chats and the preaching of monks, women were viewed as being too emotionally sensitive which makes it difficult for them to abide by all three hundred rules as a Bhikkhuni. A monk suggested that women do better work at home and take good care of all the tasks in lay life. It is extremely challenging for women to be ordained and the merit they earn will be lost if they are physically touched by men. We can see some of this disparity in the average day of a monk compared to the average day of a nun (Table 4).

Time	Typical Day of Monk	Typical Day of Nun
3:30- 4:30 am 4:30- 5:00 am	The second bell rings to wake the monks up. The monks get up and prepare to greet the Buddha separately.	The bell rings two times to wake everyone up in the morning. The first ring happens at 3:30 am. When the bell rings, all nuns will get up and prepare to greet the Buddha or some nuns will do the meditation. After meditation, all of the nuns will start to earn merit. Earning merit refers to when the nuns chant the Dhamma to remind all of gratitude toward the Buddha.
5:00- 5:30 am	After greeting the Buddha, every monk will prepare themselves to receive	It is time to prepare breakfast for the monks. Some nuns will prefer to cook their own food and donate it to the

Table 3 Average Day of a Monk and a Nun at the Pagoda.

5:30- 6:00 am	advice that was given by the venerable monk. All of the monks in the Pagoda will start to clean the surrounding environment	monks while some will do the cleaning at the main building (sala chant).
6:30- 7:00 am	It is time for breakfast. On the way, monks will go in hierarchical order based on the time that they have spent in the pagoda. Those recently ordained will pay respect to the monks who were ordained for a longer period.	All monks will come to have their breakfast which has been prepared by the nuns. The nuns may prefer to have breakfast before or after the monks based on their personal preferences. Between these hours, nuns will decide whether they want to join the Dhamma class with the monks or not
7:00- 10:00 am	The morning class starts where all monks go to their classroom. The lessons are divided into four types.	based on their literacy. Those who don't know how to read and write will listen to the monk for the Buddha's advice. There are two venerable monks who are responsible for the
10:00am -1:00 pm 2:00- 3:30 pm	The morning classes end. Lunch usually takes one hour followed by a 30minutes of exercise (walking back and forth). In the afternoon, there is a one hour break for monks to take a nap.	nuns. Nuns usually learn about the Buddha's life and his incarnations. Before the bell rings again, there is time to listen, read, and memorize the Dhamma. Any questions about the Dhamma, can always be referred to the monks for answers.

4:00- 4:30 pm	The afternoon classes start. The classes are the same as in the morning. Afternoon classes end and the monks return to Kot (house where monks stay) and prepare for the evening clean up in the pagoda.	One hour and half in the evening is reserved for another meditation, greeting the Buddha, and listening to monks for the Buddha's advice.
4:30- 5:30 pm	The evening soft drink happens after the cleanup.	
5:30- 7:00 pm	The bell rings and all monks gather at the temple and prepare to greet the Buddha again for one hour.	Another half an hour for walking which is considered a mental exercise. After all of these busy hours, it is time to return to our little houses. During these hours, we can listen to the Dhamma.
7:00- 10:00 pm	The monks will go back to school for one last time to review the lessons from the morning and afternoon classes, and make conversation with the other monks.	
10:00pm	Finally, all of the classes come to an end for the day.	

All monks will return t	o Kot	
and get ready for bed.		

The implications of these particular messages could also be seen in the three generations interviews. It is noticeable that those who defined themselves as more Buddhist, often go to the pagoda, spend time reading and listening to Buddhist teachings and sermons, and tend to be more traditional in perceiving their roles. In contrast, those who claimed to be less Buddhist and did not spend time involved in Buddhism appear to be more supportive of gender balance. The way they perceived women and men, boys and girls, is much more liberal than others.

As a result, the practices of Buddhism subconsciously touch on gender topics in Cambodia. Is it because the Buddha, in the first place, was not a woman? Or because the Buddha was born in an Asian culture?

#### A Thought for Development

Religion has a significant role in the evolution of each civilization. In the Cambodian context it has also supported the development of Cambodian gender roles in society. The main tasks of women continue to be centered around family and home. However, this trend has started to change. From low skilled workers to leaders, there is a noticeable empowerment in women across work and education. However, women remain aligned with the concept of conservative womanhood. They enjoy more freedom than in the past but continue to face the choice of whether to focus on school or home. Today, contemporary interpretations of Buddhism impact the concept of womanhood through the practice, online broadcasting, and publications of values that constrain equality.

The practice of Buddhism in contemporary Cambodia should be redefined to avoid the negative emphasis and wrong interpretation of Buddhism on gender issues. The contents for publication or broadcasting of Buddhist teaching should be well checked before books or other publications are distributed. The study of gender should be included in the two years academy of monk. Monks should use Facebook and YouTube in a very effective manner where they can teach the Buddhist Canon of Sutras to the devotees online. The topics which are specifically related to gender should not be discussed negatively. Showing how a woman sacrifices her wellbeing to serve men, husbands or monks should no longer be included Buddhist teachings. By mentioning the merit that women can get in the afterlife and raising example of perfect women or wives, affects their perception implying that they be unconsciously subordinate to men. The content should focus on mental healing and meditation which benefit the general population. One of the examples is the Kol Tor Teng pagoda. Finally, the Ministry needs to have a policy restricting irrelevance use of technological devices within the pagoda.

#### References

ADB. (2015). Promoting women's economic empowerment in Cambodia. Philippines: Asian Development Bank.

Andaya, B. W. (2002). Localizing the Universal: Women, Motherhood and the Appeal of Early Theravada Buddhism. Journal of Southeast Asia Studies.

Armstrong, K. (2002). Buddha. Phoenix.

Brickell, K. (2010). 'The unbearable heaviness of being': reflections on female altruism in Cambodia, Philippines, The Gambia and Costa Rica. Progress in Development Studies.

Brickell, K. (2011). "We don't forget the old rice pot when we get the new one": Discourses on Ideals and Practices of Women in Contemporary Cambodia. The University of Chicago Press Journals.

Brickell, K. (2011). The 'Stubborn Stain' on Development: Gendered Meanings of Housework (Non-)Participation in Cambodia. Journal of Development Studies.

Buddhism for Development. (n.d.). Buddhism and the Development of Khmer Society. Buddhism for Development.

Byrne, J. (2012). Why I Am Not a Buddhist Feminist: A Critical Examination of 'Buddhist Feminism'. SAGE

Ek, S., & Chan, S. (2014). Policy Review on Women Participation in Income Generating Activities. GADC.

Falk, M. L. (2008). Gender and Religious Legitimacy in Thailand. In W. Burghoorn, K. Iwanaga, C. Milwertz, & Q. Wang, Gender Politics in Asia: Women Maneuvering Within Dominant Gender Orders. Nias Press.

Fraser, N. (2008). Social justice in the age of identity politics: redistribution, recognition, and participation. In G. Henderson, & M. Waterstone, Geographic Thought: A Praxis Perspective. Routledge.

Fuentes , S. (2018, February 02). Geeks in Cambodia. Retrieved from Cambodia's 2018 Social Media & Digital Statistics: http://geeksincambodia.com/cambodias-2018-social-media-digital-statistics/

Harris, I. (2005). Cambodia Buddhism: History and Practice. University of Hawai'i Press.

Heng, P. (2018). Embracing the Digital Economy: Policy Consideration for Cambodia. Economic Transformation in Cambodia and Abroad, 24.

Jacobsen, T. (2013). In Search of the Khmer Bhikkhuni: Reading Between the Lines in Late Classical and Early Middle Cambodia (th-th Centuries).

Kem, K. (2016). Women's Economic Empowerment: a Crucial Step towards Sustainable Economic Development. Parliamentary Institute of Cambodia.

Kem, K., & Chea, M. (2016). Progress of Women in Politics in Cambodia. vParliamentary Institute of Cambodia.

Kent, A. (2006). Reconfiguring Security: Buddhism and Moral Legitimacy in Cambodia. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

Kent, A. (2007). Purchasing Power and Pagodas: The Sīma Monastic Boundary and Consumer Politics in Cambodia. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies.

Kent, A. (2008, May). PEACE, POWER AND PAGODAS IN PRESENT-DAY CAMBODIA. Contemporary Buddhism.

Kent, A. (2009). A Buddhist Bouncer: Monastic Adaptation to the Ethos of Desire in Today's Cambodia. Journal of Contemporary Religion.

Kent, A. (2010). Shades of Gender and Security in Cambodia. In H. Rydstrøm, Gendered Inequalities in Asia: Configuring, Contesting and Recognizing Women and Men. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

Kent, A. (2011). Sheltered by dhamma: Reflecting on gender, security and religion in Cambodia. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies.

Kent, A., & Chandler, D. (2008). Introduction. In People of Virtue: Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today (p. 04). Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

> Keown, D. (2013). Buddhist Ethic. The International Encyclopedia of Ethics. Khlot, T. (1997). Buddhism in Khmer Life. UPP II.

Ledgerwood, J. (1994). Gender Symbolism and Culture Change: Viewing the Virtuous Woman in the Khmer Story " Mea Yoeng". In M. M. Ebihara, C. A. Mortland, & J. Ledgerwood, Cambodia Culture since 1975(p. 122). Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Ministry of Women's Affair. (2014). Economy: Women's Economic Empowerment Cambodia Gender Assessment. Ministry of Women's Affair.

Mrozik, S. (n.d.). A Robed Revolution: The Contemporary Buddhist Nun's (BhikTMu>I) Movement. Blackwell Publishing, 2009.

Nakagawa, K. (n.d.). Gender Mainstreaming in Cambodia: Towards a Gender Equal Society?

Rydstrom, H. (2010). Introduction. In H. Rydstrom, Gendered Inequalities in Asia: Configuring, Contesting and Recognizing Women and Men (p. 2). NIAS Press.

Salgado, N. S. (2013). Buddhist Nuns and Gendered Practice: In Search of the Female Renunciant. Oxford University Press.

Seeger, M. (2008). The Bhikkhuni-ordination controversy in Thailand. JIABS. Seneviratne, T., & Currie, I. (1994). Religion and Feminism: A Consideration of

Cultural Constraints on Sri Lankan Women. Women's Studies Int. Forum.

Sirimanne, C. R. (2016). Buddhism and Women-The Dhamma Has No Gender. Journal of International Women's Studies.

Tomalin, Emma. (2009). Why I Am Not a Buddhist Feminist: A Critical Examination of 'Buddhist Feminism'. Oxford Development Studies.

UNIFEM, WB, ADB, UNDP and DFID/UK. (2004). A Fare Chare for Women. Phnom Penh: UNIFEM, WB, ADB, UNDP and DFID/UK.

World Bank Group. (2019). Cambodia Economic Update. World Bank Group

#### Appendix

#### 1. Buddhist Teaching Online Materials.

https://www.facebook.com/284224271755370/posts/1283057551872032/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/729287344150240/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/1270274959763213/ https://www.facebook.com/MATABALOU/videos/326159281441807/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/470269406869956/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/690101338093264/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/286766355612330/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/2126839870909932/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/298195317739840/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/1186639021508004/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/421607901727154/ https://www.facebook.com/Maniratnaram/videos/193786288202233/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/711294009282907/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/714853478926960/ https://www.facebook.com/100012069425681/posts/715937418818566/ https://www.facebook.com/100012069425681/posts/715938005485174/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/716129328799375/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/719289978483310/ https://www.facebook.com/100012069425681/posts/722641091481532/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/725246141221027/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/749748882104086/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/750712572007717/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/754967424915565/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/760624114349896/ https://www.facebook.com/sansocheateam/videos/678085452606031/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/707674092978232/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/683495938729381/ https://www.facebook.com/100012069425681/posts/692149167864058/

https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/703616406717334/ https://www.facebook.com/lornsalongpp/videos/707059923039649/ https://www.facebook.com/220962281255188/posts/3293402044011181/ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxDc\_UVnuq8&fbclid=IwAR3QJGDWOh\_58Ga xI72XjgZPV7rkxOKPeXQN1WXAIYoJ--iXtnmw1VEuIoY https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R5MmYjX27Qc&list=WL&index=13&t=0s https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9zHP5xUQZs&list=WL&index=13 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aaDu38a\_30&list=WL&index=14 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6GwfOl7yMg&list=WL&index=15 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FimEWyRROg&list=WL&index=16

Supported by







www.futureforum.asia