



# **IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION**

Through a Woman's Lens: A Survey of Employment, Marriage and Fertility Trends in Southeast Asia

"It's moving": Digital Migrations and Identity Transformations in Southeast Asia

Rainbow over the Mekong: Trends for LGBT Identities in Thailand, Cambodia and Laos

Interview with Mr. Vitaya Saeng-Aroon

The Next Generations of Foresight and Identities

# **LEADER**





Welcome to Issue 8 of TrendNovation— a monthly newsletter devoted to discussion of long-term technological, social and political trends in Southeast Asia. Issue 7 of TrendNovation focused on "Grey cities" and the wider implications of ageing populations. In the current issue, we consider the theme of identity transformation. As identity is inextricably related to human development, we examine some trends in individual and social identities of various groups in Southeast Asia, ranging from women, migrant workers and LGBT communities.

"Through a Woman's Lens": A Survey of the Employment, Marriage and Fertility Trends in Southeast Asia by Dr. Theresa W. Devasahayam, examines how women have been both empowered by education, and pressured by economic necessity to take new roles. How are women's roles shifting as a result of a tug-of-war between the effects of major demographic and social upheavals?

In "It's moving: Digital migrations and identity transformations in Southeast Asia" Mr. Arthit Suriyawongkul, of Thai Netizen Network and Opendream discusses the phenomenon of digital migration, in both its temporal and spatial senses. Not only do people move across the borders; the borders themselves also move, resulting in diverse cultural, linguistic and ideological exchanges and a changing sense of self over time

Timo Tapani Ojanen follows with a detailed analysis of LGBT identity in Southeast Asia. "Rainbow over the Mekong: Trends for LGBT Identities in Thailand, Cambodia and Laos" draws on the experience of NGO activists in these three countries in examining self-identification of LGBT groups, how this has been catalyzed by the internet and social networking, and the role of the media in destigmatizing these groups.

TrendNovation this month interviews Mr. Vitaya Saeng-Aroon, a well-known Thai journalist, talk-show host and activist for LGBT issues. Mr. Vitaya discusses taboos, marketing and the expression of identity among LGBT groups.

Finally, the Trend Tool section offers an overview of five generations of foresight tools.

TrendNovation is available online at http://www.trendsoutheast.org. As always, your comments and feedback are invaluable to us

# THROUGH A WOMAN'S LENS: A SURVEY OF EMPLOYMENT, MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA



By
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# IDEA:

Since the late 1980s into the 1990s, Southeast Asia has undergone rapid economic growth. In particular, the tremendous growth in the economies of Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore brought major changes to women's lives. Women in vast numbers began to be absorbed into the electronics, textile, clerical, service, teaching and nursing sectors in response to the labor shortage in these industries. Simultaneously, a surge in the numbers of women receiving tertiary level education catapulted women to higher-level positions in the workforce. Although the overall picture appears promising in the direction of gender equality, the real-life experiences of women are far more nuanced.

# **SCENARIOS:**

# THE URBAN AND HIGHER EDUCATED FEMALE

In the 1990s to the early 2000s, women's employment in the non-agricultural sector in the industrialized countries across the world increased from 42 to 44 percent. In the Asia-Pacific region, the share of women in employment rose from 29 to 31 percent during that same time span. While the labor sector is absorbing larger numbers of women, the organization of care in the household has not. Cultural norms continue to require that women maintain their role as

### **KEYWORDS:**

Female labor force participation; family; children; delayed marriage; fertility; religion

primary caregivers in the family in spite of engaging in wage work.

In Southeast Asia, in contrast to the West, the balancing act between family commitments and work demands among more affluent working women is made easier by the availability of women from the poorer countries of the region to work as nannies or domestic servants. Yet there have been observable changes in women's responses to these persistent cultural expectations of their roles in the family, especially in attitudes towards marriage and fertility.

There has been a marked shift toward later marriage throughout the region, a trend more prevalent in urban than rural areas. Increasing education levels among women has been identified as one factor driving this demographic trend. Besides, the lack of government policies to help women balance work demands and family commitments have reduced the appeal of marriage. In Southeast Asia, countries demonstrating the trend toward delayed marriage include Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand. Singapore and, to a lesser extent. Indonesia.

In parallel with delayed marriage, fertility is also on the decline—a demographic trend that is especially marked among the ethnic Chinese and Indians (for example in Singapore and Malaysia), Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, and most of Indonesia. Factors responsible for the decision to have smaller families include women prioritizing careers over family and the perceived rising costs involved in raising children. The perceived value of children has also changed. Among career women, children have increasingly become viewed as a potential disruption to career and a factor for the loss of independence. Anti-na-

talist policies aimed at limiting population growth in some countries have also been identified as a factor for declining fertility rates. Policies to reverse this trend, however, have met with little success because they may have been implemented too late.

Southeast Asian women are also resisting marriage. As women enjoy increasing financial independence, thanks to higher levels of education and employment, the association between marriage and economic security is no longer as strong as in previous generations. In the region, the incidence of non-marriage among women in the 40-44 cohorts is high in Myanmar, with the Philippines. Thailand and Indonesia following the same pattern. The strongest factor for non-marriage is education with the vast majority of non-married women having higher levels of education as opposed to women with lower levels of education. It has been argued that the lower proportions of higher educated women marry in their 30s and 40s compared with lower-educated women although delayed and non-marriage has been evident in both educational cohorts. Among highly-educated women, non-marriage is considered by some as an inevitable outcome, given their increasing difficulty in finding suitable partners. Conversely, among men, non-marriage is linked to low educational levels, presumably as a result of their low economic status. Among them, seeking foreign brides from more economically disadvantaged countries in the region is not uncommon.

# "FEMINIZED" CAREERS ON THE RISE

Because of declining fertility rates and fast-greying populations of some countries in the region, governments are turning to migration to meet the needs of an ever-expanding labor market. In Southeast Asia, Brunei Darussalam and Singapore are major labor importers of both skilled and unskilled labor migrants, although Malaysia also has a large presence of unskilled migrant workers. Major labor exporters include the Philippines (both skilled and unskilled labor) while Indonesia exports mainly unskilled labor.

The number of women in the region's migrant labor force is increasing, and is no longer dominated by men. The supply has increased due to farm mechanization and the lack of available jobs in their home countries. As a result, large numbers of young rural women have been forced out of their home villages to take unskilled or low-skilled work in cities in their own countries, or overseas.

Unlike male migrants, however, the vast majority of

women migrants tend to be employed in the so-called 'feminized sectors' such as domestic work, caregiving and entertainment that tend to be low-paid and have low-status, signaling their inferior status in the global labor market.

While to some extent, securing wage work abroad reflects women's emancipation and empowerment—a phenomenon which would have never occurred in the past as males were seen to be the breadwinners in the family—for the most part, many of these women migrants continue to be subjected to a range of abuse because of the lack of effective legal mechanisms to protect their rights as workers or the lack of enforcement of relevant laws protecting their rights.

### WOMEN'S SACRED SPACES

Trends in religion in Southeast Asia show discouraging outcomes for women because of the growing inclination toward fundamentalism, pushing women further into traditional roles. Among Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, there has been a rise in conservative Islamic forces, delimiting women's freedom by reinscribing a strict dress code, prohibiting conversion, and placing restrictions around marriage across religious groups. In Indonesia and Malaysia, limits have been placed on movement of women through legislation. The influence of religion on government policy, particularly on sexual rights, has also been strong. In the Philippines, the state advocates the Roman Catholic Church's teachings on contraceptives and abortion. Although the state might not overtly promote conservative notions of women's role in the family, it subtly reinforces gender inequality in the family by promoting a natalist position, and. in turn, curtails opportunities for women's participation in the public sphere. Furthermore, the influence of Catholic fundamentalism is evident in family law where the rights and obligations of spouses are unequal.

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## **IMPLICATIONS:**

- The association between marriage and economic security is no longer as strong as it was in previous generations, so for many women, marriage is losing its luster. Policies to reverse delayed marriage and fertility decline have had little success.
- Emergence of a 'feminized' low-skilled labor sector, indicating the inferior status of female workers who are vulnerable to abuse due to lack of effective legal mechanisms and enforcement of relevant laws to protect them.
- Negotiating changing female identities in the modern world will be a delicate issue for debate, especially in the context where religious diversity, women's rights, and the rule of law intersect. Instead "sacred spaces" created by women rather than religious traditions dominated by men will promote and nurture new roles and identities for women in society.

# **EARLY INDICATORS:**

- Economic growth in Asia led to changes in women's lives and roles.
- Increasing proportion of females in the workforce since the early 1990s.
- Females are increasingly postponing marriage.
- Fertility rates have been declining partly because of delayed marriage.
- · Shrinking family size.
- Changing perception of children as potential disruption to career and an obstacle to independence.
- Changing attitudes among women about prioritizing careers over family and perceived rising costs of raising children.
- Increasing numbers of females in skilled and unskilled workforce, to fill labor gaps resulting from fast greying economies.

# **DRIVERS & INHIBITORS:**

### DRIVERS:

- Higher education among women
- Increase in financial independence among women in major urban areas
- Lack of government policies to help women balance work demands and family commitments have reduced the appeal of marriage
- Increase of foreign low-skilled female labor migration in Southeast Asia

### INHIBITORS:

- Traditional norms on women's roles in family and society
- Influence of religious fundamentalisms working against women's changing identity

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# "IT'S MOVING": DIGITAL MIGRA-TIONS AND IDENTITY TRANSFOR-MATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA



By Mr. Arthit Suriyawongkul, Program coordinator for a digital rights advocacy group, Thai Netizen Network

# **IDEA**:

Digital migration, as a movement, has both temporal and spatial senses. Conventionally, migration refers to a spatial movement within physical space from one environment to another, from one country to its neighbor, or from one island to another continent an ocean away. But when we think about digital migration, we also need to think about 'temporal' movement in relation to the digital age. We have voluntary digital immigrants who purposively move spatially to an environment (physical or cyber) which is already in the digital age. Then there are forced or involuntary digital immigrants who are physically moving nowhere, but whose environment has been invaded by the coming of the digital age. In other words, not only do people move across the borders; the borders themselves also move. The resulting cul-

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Arthit Suriyawongkul is a program coordinator for a digital rights advocacy group, Thai Netizen Network. His current research interest focuses on how internet-augmented social relationships work in the political sphere of everyday life, a topic he is now carrying on as his graduate research at the Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University. Arthit is also working as a consultant to Opendream, an ICT social enterprise in Bangkok, on projects related to citizen participation and new literacies. Before shifting to social science research, he was in computer science research and development for nearly a decade, focusing on human language technologies.

### **KEYWORDS:**

Digital migrations; mobility; Internet; identity realization.

tural and linguistic interaction among diverse peoples brings informational and ideological exchanges, and a changing sense of self over time. The internet has potentiated and accelerated such transformations as ICTs become increasingly pervasive and embedded in people's lives. And while these technologies may help people realize what they want to be, they may also reveal new potentials which their offline real-world physical environment might not accommodate well (Miller and Slater, 2000). This conflict in new identity realization has broad social implications.

# **SCENARIOS:**

# PEOPLE OF TWO WORLDS: AGENTS OF CHANGE

The return of 'brain-drained' Southeast Asians from their prior immersion in the Digital Age either in the West or leading East Asian countries during the mid-1990s may be seen as the first wave of digital emigrants to the region. This was followed by a second wave of 'digital diasporas' from all over the world after the Millennium. Adapting from the working definitions of digital natives as surveyed by Shah and Abraham (2009), digital immigrants could be identified as individuals born before 1980, when digital technologies had yet to assume a central and vital role in daily life, and who eventually (whether through choice or obligation), find themselves in a time and space where their everyday life is significantly affected or dominated by the rise of Internet technologies. Bloggers, net activists, media artists, and tech evangelists are often first waves of the immigration. By definition, these people are 'agents of change'.

To activists and evangelists, this is obvious. Artists, particularly in the experimental arts, or the so-called

'avant-garde', are committed to challenging the norms of society. Many political and tech bloggers in Southeast Asia were educated abroad and / or are well-connected with international online communities (such as open source software communities), and are trying to bridge those 'foreign' ideas to local environment. 'Bridging' is exactly the word Sarinee Achavanuntakul, a Thai prominent blogger, used to describe her activities and her role. In her blog, Fringer. org, we find original essays and translations of works on social entrepreneurship, sustainable economy, knowledge commons, and Internet freedom. Malaysiakini, one of the most successful online newspapers in the region, was founded by Steven Gan and Premesh Chandran who were student activists at the University of New South Wales. After graduation and several works in journalism and civil rights, they started the website in late 1999. It has immediate effects on the 1999 Malaysian general election. Essentially, these people share a "network mindset", rooted in the original ideals of the Internet, characterized by principles of openness, transparency, and decentralization (Scearce et al. 2009). The network is more than mere technology, it is an ideology.

We can therefore conclude that migration is about social transformation as much as physical relocation. After all, migration is a realization of Gandhi's famous words: "be the change you wish to see" (looking forward in time, exploring new frontiers, following new ideologies, and shaping new identities).

# POLITICIZED DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

Over the past two years, social movements have avidly harnessed the power of digital media. Thailand's Red Shirts offer an example of digital immigrants that parallels to the rise of other political groups in the region. In July 2009, laborers, and motorcycle taxi drivers who had never previously use computers, subscribed to twitter in order to vote for Thaksin Shinawatra in the "Twitter Wall of Fame" competition. Facebook-based campaigns - political and social-have sprung up immediately after any social and political conflict, targeting policies, political groups, or individuals. The recent Cambodian-Thai border conflict over Preah Vihear Temple is also being waged online through Facebook fan pages from both countries, in local languages as well as English, as an attempt to communicate with the other side of the border and international community. In the Philippines, MindanaoBloggers.com is a prominent example of the effort to promote understanding of different cultures and beliefs of the people of Mindanao Island, Philippines. This effort was the inspiration for Thailand's Prachatai.com website.

Many online campaigns spilled over into physical space as well, since online activism is intimately connected with, and often intended to support physical activism. In Bangkok, street demonstrations were transmitted live to campaign supporters and audiences around the world, by a 50-something man with a digital camcorder, a laptop computer, a mobile Internet access card, and a few other pieces of DIY equipment. He learned all the techniques himself from his son, acquaintances and Internet forums.

Civil participation in anti-corruption campaigns is another important focus for digital immigrants. In Kupang, a city in West Timor, Indonesia, a civil group cooperates with a local newspaper and women in the villages to monitor budget spending in each village and also give feedback on local government policies, using mobile SMS and Facebook. Public policy is summarized and posted on printed newspaper, and people give feedback via SMS or Facebook. Selected comments are published in the printed newspaper. SMS and Twitter offer increasingly universal channels for participation and feedback from audiences of TV and radio programs, though SMS price and multilanguage support are still obstacles. Nevertheless. people today are more closely connected to online media, and more empowered to participate in various activities, whether political, social or personal.

# **IMPLICATIONS:**

- The 2010s will be the decade of mass digital migration. Community events such as blogger conferences and BarCamp act as intercultural online-offline bridges among multiethnic event-goers. Community spaces such as hackerspaces further fix that social space into a physical place, and act as a guild or local hub connected to a global network of like-minded digital citizens. This kind of space will grow in scale and sophistication.
- More conflicts in governance of the ICT infrastructure. If free trade is what craftsmen and merchants value, free flow of information and ideas is what digital immigrant's value, and is the fundamental reason for the migration. In the last decade, conflicts between Southeast Asian citizens and ruling regimes have involved censorship, privacy and surveillance, and nondisclosure of information. On the business side, conflicts over flows of ideas and cultural works are increasing, as seen in increasing litigation over intellectual property rights and the scramble to amend outdated IP legislation.

# **EARLY INDICATORS:**

- In January 2011, I was accompanied by my Indonesian blogger friend to a small alley-cafe in Jakarta. With its friendly atmosphere, free wifi, and very late closing time, the cafe developed itself into a casual meeting place for artists, bloggers, and creative workers in Jakarta. Hanging out, meeting new people, browsing posters on the wall for upcoming events, or working on their own laptop computers.
- One guy at our table is from the Hong Kong office of an American company. He came here for a conference on Internet governance, organized by a group of local political bloggers. The atmosphere reminds me of HackerSpaceSG in Singapore, the Common Room in Bandung, and gallery-cafes in Chiang Mai. Not exactly, perhaps, but there are certainly shared characteristics.
- Around 2009, HackerSpaceSG finds its place in the
  Arab Street neighborhood of Singapore. The area,
  near Sultan Mosque, is a nightlife destination for
  both locals and visitors, with pubs, chic restaurants,
  and hookah (sheesha) lounges. Hackerspace is a
  community place where hackers (in this sense, computer scientists, technologists, electronic artists, and
  media activists) can meet, and possibly collaborate.
  The movement is also growing slowly in Bangkok,
  Chiang Mai, and Battambang (Cambodia), supported
  by groups of locals and expat members of local "BarCamp" communities.
- Other community space movements linked to digital technology and the electronic arts are also prominent in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Bandung, Indonesia. Some of these receive support from European science and culture organizations. These spaces can catalyze the localization of ideas from elsewhere. Conversely, an idea born here has a chance to spread all over the world.
- Recently, a group from House of Natural Fiber (HONF), Yogyakarta's "new media art laboratory", won the Transmediale award 2011 for its installation art. Transmediale is an annual festival for art and digital culture, held in Berlin, Germany.
- The recent FOSS Asia, a regional open source software conference held in Ho Chi Minh City, focused on education and women in IT.
- Mozilla Drumbeat, BarCamp, TEDx, Pecha Kucha Night, and Ignite, are examples of technology and innovation-oriented conferences that sprung up

- rapidly in the last five years in Southeast Asia. The events are either franchises of or inspired by similar events in USA or Japan. Among them, BarCamp is the most open in terms of participation.
- BarCamp across Southeast Asia attracts locals, expats, and "BarCamp Nomads". A Google calendar named "Techie Geeky Interesting Events in ASEAN" is maintained by a diverse group of Bar-Campers. There is even a guide to hopping around BarCamps in the region written by a Bangkokbased Japanese programmer (3105, 2009).
- The largest gathering so far is BarCamp Yangon in January 2010. With over 2,700 attendees, it is the largest recorded BarCamp worldwide, and probably one the largest self-organized civil gatherings that the Burmese authorities have ever permitted.
- Digital Divide Data (DDD) was founded in 2001 in Cambodia by a group dominated by Western business consultants and technopreneurs. During their travels around Indochina, they encounter poverty, and yet perceive the region as an untouched human reservoir. DDD recruit disadvantaged vouths in Cambodia and Laos and provide them with the education and training they need to work in a worldclass digitization and IT company, serving clients around the world. This business model is made possible by an Internet technology where services can be transmitted digitally, and made viable by the growing needs in mass digitization by many organizations around the world, including national libraries and archives. In order to break the cycle of poverty, these young people will receive parttime education supported by DDD. We may regard this as an example of the earlier digital generations helping the migration of later generations.
- Consumers and industries transform themselves, with the first movers being the creative and information industries. Over the past five years, Thalland's music industry has been forced to migrate to monetize new channels of accessing digital music. The majority of big labels' income now derive from downloads and non-downloadable (streaming) music experiences, offering value-added compared with free pirate peer-to-peer services. For smaller labels, YouTube is their best channel to reach new audiences. YouTube, as well, is used for distributing political campaign videos and demonstrations clips.

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# **DRIVERS & INHIBITORS:**

### **DRIVERS:**

- Greater physical mobility: Low-cost airlines resulting from the liberalization of air travel, play a significant role across the region.
- No barriers to movement: Free movement of labor across all ASEAN countries will become a reality in 2015.
- Greater digital mobility: Significant numbers of Southeast Asians already experience an 'always on' life, a high degree of mobility, and a multicultural environment. The trend will undoubtedly intensify in scope and scale.

# RAINBOW OVER THE MEKONG: TRENDS FOR LGBT IDENTITIES IN THAILAND, CAMBODIA AND LAOS



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Timo Tapani Ojanen is currently working for the Center for Health Policy Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University. His primary research interest is developing LGBT-sensitive mental health services in Thailand and other countries where they are still lacking.

# **IDEA:**

While it seems "sexual orientation is biological in nature," (Royal College of Psychiatrists, 2007, p. 2), cultural factors largely determine what, if any, identities accompany sexual preferences. Western countries usually view that same-sex attraction and transgender expressions imply identities composed of positions on the dimensions of sex, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, and refer to such identities with the terms lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) or "queer." Southeast Asia largely seems to construct these as alternate genders (cf. Jackson, 2009). This article focuses on identity trends in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, drawing both on the experience of non-governmental organization (NGO) activists in these three countries, [1] and related research. Some of these identities are labeled with ancient.

# **INHIBITORS:**

- Linguistic and cultural factors such as language proficiency, international exposure, technology and content localization, may inhibit adoption.
- Censorship regimes and over-strict intellectual property rights enforcement.

### **KEYWORDS:**

LGBT; NGOs; HIV; MSM; human rights; nonmainstream identities; sexual/gender minorities

indigenous terms (e.g., kathoei/khteuy; see Jackson, 2003; Lyttleton, 2008; Tan, 2008) or English-derived ones (such as gav. tom. MSM: see Oianen. 2009), but nevertheless understood differently from both Western and ancient local identities (Jackson, 2009). While there is little violent homophobia in these three countries, such identities are still stigmatized and discriminated against. NGOs are now influential in creating and popularizing new identity terms in these countries: mass media seems more important in popularizing existing ones (Jackson; Ojanen, 2009; Phorng; Ly; Linjongrut; Pasomsouk). The emergence of new identities continues in these countries (Ojanen, 2009; Ly), but while self-labeling with such terms is quite common among Thai LGBT youth (Kittisuksadit, 2551; Tangmunkongvorakul, Banwell, Carmichael, Utomo, & Sleigh, 2010), in Cambodia and Laos it is rare. However, identification as kathoei/khteuy is common in all three (Tangmunkongvorakul, Banwell, Carmichael, Utomo, & Sleigh; Lyttleton, 2008; Tan, 2008).

# **SCENARIOS:**

## HIV PREVENTION EFFORTS AND NGOS INCREASINGLY SHAPE LGBT IDENTITIES

Most Asian countries have HIV epidemics among men who have sex with men (MSM) and male-to-female transgender individuals (TGs), and in many locations the HIV prevalence among these groups is rising (van Griensven & de Lind van Wijngaarden, 2010). Governments in the region have to make the choice of addressing the problem now through group-specific prevention efforts, which are recognized as containing the improvement in the human rights and social status of these groups (Godwin, 2010), or facing heavy burden of disease later on.

While the responses have been slow, there is now both national and international funding for HIV prevention among MSM and TGs, with USAID and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria facilitating the rapid upscaling of HIV prevention work (Linjongrut; Phorng). For

example, in Thailand, where the HIV epidemic among MSM is on the highest level (van Griensven & de Lind van Wijngaarden, 2010), the number of provinces with coordinated HIV prevention work for MSM is increasing from less than 10 to 43 (by July 2011) of a total of 77 provinces within only a few years (Linjongrut). In Cambodia, around 6 or 7 of the country's 24 provinces have such activities (Phorng). Laos has three organizations working on HIV prevention among MSM (Pasomsouk).

NGOs, which largely run the prevention work, are important as they create new terms and popularize existing ones, and the more the HIV/MSM NGO scene grows, the higher its impact on the adoption of specific identities in each country. In all these countries, lesbian organizing is small-scale compared to MSM work as there are no HIV epidemics among lesbians, and consequently little funding for organizations or activities. Especially in Thailand, however, there is conscious effort to make the entire "sexually diverse" community benefit from HIV funding (Linjonarut).

As examples of how NGOs affect identities, the term MSM (or its super-abbreviations, such as em in Thailand and Cambodia) has been popularized as an identity label among NGO clients[2] - unintentionally in Thailand, intentionally in Cambodia (Phorng). In Cambodia, it is now more widespread than the term "gay," (Phorng), which has been used in Thailand since the 1960s (Jackson, 2003). However, existing identities such as gay, tom, or dee (in Thailand: see Ojanen, 2009) are also spread through interactions between NGO staff and clients through exchange of information and by the role models offered by NGOs. In some cases, this has created new awareness of the possibility of homosexual identification without transgender expression among NGO clients (i.e., shift from a kathoei to a gay identity; Linjongrut). Umbrella terms such as the Thai neologism khon rak phet diao kan, or its Khmer equivalent, neak sralanh phet doch khnea (Ly), meaning "person loving the same gender," chai rak chai/proh sralanh proh (man loving man, in Thailand and Cambodia) and ying rak ying/srey sralanh srey (woman loving woman; Thailand and Cambodia; Ojanen, 2009, Ly), or khon thi mi khwam lak lai thang phet (a person who has sexual diversity; Thailand) have been introduced in these countries as more acceptable terminologies than more stigmatized existing expressions, but these terms still have mostly limited circulation in NGO circles. Phu ying kham phet and sao praphet song (Thailand, Laos) have emerged as supposedly more polite alternatives to the stigmatized term kathoei/khteuy,[3] whereas similar neologisms, srey sroh ("pretty girl"), sak veng ("long hair") or sak khlei ("short hair") have not much caught on in Cambodia (Ly, Tan, 2008). The activities of NGOs and other LGBT groups may increasingly popularize some terms, especially MSM and other male identity words (and related identities) in the near future.

# POLITICS OF LGBT SPACE: PARAMETERS OF IDENTITY DESIRABILITY

As a part of the Global Fund supported HIV prevention, each country will have cross-ministerial coordination of HIV prevention, including the mainstreaming of sexuality and rights issues into the work of these ministries, with provincial level

monitoring of the implementation (Linjongrut). The agendas of LGBT movements may thus be translated into actual policies with monitored implementation throughout the state sector. This may help to mainstream these identities, increasing awareness of them both among those who (eventually) identify with them, and within society at large, leading to greater alternate identity adoption and acceptance.

Emerging identity and rights based organizations, such as the Foundation for Human Rights on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (FOR-SOGI) in Thailand, or the Rainbow Community of Kampuchea (RoCK) might play a similar role in the future. In Thailand, HIV-based organizations, a major component of the Thai Sexual Diversity Network, have already been influential in lobbying, especially in Thailand (Burford, 2010; Sanders, 2011).

# THAI MASS MEDIA POPULARIZE ALTERNATE IDENTITIES

The role of media (especially newspapers, magazines, motion pictures and television) has largely been to popularize emerging terms and identities. This may have been the case with the terms <code>kathoei</code>, <code>gay</code>, <code>tom</code> and <code>dee</code>, which were popularized in Thailand in the post-WVII years, from the mid-1960s, and from the 1980s, respectively, largely through print media (Jackson, 2003; 2009). Thai media has also played a role in popularizing these identities in Laos, while Laos media portrays hardly any representations of them (Pasomsouk). In Thailand, while the media have played a positive role, they have also been criticized for using stigmatizing terminology and crass caricatures of these identities. Even in Thailand, the state sometimes also censors portrayal of these identities; for example, the film <code>Insects in the Backyard</code> was recently banned even for "educational use"

# GREY THAI LGBTS: INCREASING IN NUMBER, STILL INVISIBLE

The demographic situation is quite different in Thailand on one hand and Laos and Cambodia on the other: "Recent socioeconomic development has begun to slow population growth rates in China, Thailand ... while Cambodia, Laos ... are expected to experience further positive growth well beyond 2050" (Pech & Sunada, 2008, p. 219). Consequently, more Thai LGBTs are reaching old age, which may shift or at least diversify LGBT culture in Thailand. However, while the demographic trend is well recognized, there is little awareness of LGBTs as a part of the ageing population. However, these trends may not take place in Cambodia and Laos for quite some time. Urbanization and marketization of labor may prove more influential in these contexts in the short run.

# **IMPLICATIONS:**

 An estimated 7 to 15 percent of both male and female Thai youth now identify themselves as something else than heterosexual men or women (Kittisuksadit, 2551; Tangmunkongvorakul, Banwell, Carmichael, Utomo, & Sleigh, 2010), meaning that such minorities are already very significant. In Laos and Cambodia, explicit identification is probably on a lower level. However, all these countries are likely to see an increase in such identification.

- The HIV epidemic and its costs (either now or later) are already being recognized in all these three countries (although the epidemic in Laos and Cambodia is on a much lower level than in Thailand). Both NGOs and states participate in prevention efforts, but the faster these epidemics are averted, the greater the financial and humanitarian savings will be in the long run.
- Thailand's experience has shown how the local LGBT movement, with collaboration from the National Human Rights Commission, has actively advocated for issues affecting its constituents, even influencing how the country's current constitution is now interpreted (Sanders, 2011). The future may see more such pressure for national governments to legislate anti-discrimination laws, same-sex partnership laws, legal recognition of sex change, or health services, such as publicly funded sex reassignment surgeries or group-specific sexual and mental health services. However, the political contexts of the three countries are quite different from each other.
- Male-to-female transgender movements in Thailand are roughly divided into two camps: one advocating for depathologization of Transsexualism as a mental illness to reduce stigma and discrimination, the other viewing that Transsexualism is a legitimate medical condition that needs to be recognized and treated. Such identity politics is new to the region. It is an emerging development that groups in the region are taking stances on global issues.
- Beyond health and legislation, in Thailand, LGBT groups (especially "gay" but increasingly also other identity groups) form target groups for various commercial operations, whether media, tourism, nightlife, fashion, beauty, medicine, or other fields (see Jackson, 2011, for various examples). Thai gay nightlife and tourism operators are a big and still growing business that also influences identities (Duangwises, 2552). Slowly emerging in neighboring countries, such businesses are still very rare in Laos (Pasomsouk). Thailand also has some lesbian media, nightlife and fashion ventures. Some English language, Westerner-oriented Thai gay magazines have discussed plans to establish retirement communities for ageing LGBT individuals. The potential for marketing mobile phones and internet-based services to these groups is great in Thailand, although market saturation may be close for some services. Laos and Cambodia may have much more room for new services, but also less funds to pay for them (Phorng).
- How the increasing numbers of elderly Thai LGBTs will affect Thai society is still very unclear, but it may result in new social trends and challenges. For example, who will take care of single elderly LGBTs? Will they assert a visible presence in society? If they do, will this affect how elderly people are viewed in general in Thai society? How important will linkages between ageing Thai and ageing expatriate Western LGBTs (who are quite numerous in Thailand) be?

# **EARLY INDICATORS:**

- Cross-ministerial involvement in HIV work may provide LGBT groups more say in policy matters, which in turn may help to mainstream these identities, not only in Thailand but also in Cambodia and Laos, since they follow the same model of national coordination.
- The ageing of Thailand's population may shift the nature of LGBT identities and lifestyles, as well as create new forms of extended families which samesex couples are a part of; family members who are LGBT often assume responsibility for taking care of their elderly parents due to usually not having their own children to take care of.
- Young Thai lesbians seem to construct their identities less in terms of gendered pairs of tom (masculine) and dee (feminine) than older generations do, with a preference not to self-label at all. While challenging strict gender roles was on the agenda of Anjaree, an early Thai lesbian organization that introduced the term ying-rak-ying, these young women refuse both gender stereotypes as well as the term ying-rak-ying, feeling that NGOs are alien to their identities, generally fluid and non-labeled. In Cambodia, any lesbian identity terms are almost nonexistent, and the term srey sralanh srey is only now being introduced (Ly). This demonstrates that NGOs are influencing male identities more than female ones.
- Thailand has seen much sympathetic research by young scholars on LGBT issues in the last 10 years. Proliferation of such research in neighboring countries, and its impact, remain to be seen.
- The LGBT situation in Laos seems to follow developments in Thailand with a 10-20 year delay.

# **DRIVERS & INHIBITORS:**

### **DRIVERS:**

- Rapid increase in HIV-related organizations for MSM may lead to increased awareness and acceptance of LGBT identities throughout Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.
- Increasing and more realistic media representation of LGBT individuals, especially in Thai media, is likely to both spread information of LGBT identities and to make these identities appear more normal and acceptable, thus facilitating LGBT identity formation. Thai media are also more influential in Laos than local media (Pasomsouk).
- Urbanization and wage labor/private entrepreneurship is providing LGBT individuals more privacy to build LGBT identities and lifestyles than earlier rural forms of labor and accommodation do, especially when salaries permit renting accommodation away from parents (Jackson, 2009). Bangkok is a case in point, with its environment for LGBT individuals considered comparatively relaxed and casual, inviting both domestic and international LGBT inflows.

- Businesses aiming to benefit from LGBT spending may make these identities more visible and desirable through seductive marketing images.
- Increased access to the Internet and mobile phones (especially smartphones) provide more opportunities for private communication and building of virtual communities, in which identities proliferate, and which create opportunities for discussions, sex and relationships between LGBT individuals. However, use of such services is not as common in Cambodia or Laos as in Thailand.
- Attempts by various LGBT groupings to find more acceptable and less stigmatized labels for LGBT identities increase the number of such terms, and when the strategy is successful, the expression of identities labeled with these terms.

### **INHIBITORS:**

- Stigmatization and discrimination in employment and education, especially in the public sector, with no antidiscrimination legislation, mean that many individuals with LGBT identities need to hide their identity in order not to ieopardize their employment or educational opportunities.
- Media censorship by governments in the region may act to inhibit open discussion and presentation of LGBT identities, making process of explicit LGBT identity formation slower.
- Continued parental pressure for children to conform to sexual and gender norms (normative gender expression, heterosexual marriage and children) inhibits the ability of LGBT individuals to live their lives in accordance with their actual preferences, or at least to do so openly. At least in Cambodia, patriarchal values mean that women face more of this pressure than men do (Ly).
- Religious intolerance (including conservative Buddhist perspectives) inhibits formation and open expression of LGBT identities in some contexts.

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[2] The term "NGO client" is used as shorthand for people participating in the activities of NGOs, whether as clients of their outreach activities, or by joining NGO arranged workshops and events.

[3] Sao praphet song (lit. "second category woman") has been in use for quite some time in Thailand. Khon kham phet was originally devised by Prempreeda Pramoj na Auytthaya as a Thai translation for the term queer, but it soon became to be used as a translation for 'transgender,' which it more literally translates. Pramoj na Auytthaya and the author of this text (Ojanen) once collaborated to translate an article containing the term 'transgender woman' (for which there was no standard Thai translation) from English to Thai. The present author suggested replacing khon (person) with phu ying (woman) in front of kham phet (transgender) to denote 'transgender woman.' While the term was originally intended only for the translated article, another transgender activist, Yollada Krirkkong popularized the term through the media, and it has become to connote her brand of transgender activism, now advocated through the Thai TransFemale Association. The Thai Transgender Alliance, in contrast, is trying to reclaim the term 'kathoef' as a positive expression.

[4] These observations on young urban Thai lesbians were made by Rachawadee lamsilpa and Soifa Topananan, researcher colleagues of the author at Mahidol University.

# INTERVIEW WITH MR. VITAYA SAENG-AROON

By Dr. Pun-Arj Chairatana, Managing Director – Noviscape Consulting Group

# Q: "DON'T CARE" IS A DESCRIPTION YOU USE TO EXPLAIN IDENTITY FORMATION AMONG A SEXUALLY DIVERSE COMMUNITY. WHAT IS THE RATIONALE BEHIND THIS?

I think we should highlight two parallel influencing "In the past, there were no public channels for people to express themselves. Now, things are totally different. Today there are so many channels, approaches and media for communication and self-expression. The future means of identity mediation will be more and very complex. Urbanization has transformed Southeast Asia's cities into cosmopolitan global hubs. Whilst Manila was perhaps the forerunner during the

early 70's, today people from cities such as Bangkok, Jakarta, Singapore, and many secondary cities such as Phuket, Chiang Mai or Yogyakarta, redefine how people live and express their identity as never before.

"Computers and the internet allow faking and experimentation in sexual identity. Community groups such as LGBT have been influential in shaping lifestyle trends, and 'faking' represented the early exploration of identity on the internet. Freedom from the chains of social norms, status, personality, and appearance catalyzed the faking of identity on the internet. Today this is much more difficult due to the richness of the medium, and over the last 5 years, we have witnessed the flip side of this coin, not only among LGBT communities but across all social groups, in the 'Real Me' phenomenon, where individuals assert their true personalities and announce it to the world. This does not necessarily translate into increased tolerance among the general public, but it is rather a phenomenon induced by expansion of ICT utilization."

# Q: COULD A FIGHT ON CONSUMER RIGHTS CARRY IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

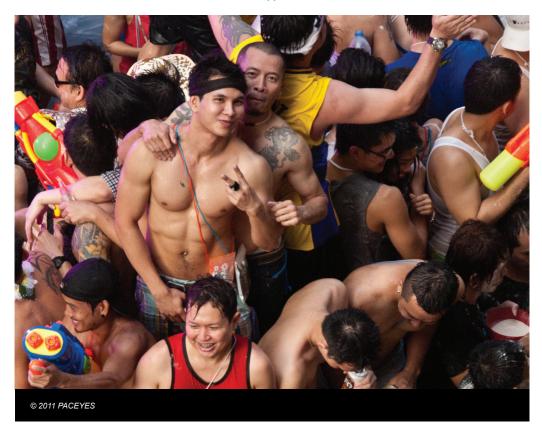
"Let me give you a couple of examples. In marketing, we all know that there are many products where LGBT could be specifically targeted as a market segment. The reality is that marketers are reluctant to explore this opportunity directly because of social taboos or other norms. Another example can be



# ABOUT MR. VITAYA SAENG-AROON

A former journalist specializing in transportation, telecommunication, and IT, Mr. Vitaya is a Thai TV host and producer of the "Pink Mango" program, the leading gay variety show in Thailand on Mango TV channel. (http://wn.com/pinkmangotv). He also hosts and produces Talk Radio for Mea ts Bangkok FM 102 MHz. He is a regular public speaker and an advocate for non-profit organizations on gay issues.

Mr. Vitaya was Assistant Managing Editor for The Nation Newspaper. He obtained his Master Degree in media & management from the New School, New York, USA. He joined the Journalists' Fellowship Program in Japan and graduated from Thammasat University.



drawn from public events. Imagine that gay or lesbian couples are invited to join a party, but all of the organization and code of conduct are communicated through 'straight' messages. LGBTs often feel that such language leaves them with no space or sense of 'inclusiveness'. Can we claim it as 'a soft social discrimination'? Yes. I think so!"

# Q: IT SEEMS THAT THERE IS A TABOO AGAINST LGBT MARKET DEMAND. ANY MOVEMENT OR CAMPAIGN, AGAINST SUCH TABOOS?

"Bangkok has definitely challenged these taboos. With a long history of LGBT movie making, I would say that Thai LGBT movies have evolved significantly. Take a look at the recent international success of movies such as 'Bangkok Love Story' or 'Love of Siam', 'Roommate', or 'Sayew'. I expect to see more

special interest movies in this genre. 'Insects in the Backyard' represents a real challenge among Thai authorities and communities at large, with its surreal movie plot about conflict between gay identity and Thai culture. The movie was banned by Thailand's censors, but has already opened a new space for LGBT discussion aside from its entertainment value."

# Q: WHAT WILL BE SCENARIO FOR THE FUTURE ON IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION IN THIS REGION?

"I see three major trends. First, a reclaiming of consumer right among LGBT groups. Secondly, I expect increasing segmentation of social and sexual identities. Thirdly, increasing encounters among old and young digital natives, due to increasing use of social networks by older people.

# TREND TOOLS THE NEXT GENERATIONS OF FORESIGHT AND IDENTITIES

By Dr. Pun-Arj Chairatana, Managing Director – Noviscape Consulting Group

Future tools are very dynamic. The five generations of foresight proposed by Georghiou in 2007 reflect a broadening direction of evolution of the foresight model from a purely technological oriented approach to a wider focus. (1) The fifth generation foresight takes a wider range of policy approaches with specific focal activities in either structure or actors within the system or a complex and interdisciplinary social, economic, science, and technology issues, which can be briefly characterized as follows;

- 1st Generation (Technology Forecasting): Approaches and activities exclusively conducted by technical and foresight experts. These mainly focus on technology forecasting to analyze changes driven mainly by the internal dynamics of technology.
- 2nd Generation (Demand vs Supply Interaction): A foresight expert group is expanded from participation between academic and industrial experts. Foresight projects are required to integrate the supply of technology with an essence of market demand. Technological development is examined from a market-driven perspective with a strong emphasis on technology matching, new market opportunities and wider technological applications towards non-market needs such as environmental and social problems.
- 3rd Generation (Society, Economy, and Technology Nexus): Inclusion of a broader social dimension, especially on an input from critical social concerns and directed involvement from a wide range of key social actors, is included into the existing techno-economic foresight paradigm. Foresight methods are applied and developed to accommodate increasingly complicated issues concerning social trends and alternative institutional arrangements. These include an expansion of cross-disciplinary knowledge reservoir for such complexity.

In practice, the above three generations co-existed,

developed and extensively used by an international community of futurists and strategists. In recent years, foresight exercises have been increasingly engaged with broader issues and a higher level of embedment in other policy and strategy development. Two new generations emerged from changes in policy development platforms.

- 4th Generation (Roles within Innovation Systems): Diversity among sponsoring or granting organizations has increased, with an increasing demand for foresight exercises to be conducted according to their specific requirements. Also partnerships and joint co-ordinations through sharing resources and results, having shared working groups. Ownership of foresight programs is now not owned by a single policy sponsor, but embraces high involvement of a distributed role among key players in between the science and innovation system.
- 5th Generation (Structural and Broader Policy): A broad range of policy foresight approaches have an essence of a combination between foresight programs and exercises, which exercises are also distributed across many locations and sites. The principal concern of these activities is either a) structures or actors within the STI system or b) the scientific/technological dimensions of broader social or economic issues.

These generations are not stand-alone approaches, but rather a tailor-made mixture among generations. An example of complicated foresight exercises with combinations of the fourth and the fifth generations of foresight can be seen from social oriented issues, especially on identity, ageing society, crime and forensic science, redesigning the nation, etc.

The evolution of generational foresight reflects an attempt to reduce the gap between postmodern identity and complexity thinking by observation of various social phenomena. Along with this paradigm shift, we are likely to see increasing use of state-of-the-art technological modeling and complex simulations integrated into the existing five generations of foresight (i.e. Online-Delphi survey or scenario modeling simulation). Demand for new synthesis of theoretical ideas, and interdisciplinary interaction, involving 'participatory' approaches to facilitate high-level of uncertainty and more complicated issues will also grow. The next generation of foresight may emerge from cyberspace and social networks, signaling a new and powerful set of trend for foresight tools that we need to monitor very closely.

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