

CHAPTER FOUR

A CROSS SECTION OF MODERN BANGKOK

4.1 OVERVIEW OF THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

In an attempt to study the current beliefs and practices regarding spirit houses of contemporary Bangkok, data was collected from 893 individuals who identified themselves as current Bangkok residents. An effort was made to ensure that no more than one person per household contributed information as this would affect the data concerning shrine frequency per residence. The process of collecting data began in October 1994 and lasted through February 1995. One Thai assistant was utilized in helping secure the interviews as well as entering data into the computer. In order to get a wide range of participants with differing ages and backgrounds, the interviews were held in several locales including shopping malls, neighborhoods, hospitals and college campuses.

4.2 PROFILE OF DATA CONTRIBUTORS

Of the 893 contributing information to this study, 506 were female and 307 were male.* Table 4.1 shows the age breakdown of the participants.

TABLE 4.1 AGE OF PARTICIPANTS

Below 20	218	(24.0%)
20 - 40	208	(23.6%)
41 - 60	245	(27.4%)
Above 60	222	(25.0%)

An effort was made during the data collection process to keep number of contributors in each of these four age groups as close as possible. The youngest contributor was 11 years old and the oldest was 94. The average age was 41.

Table 4.2 shows the ethnic background for the data contributors.

* The high differential is due to the fact that females were much more open to discussion and participation than males. Quite frequently males indicated that they were too busy to talk or gave some other excuse to avoid participation.

TABLE 4.2 ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Thai/Thai	614	(68.8%)
Thai/Chinese	264	(30.0%)
Other (detailed below)	15	(1.2%)
Thai/Mon	5	
Thai/Malay	3	
Thai/French	2	
Thai/Indo	1	
Thai/Khymer	1	
Thai/Lao	1	
Thai/Spain	1	
Thai/Viet	1	

The clear majority considered themselves Thai/Thai (ไทยแท้).

Thai/Chinese was the next largest group. The Thai/Other group was very small, insignificant in this study.

Table 4.3 shows the "home province" of the data respondents. The clear majority (77.3%) consider their home province to be either Bangkok or a neighboring province in central Thailand. A total of 22.7% of the respondents indicated they had moved to Bangkok from an outlying province.

TABLE 4.3 HOME PROVINCE

CENTRAL	355	(39.7%)
BANGKOK	336	(37.6%)
ISARN	80	(9.0%)
SOUTH	62	(7.0%)
NORTH	60	(6.7%)

The respondents lived in a variety of different dwellings as shown by Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4 DWELLINGS

HOUSE	600	(67.2%)
TOWNHOUSE	118	(13.2%)
APARTMENT/CONDO	94	(10.7%)
SHOPHOUSE	61	(6.8%)
DORMITORY	13	(1.4%)
GOVERNMENT HOUSING	7	(.7%)

The clear majority of those contributing data lived in single houses. The typical Bangkok houses would likely be

surrounded by a wall with an iron gate at the entrance. In most cases, there is a carport and small yard. The "townhouse" is a row of separate dwellings, all part of the same structure. It will ordinarily have an iron gate for entrance to a carport and a very small, if any, yard in the front. "Shophouses" are structures that have a store or place of business in the bottom, street-level floor and residence in the upper levels. Apartments and condos are combined because they are of similar structure, differing only in ownership. By definition, an apartment has one owner while each unit in a condo has a separate owner. All of those living in dormitories were students and those living in government housing were government employees.

The data contributors had a large variety of occupations as seen in Table 4.5 below.

TABLE 4.5 OCCUPATIONS IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Student	252	Factory Wkr.	8	Military	1
None	134	Teacher	5	Maid	1
Laborer	127	Security	4	Lawyer	1
Sales	84	Nurse	4	Reporter	1
Farmer	64	Secretary	4	Insurance	1
Housewife	56	Hairdresser	3	Hosp. Ad.	1
Government	52	Janitor	2	Banker	1
Ret. Govt.	29	Seamstress	2	Computers	1
Contractor	26	Mechanic	2	Driver	1
Gardener	15	Lab technician	1	Pilot	1
Priv. Bus.	8	Fortune teller	1		

The most frequently cited occupation was "Student" because of the 218 in the "Below 20" age group, 198 (91%) were students. The majority of the older respondents were either unemployed or stated specifically that they were retired government workers. The number of farmers was somewhat surprising. Of the 64 total farmers, 59 (92%) were 40 years old and over. Thirty-five (55%) were from Central Thailand and 18 (28%) were from Isarn provinces. The data respondents, a reflection of contemporary Bangkok, represented a wide range of different occupations and income levels.

4.3 DATA CONCERNING SHRINES

SPIRIT SHRINE FREQUENCY

Each of the respondents were asked questions about the spirit shrines at their current place of residence. The frequency of shrines can be seen on Chart 4.6 It should be noted that many respondents reported multiple shrines at their residence. The Hing Phra is a shelf on which images of Buddha are placed. Often prayers of petition to the power of Buddha are offered in a manner similar to deities

of the shrines. A total of 85.2% of the those contributing data reported having a Hing Phra in their place of residence. Over half (50.8%) had residences guarded by a Phra Phum and over one-third (34.5%) had a Jaow Thii.

TABLE 4.6 SHRINE FREQUENCY AT ALL RESIDENCES

(TOTAL RESPONDENTS 893)		
Hing Phra	761	(85.2%)
Phra Phum	454	(50.8%)
Jaow Thii	308	(34.5%)
Phra Phrom	26	(3.0%)
None	24	(2.7%)
Other	11	(1.2%)

The most common place of residence reported was the house. Of all the residence types, the house most easily connects with the past. Although the simple wooden structures found in early days have been replaced by bright concrete structures, the practice of having a Phra Phum in the front yard is a thread linking the present with the past. Apartment/condos, townhouses, and government housing complexes are places of residence unique to the modern era.

TABLE 4.7 INDIVIDUAL SHRINE FREQUENCY PER HOUSE

(TOTAL HOUSES 600)		
Hing Phra	522	(87.0%)
Phra Phum	349	(58.1%)
Jaow Thii	198	(33.0%)
None	17	(2.8%)
Phra Prom	15	(2.5%)
Other	12	(2.0%)

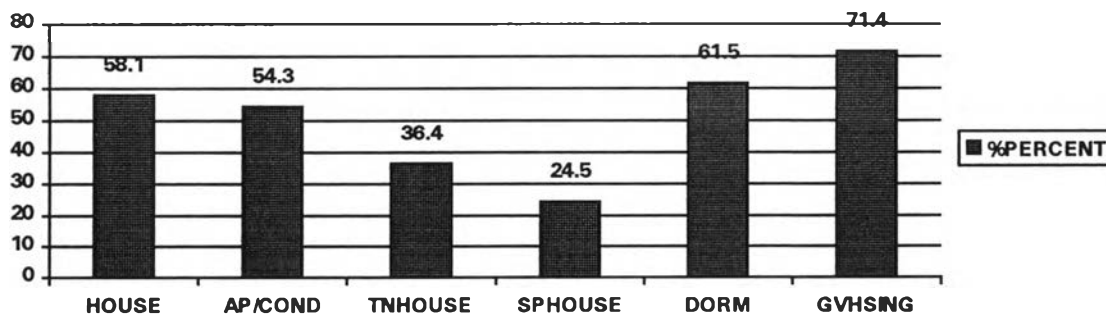
Chinese merchants have lived in shophouses since the early days of commerce.

According to this data, nearly 60 houses out of 100 in Bangkok have a Phra Phum and over 30 in 100 houses have a Jaow Thii spirit house. It is also interesting to note that although Phra Prom shrines are normally found at large public buildings, of the 600 respondents living in houses, 15 (2.5%) had a Phra Prom shrine. There were 17 (2.8%) houses that had no shrines at all and 12 (2.0%) had shrines other than those listed. The Hing Phra had a very high frequency per house at 522 out of 600 or 87%.

From Chart 4.1 it can be noted that the frequency of Phra Phum shrines is well over 50% for all types of

residences except for townhouses and shophouses. The frequency rating for dorms and government housing is extremely high. A possible explanation for the comparatively low frequency rating (36.4%) for townhouses is the small outside area found at most townhouses. Also, it is quite common for rows of townhouses to be part of larger housing development having large shrines revered by the entire neighborhood. The same could be said for shophouses as well. Also, since shophouses are mainly residences for Thais of Chinese decent (over 65% of those residing in shophouses stated they were Thai/Chinese) it seems logical that the frequency of Phra Phum shrines would be less

CHART 4.1 - FREQUENCY OF PHRA PHUM SHRINES

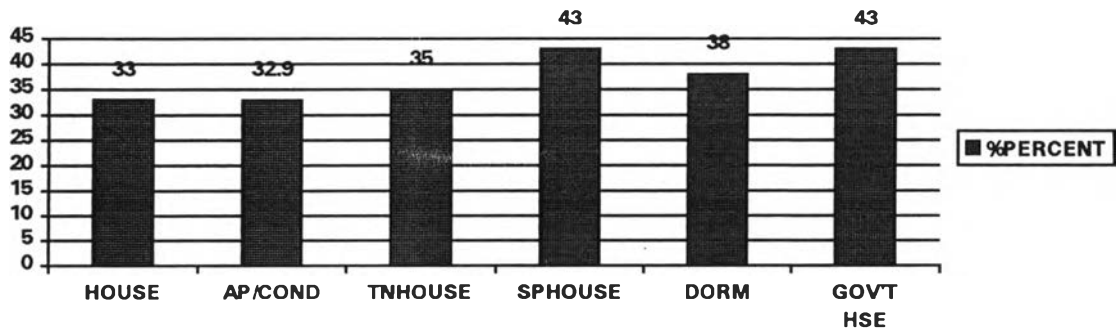


The Thai/Chinese would more likely have Chinese ancestral shrines instead.

Chart 4.2 illustrates the frequency of the Jaow Thii shrine. The data shows the Jaow Thii shrines are found at a

fairly consistent frequency in all residential categories. The high percentage in shophouses would be consistent with the Chinese influence.

CHART 4.2 - FREQUENCY OF JAOW THII SHRINES



Almost half (43%) of the respondents residing in shophouses report that they have a Jaow Thii shrine.

CHART 4.3 - FREQUENCY OF PHRA PROM SHRINES

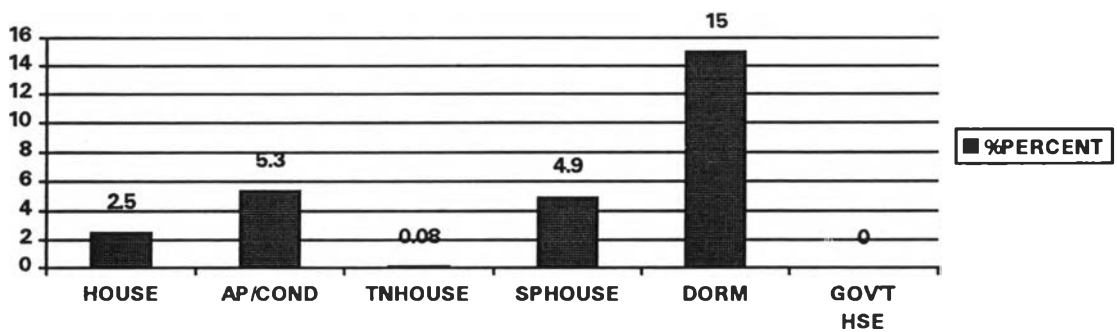
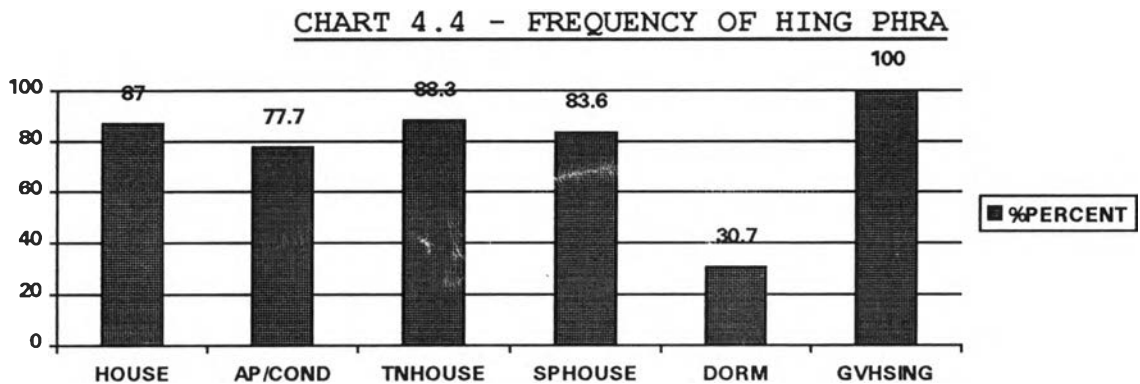


Chart 4.3 illustrates the frequency of Phra Prom shrines. None of the data contributors residing in government housing reported having a Phra Phrom spirit

house. Those living in dorms reported the highest frequency (15%). The level of frequency for having a Hing Phra in households was consistently high for all types of residences except dorms (See Chart 4.4). The obvious explanation would be that dorms are temporary housing for college students.



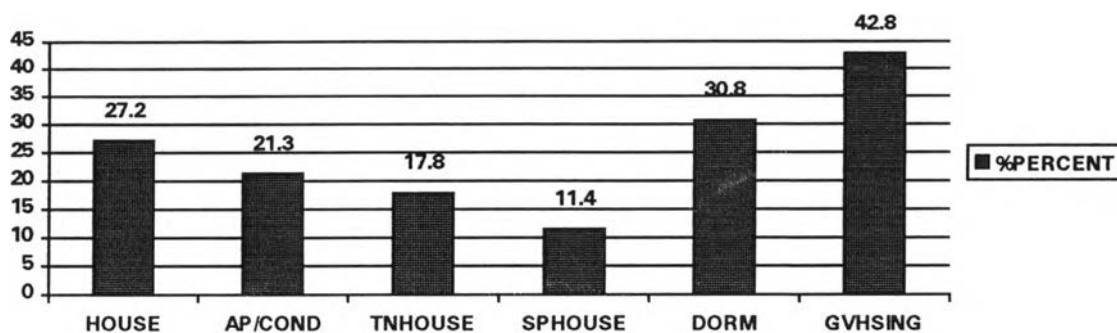
Because the students typically stay in the dorm no more than a year it seems unlikely that they would want to go to the trouble of transporting their idols of reverence to the dorm.

SHRINE PAIRINGS

Many of these various shrines stand side by side with each other working in tandem. These combinations are illustrated in the following section of charts. Out of the

total 600 houses represented in this study, 163 (27.2%) had Phra Phum + Jaow Thii pairings.

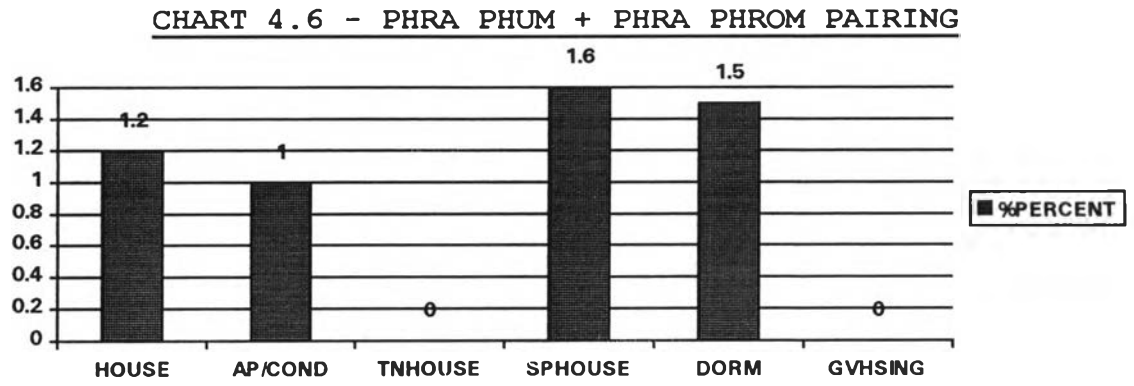
CHART 4.5 - PHRA PHUM + JAOW THII PAIRING



Of the 349 houses that had Phra Phum shrines, however, almost half (47%) were paired with a Jaow Thii spirit house. The data indicates, therefore, that approximately half of the Phra Phum shrines stand in tandem with a shrine to another supernatural power. The lowest percentage of Phra Phum and Jaow Thii pairings were found in the shophouses and the highest in the government housing units.

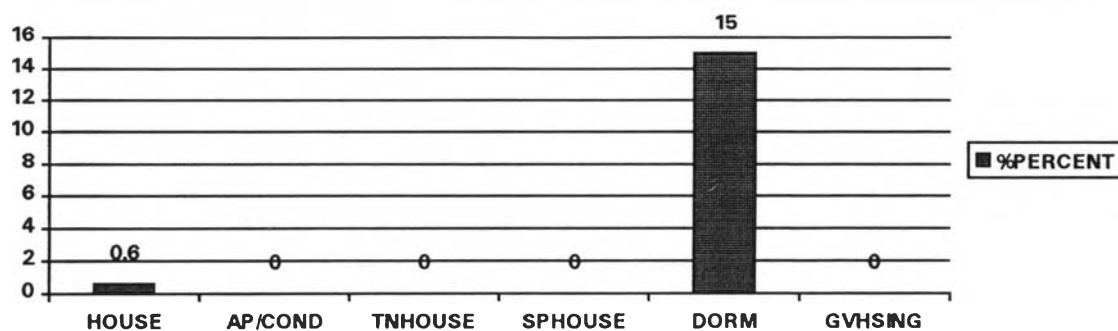
The frequency of Phra Phum shrines paired with Phra Phrom shrines is much less, as indicated by Chart 4.6. Only 7 houses (1.2%) in 600 contained the Phra Phum + Phra Phrom combination. The shophouses showed the highest frequency at 1.6% and the townhouses and government housing units did not have this pairing at all. This small percentage of Phra

Phrom shrines is likely due to the fact that only places of residence are included in this data.



Since Phra Phrom shrines are more commonly found adjacent to large buildings where business is carried out such as shopping malls, banks and hotels it is to be expected that the percentage of Phra Phum + Phra Phrom pairings would be smaller in this data including only places of residence.

Although even more uncommon, the data indicates that the triple combination of Phra Phum + Phra Phrom + Jaow Thii occasionally can be found. Of the 600 houses in this data, 4 (.6%) had the triple combination of shrines. No other type residence had all three except dormitories which had a total of 15%. Of the 13 data contributors living in dorms, 2 (15%) reported having Phra Phrom shrines.

CHART 4.7 - PHRA PHUM + PHRA PHROM + JAOW THII PAIRING

In both cases the Phra Phrom was accompanied by Phra Phum and Jaow Thii shrines.

Of this data, the shrine pairings found at the houses was most interesting. Of the 349 houses having Phra Phum shrines almost half (46.7%) were paired with a Jaow Thii shrine as seen on Table 4.8 below.

TABLE 4.8
HOUSE SHRINE COMBINATION FREQUENCY / PHRA PHUM SHRINE

(TOTAL HOUSES WITH PHRA PHUM 349)		
Phra Phum + Jaow Thii	163	(46.7%)
Phra Phum + Jaow Thii + Phra Phrom	4	(1.1%)

There were also a total of 4 houses(1.1%)having the triple combination of Phra Phum, Jaow Thii and Phra Phrom shrines.

4.4 POWER PERCEPTION OF SHRINES

Thais revere spirit shrines for both protection and provision. The shrines house spirit guardians that serve to keep away all harm. They also are believed to be able to grant prayers of petition when called upon and a satisfactory gift has been offered in return. Both of these tasks require power that must be petitioned. Perceived power of different shrines differs from person to person according to background, experience and rumored stories of positive results received by others.

The 893 data contributors were asked to rate the power of 7 shrines that are currently popular in Bangkok: 1)Phra Phum 2)Phra Phrom 3)Jaow Thii 4)Nang Kwak 5)Mae Kuan-yin 6)Sadet Pho - R.5 and 7)Jao Pho Lak Muang. The respondents rated the power perceived in each of these shrines by placing a "1" next to the one they felt had the most power to grant their requests and the most benevolent nature and continuing. The ranking would continue in descending order until they placed a "7" adjacent to the shrine they perceived had the lowest level of power.

Respondents indicating a belief that all shrines were equal in power are so noted.

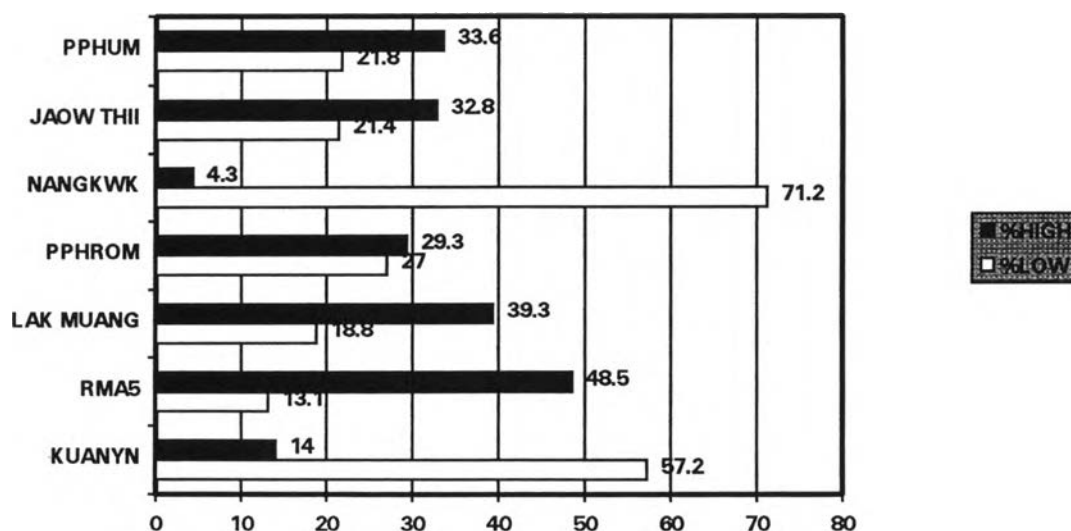
The following section examines this data in an attempt to determine if there are any external factors such as age, ethnic identity, sex, or regional attachment that might attribute a perception of power toward a particular shrine. A perception of "High" power was determined by counting the number of times a respondent listed their perceived power of a certain shrine as either "1" or "2". A perception of "Low" power was correspondingly determined by counting the number of times a respondent listed their perceived power as "6" or "7". The percentage given is based on the total number of respondents attributing a difference in power to the shrines.

PERCEIVED POWER ACCORDING TO SEX

A total of 307 males contributed data. Of that number, 78 (25.4%) respondents considered the power of all shrines to be equal. The remaining 229 males indicated their perceived power of the various shrines according to Chart 4.8. The top bar represents the percentage of respondents that gave the shrine a "High" rating and the

lower bar is the percentage that gave the shrine a "Low" rating. The abbreviations are as follows: "PPHUM" - Phra Phum shrine, "JAOW THII" - Jaow Thii shrine, "NANGKWK" - Nangkwak shrine, "PPHROM" - Phra Phrom shrine, "JAOW MUANG" - Jaow Pho Lak Muang shrine, "RMA5" - Sadet Pho - R. 5 (hereafter referred to "Rama 5") shrine, and "KUANYN" - Mae Kuan-yin shrine. As seen on Chart 4.8, male respondents indicated a high level of perceived power for the Rama 5 shrine. Almost half (48.5) gave the shrine a "High" ranking and only 13.1% a "Low" ranking. The Nangkwak was overwhelmingly perceived as having the lowest level of power to men.

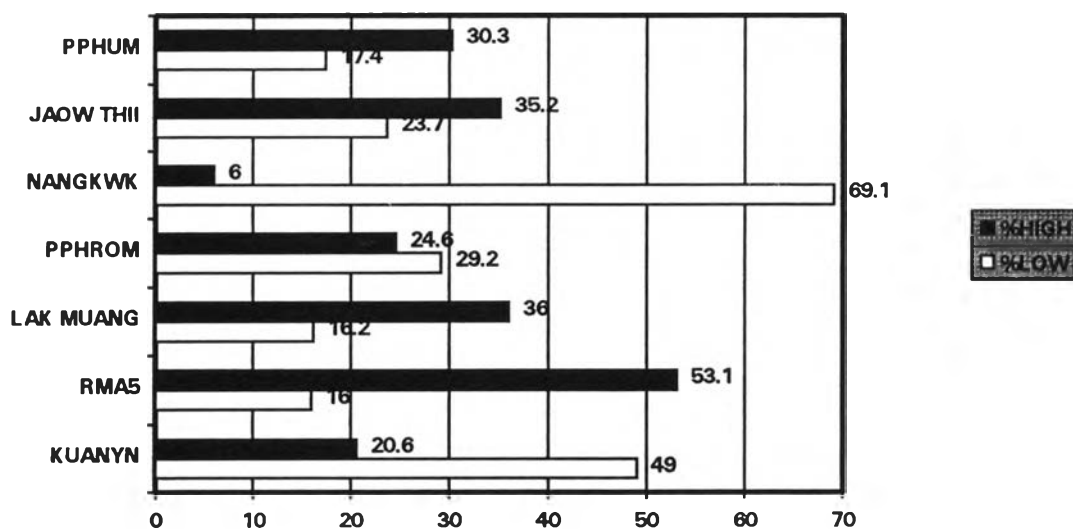
CHART 4.8 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF MALES



Only 4.3% of the respondents ranked this shrine "High" but 71.2% gave it a "Low" perceived power ranking. Phra Phum, Phra Phrom and Jaow Thii shrines were all perceived as being fairly close in power.

Chart 4.9 gives the perceived shrine power rankings of females. Out of 586 total female respondents, 155 (26.5%) believed the power of all shrines to be the same. Of the remaining 431 data contributors, the Nangkwak was perceived as having the least power. Over 69% gave the

CHART 4.9 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF FEMALES

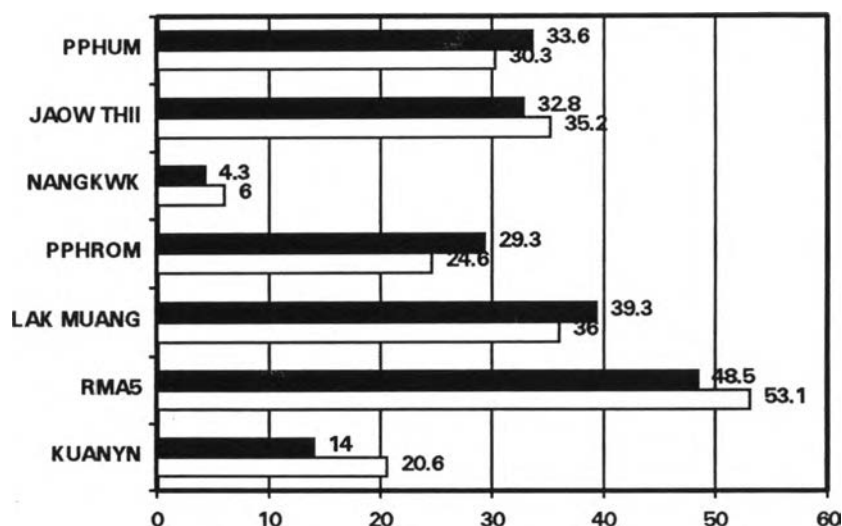


Nangkwak a "Low" rating and only 6% a "High" rating. Over half (53.1%) of the females gave the Rama 5 shrine a "High" rating, the most of any shrine. Only 16% gave it a "Low" rating.

rating. With the exception of the Mae Kuan-yin, females ranked the perceived power of other shrines fairly even. The percentage of "High" power perception ranged about 25%-35% and the "Low" rankings around 16% to 30%.

There are no major differences in the perceived power of the various shrines between males and females. Chart 4.10 compares the "High" rankings for males and females. It is clear that the Rama 5 shrine currently has the highest perception of power of all the shrines listed. Conversely, the Nangkwak is perceived as having the lowest level of power. The greatest diversity between males and females in their assigning a "High" level is with the Mae Kuan-yin shrine.

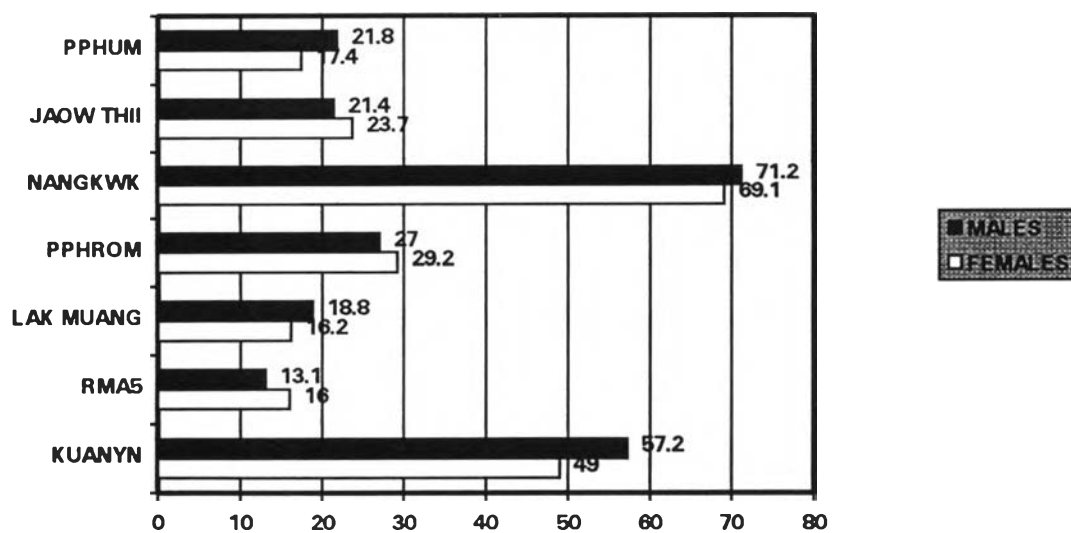
CHART 4.10 "High" PERCEPTION MALES/FEMALES



A total of 20.6% females gave it a "High" ranking while only 14% of the men ranked the shrine "High", a difference of only 6.6%. The average difference between the male and female perception was 3.8%.

Chart 4.11 compares the "Low" power perceptions of males and females. Again, both males and females were very close in the perceived "Low" power ratings. The greatest difference in "Low" ratings was with the Mae Kuan-yin shrine which 57.2% of the males rated "Low" and 49% of the women rated "Low", a difference of 8.2%. The average difference between male and female power perception for each shrine was 3.5%.

CHART 4.11 "LOW" PERCEPTION MALES/FEMALES



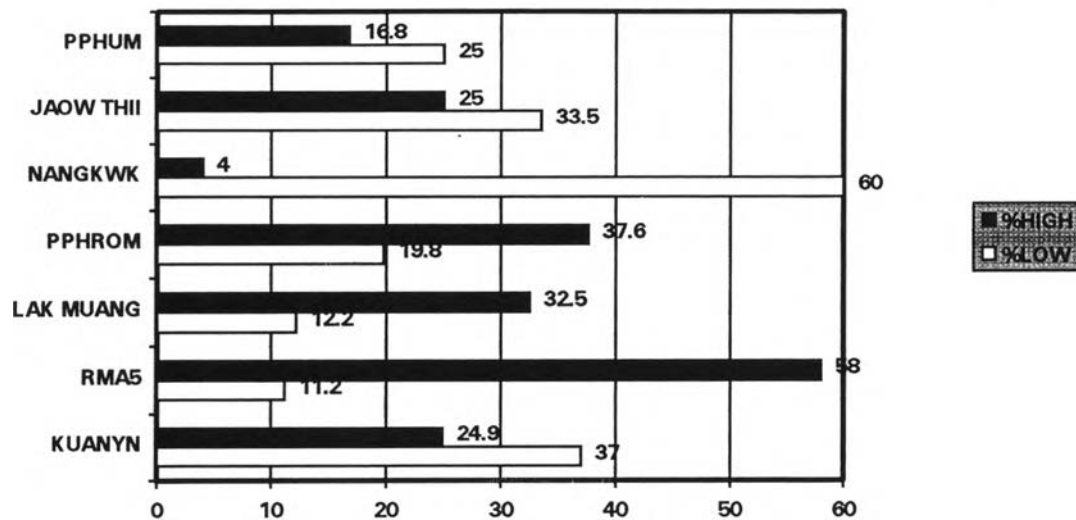
The Nangkwak shrine was given a "Low" rating by 71.2% of the males and 69.1% of the females. The Rama 5 shrine received the lowest percentage of "Low" ratings by both males (13.1%) and females (16%).

This data indicates that a person's sex is not a determining factor in ascribing power to the various shrines. The perceived power of the shrines by males and females were quite close on almost all shrines. In both the perceived "High" and "Low" ranking the difference between males and females never exceeded 8.2% and in the majority of cases was even much closer.

PERCEIVED POWER ACCORDING TO AGE

In order to examine how the power perception for each of these shrines differs according to age, four age groupings were made: 1)Below 20 2)20-40 3)41-60 and 4)Above 60. Shrine power perception for the "Below 20" group is seen in Chart 4.12.

CHART 4.12 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF AGE "BELOW 20"

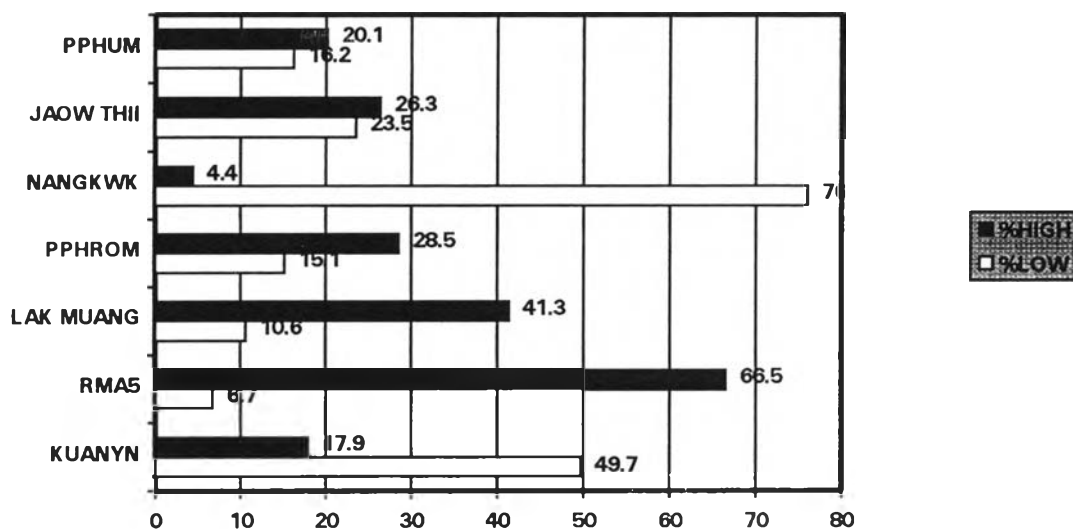


In this group there were a total of 218 respondents. Of those, 21 (9.6%) believed all the In this group there were a total of 218 respondents. Of those, 21 (9.6%) stated that their belief that all the shrine had equal power. The data shows that the Rama 5 shrine received the greatest number of "High" ratings, 58%. The next highest ranking was for the Phra Phrom shrine, 37.6%. It should be noted that both of these shrines are quite new in reverence when compared to the others which have been respected for generations. The shrine with the lowest percentage of "High" responses (4%) and the greatest number of "Low" responses (60%) was the Nangkawk. The Phra Phum received only 16.8% "High" responses which is worthy of note and 1 out of 4 (25%) in

this age group perceived the Phra Phum as having "Low" power as well.

Chart 4.13 compares the perceived power for shrines by the "20-40" age group.

CHART 4.13 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF AGE "20-40"

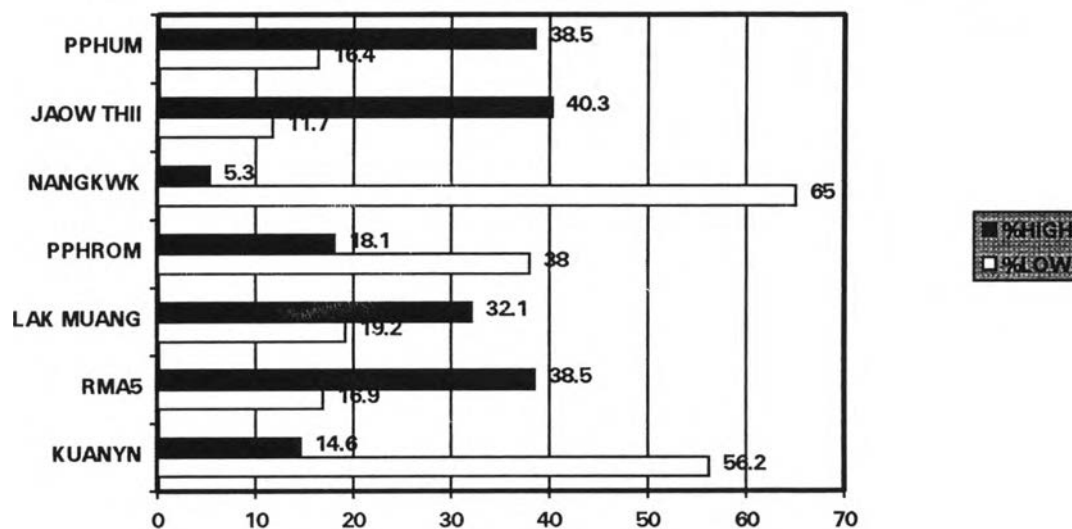


In this group there were a total of 218 respondents. Of those, 21 (9.6%) believed all the shrines had equal power. The Rama 5 shrine was perceived as having a "High" level of power by 66.5% of this age group and only 6.7% indicated a "Low" level of power. The Jaow Pho Lak Muang was the next closest shrine in percentage "High" ranking at 41.3%. It also had the next lowest "Low" percentage with only 10.6%. The Nangkwak was considered "Low" in power by 76% of the respondents in this age group and only 4.4% gave it a "High"

ranking. The Phra Phum, Phra Phrom and Jaow Thii were all considered fairly even in power by the "20-40" group.

Shrine power perception for age "41-60" is seen on Chart 4.14.

CHART 4.14 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF AGE "41-60"

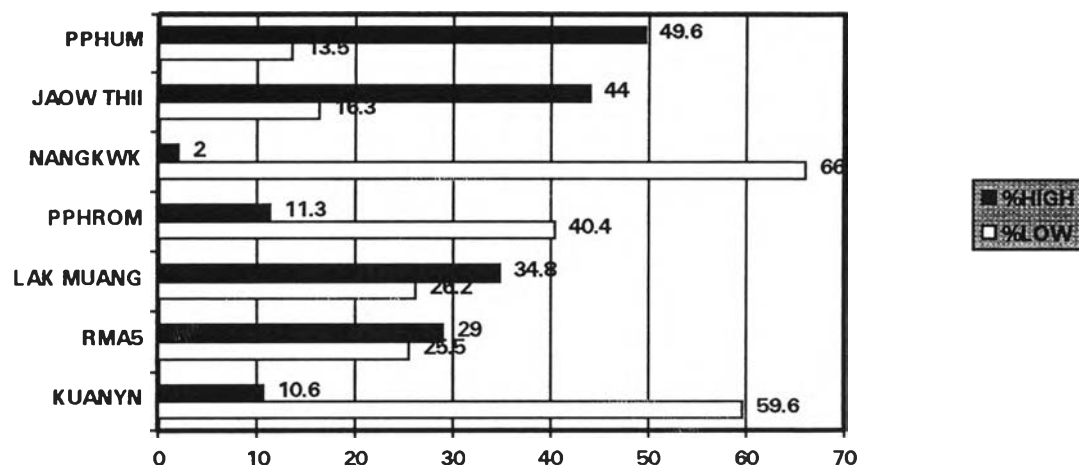


Of 245 total respondents, 74 (30.2%) believed the power of all shrines were equal.

In this age group, the Phra Phum (38.5%), Jaow Thii(40.3%) and Rama 5 (38.5%) shrines were considered as "High" in power by almost the same percentage of respondents. The Phra Phrom was considered "High" in power by only 18.1% and 38% gave it a "Low" rating. The Nangkwak (65%) and Mae Kuan-yin (56.2%) shrines were considered "Low" in power by the greatest number of respondents.

The "Above 60" age group had a total of 222 respondents. Of that number, 81 (36.5%) believed the shrines were all equal in power. The power perception ascribed the various shrines for this age group is seen on Chart 4.15.

CHART 4.15 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION OF AGE "ABOVE 60"

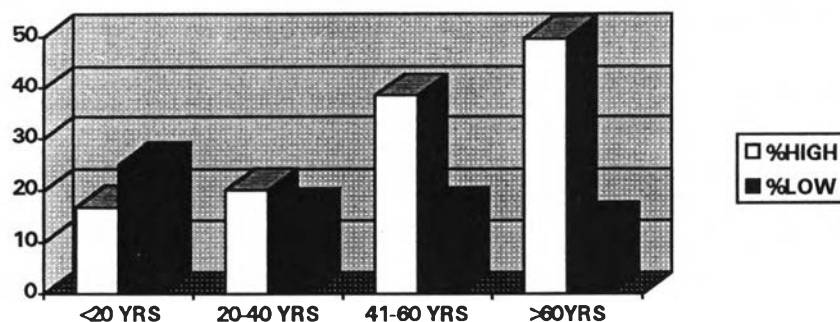


This older age group obviously feels more attached to the traditional shrines. The Phra Phum (49.6%) and Jaow Thii (44%) were perceived as having the highest power. The Phra Phrom was indicated as having "High" power by only 11.3% and 40.4% ranked it as having "Low" power. This age group was also clearly divided about the Rama 5 shrine with 29% believing it to have "High" power and 25.5% marking it as "Low". The Nangkwak (66%) and Mae Kuan-yin (59.6%) were both perceived as "Low" in power by a majority of the respondents.

To track the effect age has on the perception of power, Charts 16-20 will isolate a particular shrine and graph the "High" and "Low" percentages for each age group. Four shrines will be chosen: 1) Phra Phum 2) Jaow Thii 3) Phra Phrom 4) Rama 5. Of these four, the Phra Phum and Jaow Thii are more traditional and have a long history of reverence in Thailand. The Phra Phrom and Rama 5 shrines have become popular only recently during the period of rapid modernization and social change.

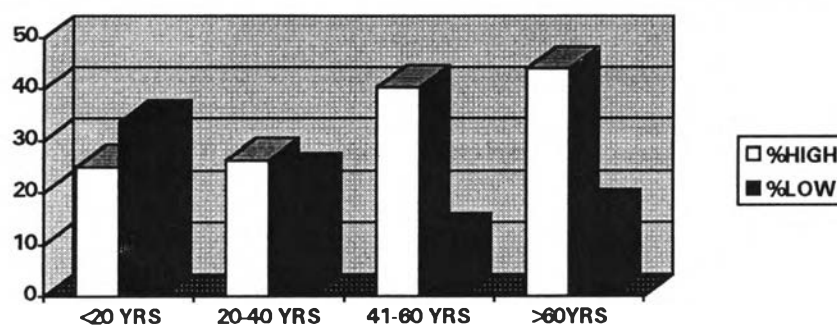
Chart 4.16 compares the power perception of the Phra Phum by the different age groupings. From this chart it is easy to see a direct relationship to age with the perception of power with the Phra Phum shrine. The older the respondents were, the more likely they were to perceive the "Phra Phrom" as having "High" power and the less likely to rank it as having "Low" power.

CHART 4.16 POWER PERCEPTION OF PHRA PHUM BY AGE



The same comparison is made for the Jaow Thii shrine in chart 4.17.

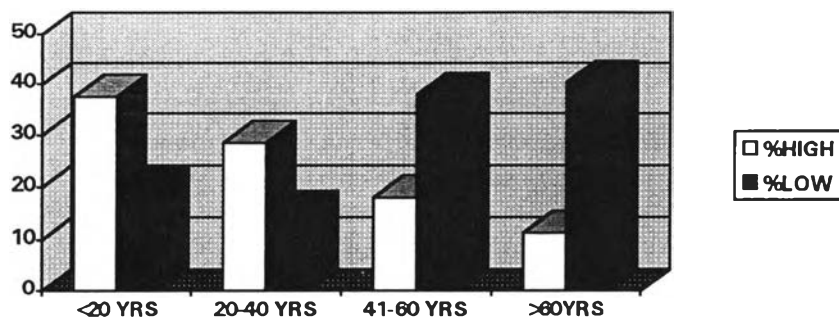
CHART 4.17 POWER PERCEPTION OF JAOW THII BY AGE



The data indicates the same trend with the Jaow Thii shrine as well. The older a person is, the higher the likelihood of assigning a "High" rank of power. Conversely, the younger a person is, the more likelihood of assigning a "Low" rank of power. This trend with the Phra Phum and Jaow Thii shrines should now be compared to the shrines of the modern era, the Phra Phrom and Rama 5.

Chart 4.18 shows the comparison of perceived power in the Phra Phrom shrine shown by age. A relationship determinant on age is also seen in this data. The younger a person is, the more likely they are to ascribe a "High" ranking of power to the Phra Phrom shrine. The younger generation is also less likely to give the Phra Phrom a "Low" ranking than their elders.

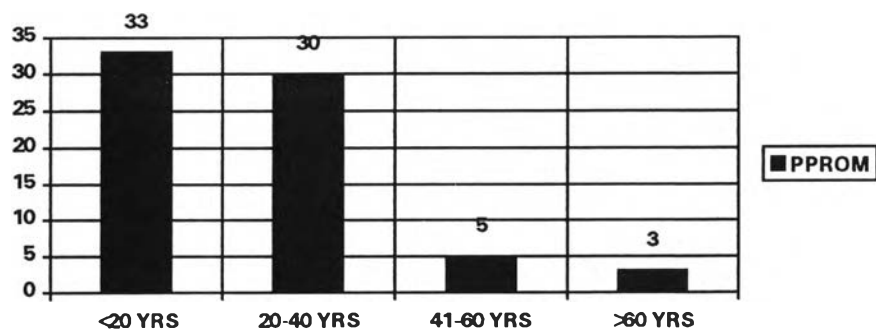
CHART 4.18 POWER PERCEPTION OF PHRA PHROM BY AGE



When asked, "At what shrine type do you most often make requests?", most respondents were reluctant to answer. Of the 311 who did respond, 73 stated then most often made

CHART 4.19 "MOST OFTEN REQUEST FROM PHRA PHROM" BY AGE

(TOTAL 73)



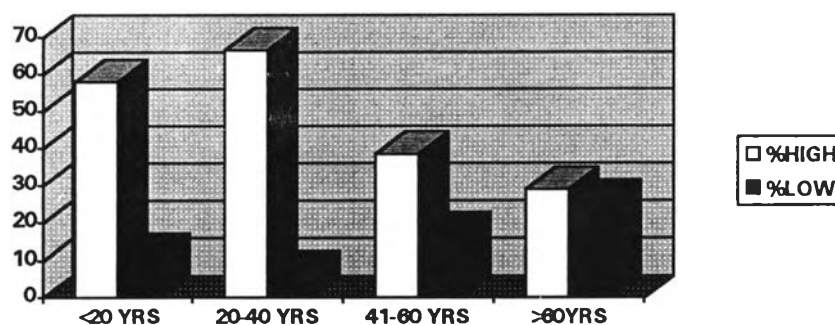
requests at a Phra Phrom shrine. This was the highest number of responses given. An examination of that group, illustrated by chart 4.19, also shows that age is a

determinant factor in shrine affiliation. Of the 73 who named the Phra Phrom, 63 (86%) were aged 40 or below.

Those over 40 years of age clearly had a very weak affiliation with the Phra Phrom shrine.

Similar data on the Rama 5 shrine is seen in chart 4.20. With the Rama 5 shrine the general trend holds true with the older generation more likely to assign a "Low" power perception and less likely to assign a "High" power perception. The Rama 5 shrine is most revered by those in the age "20-40" year bracket. This is perhaps because this age group represents the middle-age, middle class in Bangkok struggling to compete in business and support a family.

CHART 4.20 POWER PERCEPTION OF RAMA 5 BY AGE



To this group, the Rama 5 shrine possibly represents governmental cooperation and economic success.

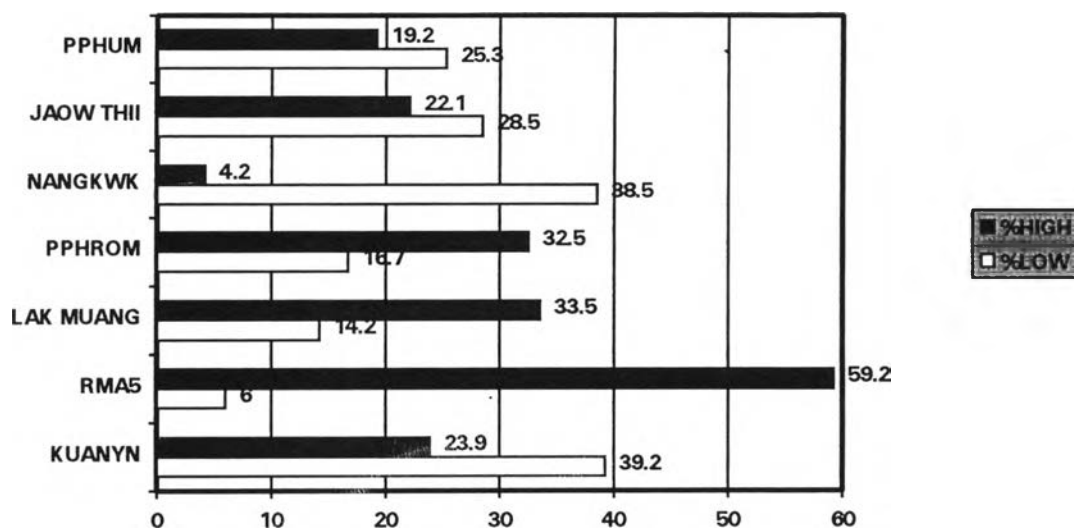
Age then does seem to be a factor in the perception of power ascribed to shrines. The trend that can be seen in this data is that the older generation is more likely to ascribe power to the more traditional shrines. The younger generation, on the other hand, sees more power in the newer shrines that have begun to be revered in the past few decades of modernization.

PRESCRIBED POWER ACCORDING TO REGION OF ORIGIN

This section will examine the participant's region of origin to determine whether or not it has any effect on a person's perception of power ascribed to certain shrines. The data contributors identified themselves as having originally come from the following regions: 1)Bangkok 2)Central 3)Isarn 4)South 5)North.

There were at total of 336 respondents from Bangkok. Of that group, 65 (19.3) believed the shrines to be equal in power. Data for respondents from this group is seen on Chart 4.21.

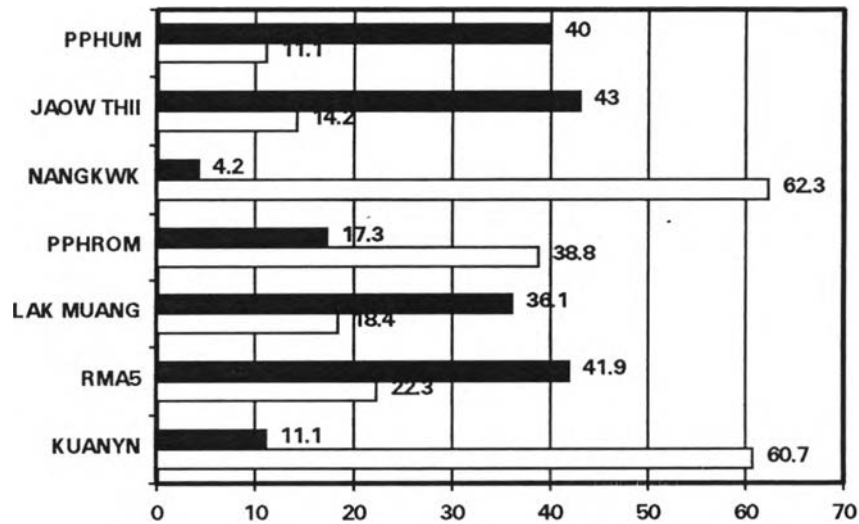
CHART 4.21 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION "FROM BANGKOK"



For those from "Bangkok", the shrine with the highest percentage "High" power responses is the Rama 5 shrine (59.2%). Next in line are the Jaow Pho Lak Muang (33.5%) and the Phra Phrom (32.5%). The Nangkwak (38.5) and Mae Kuan-yin (39.2) shrines had the largest percentage of "Low" ratings.

A total of 355 data contributors said they were from the Central region. Of this number, 95 (26.7%) ascribed equal power to all shrines. The shrine power perception data for the remaining 260 participants is seen on Chart 4.22. It is noticeable from this chart that the Phra Phum (40%), Jaow Thii (43%), Jaow Pho Lak Muang (36.1%) and Rama 5 (41.9%) all have fairly close perceived "High" power

CHART 4.22 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION "FROM CENTRAL"

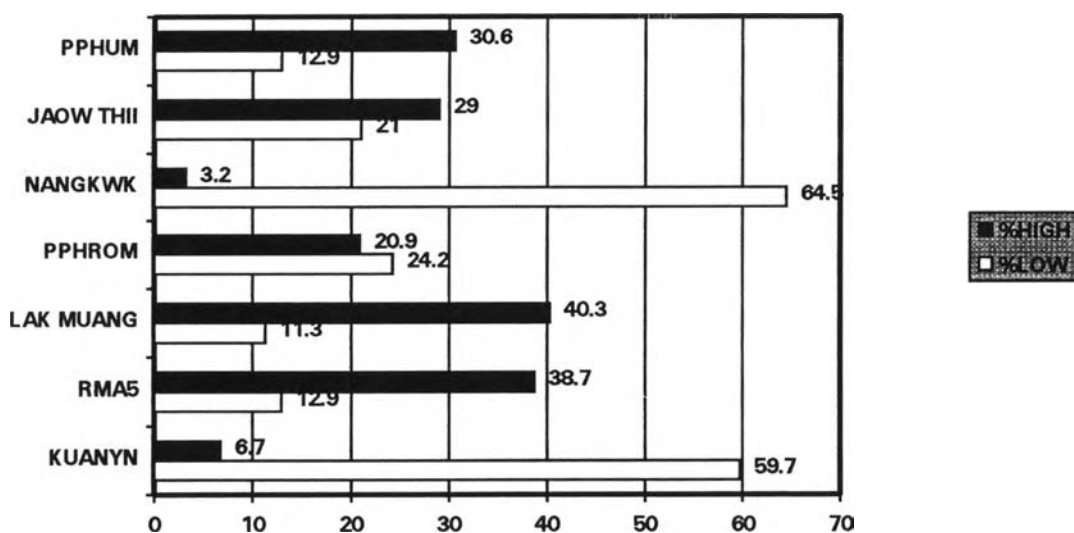


percentages. The Nangkwak (62.3%) and the Mae Kuan-yin (60.7%) were most often perceived as having "Low" power. The Phra Phrom received "Low" rating by 38.8% of the participants and only 17.3% gave it a "High" perceived power mark.

A total of 62 respondents stated they were originally from the Isarn region of Thailand. Of that number, 18 perceived the power of all shrines to be equal. Data concerning the perceived power of the various shrines by those from this region is found on Chart 4.23.

The shrine receiving a "High" level of perceived power most often by those from the Isarn region was the Jao Pho Lak Muang (40.3%). This would indicate a strong belief in this guardian spirit by the people of in the northeast section of Thailand. Those who have migrated to Bangkok have brought this strong regional reverence with them. The shrines with the lowest power rating by those from this region would be the Nangkwak (64.5%) and Mae Kuan-yin (59.7%) shrines.

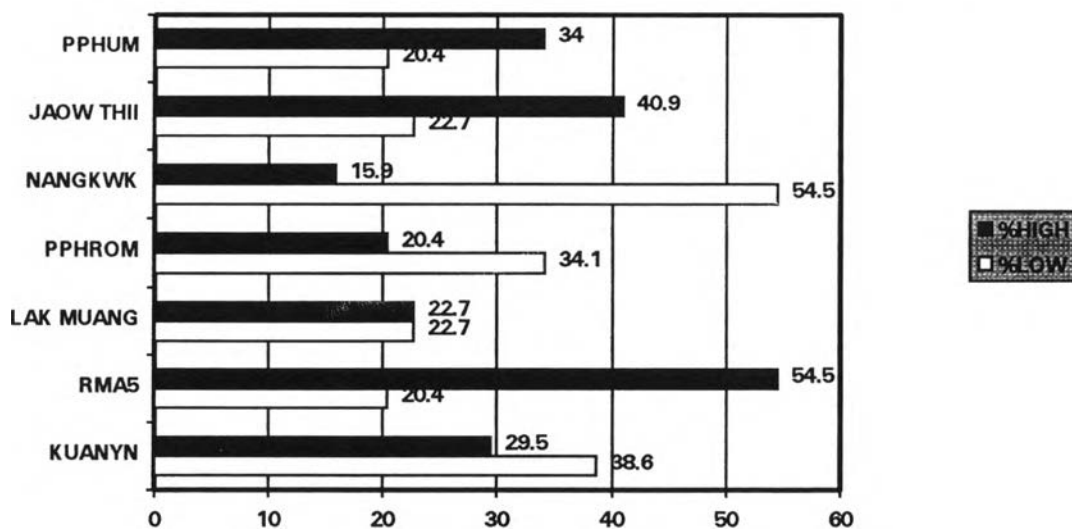
CHART 4.23 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION "FROM ISARN"



A total of 62 data contributors identified themselves as originally from South Thailand. Of this number, 18 rated the power of all the shrines as even. Data on the variant perceptions of power for shrines by Bangkok

residents originally from this region of Thailand is found on Chart 4.24. Respondents from this area gave the highest frequency of "High" perceived power ratings to the Rama 5 shrine (54.5%) and the Jaow Thii (40.9%). Of special note, the Mae Kuan-yin shrine received a "High" ranking from 29.5% of this group. The heavy concentration of Chinese in South Thailand perhaps has influenced homage to this particular shrine.

CHART 4.24 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION "FROM SOUTH"

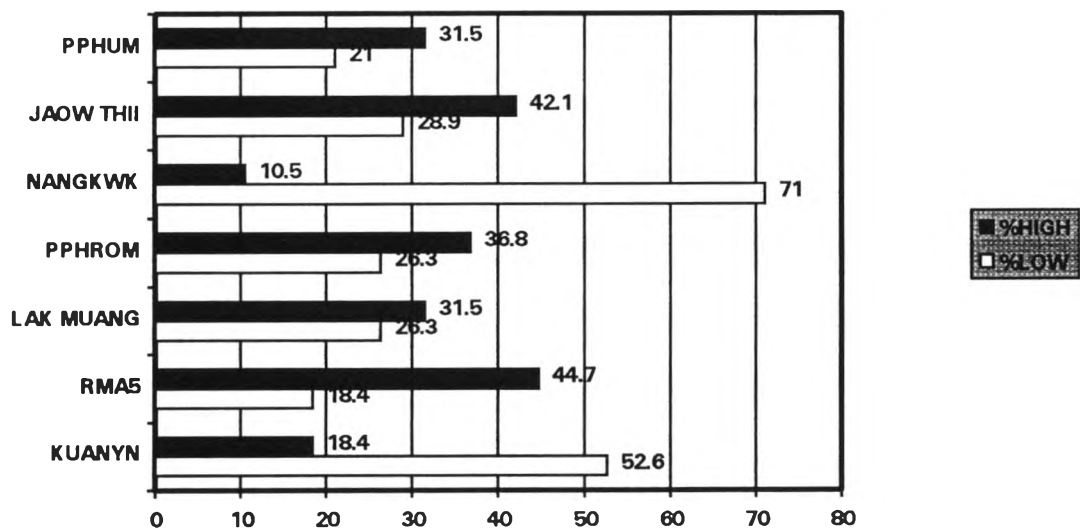


The opinions are mixed, however, as 38.6% of this group rated the Mae Kuan-yin shrine as "Low" in power perception

as well. The Nangkwak shrine was perceived as having low power by 54.5% of the people.

A total of 60 respondents said they were originally from North Thailand. Of that number, 22 perceived that all shrines had equal power. Data showing the perceived power of the various shrines by people from North Thailand is found on Chart 4.25. In this group, no shrine was a clear choice for having "High" power. The Rama 5 (44.7%), Jaow Thii (42.1%) and Phra Phrom (36.8%) shrines were all fairly close in percentages for perceived "High" power.

CHART 4.25 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION "FROM NORTH"



Even these shrines all had a large percentage of "Low" power rankings as well. The Nangkwak and Mae Kuan-yin shrines received the highest number of "Low" rankings.

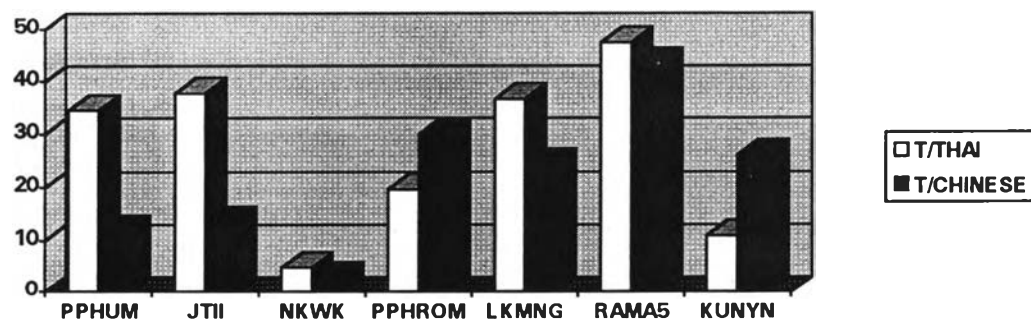
Looking at all the data on shrine power perception based on regional origination, one major conclusion can be made. While there are no clear trends on power perception observable, those from different regions throughout Thailand tend to bring reverence for certain shrines with them when migrating to Bangkok. In Central Thailand the Phra Phum and Jaow Thii are highly revered. Those from the Isarn region, showed an allegiance to the Jaow Pho Lak Muang guardian shrine which is very popular in the Northeast. People from the South showed a higher appreciation of the Mae Kuan-yin than anywhere else. Those from Bangkok indicated a high trust that other areas in the power of the modern-era shrines, Rama 5 and Phra Phrom. This all seems to indicate that regional characteristics in shrine allegiance can still be detected in Bangkok residents today. It is likely that the longer these regional transplants live in the city, the more they will lose their regional identity and characteristics.

PERCEIVED POWER ACCORDING TO ETHNIC IDENTITY

The final factor to be examined in search for factors determining the perceived power of shrines is ethnic identity. Of the 893 contributing data in this study, 614 (68.8%) claimed to be Thai/Thai or "Thai tae". The only other major ethnic combination indicated by participants were those claiming Thai/Chinese or Chinese decent who numbered 264 (30%). Only 15 (1.2%) others claimed another ethnic identify. Because of such a small number of Thai/Other participants, only the Thai/Thai and the Thai/Chinese ethnic identities will be considered in this study.

Data showing the shrine power perception by ethnic identity is on Chart 4.26.

CHART 4.26 SHRINE POWER PERCEPTION BY ETHNIC IDENTITY



This data indicates that for certain shrines, a person's ethnic identity is a determinate factor in power perception. Shrines that are traditionally Thai shrines, the Phra Phum and Jaow Thii, are revered as "High" significantly more often by Thai/Thais than Thai/Chinese. It is also interesting to see that the Mae Kuan-yin shrine is much more highly revered by Thai/Chinese than Thai/Thai. The Thai/Chinese are more likely to rank the Phra Phrom "High" than the Thai/Thai, but the Thai/Thai rank the Rama 5 shrine "High" more often than the Thai/Chinese.

SUMMARY

The data examined in this study shows that there are certain factors that help determine power perception in shrines. A person's age was found to be very influential. The older participants in this survey showed a much stronger power perception toward the more traditional shrines. The younger participants were more inclined to revere the newer shrines that have been popular only a few decades at the most. Regional identity and ethnic identity play a small role in influencing power perception although there is no clear trend. Shrines from a person's background will likely

be viewed as having a higher perception of power, although this trend is not strong.

This study also indicates that a person's sex is not a determinate factor in shrine power perception. There was no significant difference in level of reverence towards the various shrines between males and females.