

“Buy Two Get One” - Transforming Dharma into commodity in the Touristic Buddhist Temples of North-eastern, Thailand

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Abstract: *This paper presents the transformation of Buddhism Dharma to commodity in 5 key tourist temples in northeastern area of Thailand. Qualitative data were collected by in-depth interviews with 20 key informants who represented the temples and the tourism organizations, in conjunction with participatory observation and non-participatory observation. The Research found that there are two forms of Buddhist transformed commodities. Firstly, exchangeable commodities include Buddha images, amulets, flowers, incense, candles, gold leaf, Buddhist monk's robe, Dharma book, fish food, souvenir and offering. Secondly, intangible commodities include many kind of donations and other self service activities in the temple. Both of commodities are transformed to be the products based on religion of the Buddha such as benefactions or charity, dispensation, pietism and transmigration of soul, which people believed and willing to purchase or donate in many differences ways.*

Keywords: *Commoditization, Buddhist Dharma, Tourism*

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has been a major socio-economic contributor to the world for decades. Tourism is a source of economic activity that offers a number of employment to people in the country, and it has been an opportunity for local people to improve quality of life. Although the world is facing challenges and unpredicted events such as economic crisis, political crisis, etc., tourism industry is still effective to become the largest economic-scaled activity and the most growing activity that boosts world economy [1]. Tourism offers a variety of activity depending on the satisfaction of tourists, and there are various types of tourism such as natural tourism, historical tourism, cultural tourism, etc.

Tourism nowadays is an important activity in Thai society especially cultural tourism which relates to all dimensions of culture. Cultural tourism is widely used as guideline for local tourism development. Cultural tourism is an activity which aims to present a variety of cultural forms to visitors, so culture has been modified into commodity for tourism purpose and economic purpose. Local communities over Thailand have tried to adopt cultural tourism into the sustainable community development plan. However, to use tourism as a core in local development, communities have to use local cultural products and some cultural symbols to attract tourists such as folktales, local arts, traditions, or even landscape of local areas. These resources play important role in the development of local tourism. Each community has a rich and unique of cultural resources, and it has been widely used to present the tourism in local community. Due to the presentation of local culture, culture becomes commodity for tourism to indicate the specificity of tourist attractions in local community. At the same time, it is an attempt by local community to present new tourist attractions to tourists. For instance, a trend of cultural tourism in Thailand that always switches in order to meet tourist's satisfaction [2]

Commodification, theoretically, is a part economic process and political change from the subsistence economy to the capitalist economy. The main aspect of capitalist mode of production is to commoditize any

kind of objects into exchangeable commodities for the purpose of profit accumulation, not for the aim of subsistence [3]. The craving for profit of societies thus expands the process of commodification to the point that commodities now become a core of human relationships in the modern world.

Culture is not exceptional from being commoditized. People nowadays realize that culture is valuable for the market. So they represent local traditions and cultural heritages as an events and activities for tourism. Culture once served local community as a way of life, but now its functions shift to serve capitalists or those who are trying to seek profits from the culture [4] such as making wedding ceremony in form of the services provided by wedding organizers. Therefore, in capitalist economy, commercial activities has been done through the process of commoditizing local traditions, community culture, and other sacred activities.

Temple is one of the most important religious institutions, especially for Buddhist people in Thailand. Although generally Thai people consider temple as a nonprofit institution, it is in fact related to economic matters more than what general perception of society portrays. Temple, like many economic institutions, need incomes to support the expenses of religious affairs. In the past, temple was supported financially by the state, and the labor force of nearby residents. Temple did not have to engage in economic activities in order to earn incomes. However, since the political- economic reformation in the reign of King Rama the 5th, the state has turned a focus to economic development, while attention to religious affairs was declining. Many temples, therefore, needed to seek incomes to secure their religious affairs. Although temple with economic activities is something strange to people in the Thai society, it is the necessity for temple to get incomes [3]. Temple has greatly changed its role from a center of religious activities for local people to be a place for tourism purpose. Each temple tries to create an attractive point to attract visitors in order to earn incomes for temple's administration. Many religious activities have been raised to earn incomes, and those activities are mainly based on Buddhist doctrines called the Dharma.

Nowadays, temple has changed in accordance with globalization, and it results in a closer relation between temple and economy. Buddhist Dharma and religious rituals have been in the process of commodification. This paper aims to investigate the commodification of Buddhism Dharma for religious tourism in detail to demonstrate various forms of cultural commodities in selected tourist temples. The next section outlines the main conceptual framework including the concept of commodity fetishism and Buddhist Dharma. The third section explains research method. The forth section shows main findings by discussing two kinds of cultural commodities – exchangeable commodity and intangible commodity, regarding their specific attribute of Dharma that entails the characteristic of such commodities. The last section is recommendations.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To enlighten process of cultural commodification based on Buddhist doctrines, three concepts have been implemented in the research, including 1) commodity and commodity fetishism, 2) Buddhist doctrines, and 3) commodification. Details of each concept are presenting as follows. *A. Commodity and Commodity Fetishism*

Commodity is a form of product created by human. Definitions between commodity and product are similar but different in few details. Product does not have to be the product for sale because producers may produce for their own consumption. Product becomes commodity when it is purchased in the market [5]. According to the capitalist mode of production, the producer must respond to the need of society so that their products become valuable and exchangeable in the market. Therefore the demand of society is important to determine the value of commodity.

Commodity fetishism refers to the production and exchange of commodity in the capitalist system. These activities of production and exchange focuses mainly on profit maximization without the concern about social needs and social justices.

Individuals are lured to believe that commodity has its own exchange value, and they look for relationships between commodity value rather than relationship in the production process. Moreover, commodity fetishism refers to the seeking of money passionately especially when the money can buy anything without concerning its value [6]

While the trade system is expanding, commodity and currency becomes more important to economic system. Commodity is no longer made for basic consumption, but it is a means to accumulate wealth. Commodity has been made for those who have purchasing power and not to respond the social demand. Capitalism is a system in which producers manufacture commodity and exchange for profits and accumulate the endless wealth [3]. Therefore, it is to say that every society in the world is in the process of

commodification. All products are subject to this condition of commodification. They are all made to be exchangeable commodities in accordance with the desire of profit accumulation in capitalism.

B. Buddhist Dharma

There are five concepts of Buddhist Dharma relating to our specific interest of how Buddhist culture, ritual, and activities is commoditized. These concepts are important because they influence deeply the way of Buddhist people' thinking and shape how they act in the temple space.

(1) *Benefaction*; is a major practice in Buddhism. Buddhists believe if they do a good thing, they will get merit in return. Buddhists expect the benefaction could grant their wishes, such as happiness or better life in this life time or in the next life. The accumulation of merit is a priority for Buddhists. Merit from benefaction is a great shelter for all Buddhists. It contributes to Buddhists' belief that they will have a peaceful afterlife. Therefore, benefaction is an indispensable practice and is firmly embedded in Buddhist's mind.

(2) *Dispensation*; is also a major practice for Buddhists and perhaps the most well-known practice because it is possibly the easiest practice that everyone can do. Dispensation is embedded in Buddhist Dharma and Buddhist practices in various forms such as donation, sacrificing, forgiveness, etc. Amongst those practices, dispensation of tangible object is a widely recognized activity due to a Buddhist belief that mentions about dispensation to others in order to receive merit in return.

(3) *Worshipping*; is a practice to express the respect to both persons or objects that deserve to be respected because their goodness is alignment with Buddhist doctrine. There are 2 types of worshipping: worshipping by objects, and worshipping by practices. Worshipping by practices is seen to have a stronger dedication than worshipping by objects. Worshipping by giving out objects is not hard, while worshipping by practice need a constant devotion of Buddhist to develop their quality of mind. Viewed thus, Buddhists prefer worshipping by objects because it is easy to help them get merit and luck in return. Buddhist doctrine consider worshipping as a pleasant way to do in either of two ways.

(4) *Gratitude*; means that individual acknowledges the others' favor and is willing to do something to return them. Buddhist doctrine states that the gratitude is a mark of good people. Buddhists consider greatly the gratitude especially to parents, teachers, or other benefactors. The actions of gratitude are in various forms such as taking care of parents and important person of our life materially and mentally or even making merit when they died. It is believed that the gratitude actions will return the merit to the actors.

(5) *Cycle of birth and death*; Buddhism upholds the law of Karma. Birth, life and death are working in cycle. A person who did good action and accumulate a certain level of merit would deserve a prosperity in the next life e.g., entering to heaven, then reincarnate with good fortune ahead. Conversely, when a person did very bad things, they would go to hell and, maybe, not rebirth in a human form. Therefore, the doctrine of cycle of birth and death greatly influences the actions of Buddhists. It motivates Buddhists to do good things with a hope to receive good deeds in the next life.

C. Commodification

According to Karl Marx, the capitalist economy is a very unique system because it is greatly associate to commodification. Marx defines different terms between product and commodity. Product does not have to be a commodity if product is made for own consumption. However, product will transform into commodity when product is purchased to others in the market [7] Commodification is a transformation of relationship into commercial relationship through the exchange system. Commodification contributes to the capitalism as it creates wealth to capitalists. The capitalists who own capital get workers into production process in order to transform labor power and material into exchangeable commodities. When commodities are sold, capitalists then can realize the profit. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the capitalist system takes the advantage from economic expansion to makes use everything as commodities to obtain maximum profit.

Marx found that pricing is an essential mechanism that shift the value of commodity from use value to exchange value. Transforming culture into exchangeable commodities is another shift in the capitalism. This transformation process informs the significant rule that capitalism turns every aspect of social relationships into commercial ones. We are now living in capitalist system whereby everything are counted and measured according to market value. Value of object is not based on its intrinsic characteristic, but assigned by how much it will be in the market and how much profit it will make for a seller. Commodification, therefore, influence a world-view of capitalism in setting price to everything even that things pre-existed before the emergence of capitalism. In the era of pre-capitalism, there were things that

could be transformed into commodities, but there are still many things that were not meant to be the commodities such as, love, honor, Buddhism, etc. However, everything in the capitalism era is transformed into commodity by the great process of commodification [8]

Jean Baudrillard, a French sociologist, has changed analysis approach on commodity from economic dimension to cultural dimension. Baudrillard defined commodity as the tangible product of culture which covers significant view including 1) process of commodity distribution; which related to cultural conditions of each society. For instance, in different societies, commodities are produced by different tools and methods in order to meet consumers who have different characteristics. Therefore, target group of production is diverse and distribute to different groups of people, for example, the flavor of food is based on eating behavior of people in each region. 2) Due to representation of culture by cultural commodity, commodity therefore relates to the tastes of consumers.

Commodity is functional to maintain culture as same as socio-economic classes. For instance, rich people prefer to read foreign magazines, while poor people read Thai magazines [9]. This function can also be applied to Buddhist Dharma. Buddhist Dharma once was a culture that existed beyond the trading system. When the time goes by and capitalism became a dominant system, traditions, arts, cultural knowledge, and even Dharma are transformed into commodities for sale in the market. However, there is an important rule that for such objects either tangible or intangible to be commoditized, it must have use value or, in other words, it must have functions that meet societal needs.

Therefore, products and services in the touristic temples are also parts of commodification process. Most religious products are produced through Buddhist Dharma. It is commoditized in accordance with Baudrillard's notion which focuses on production process, distribution, and the consumption of commodity that relate to cultural conditions in each society, and commodities are produced based on the tastes of consumers.

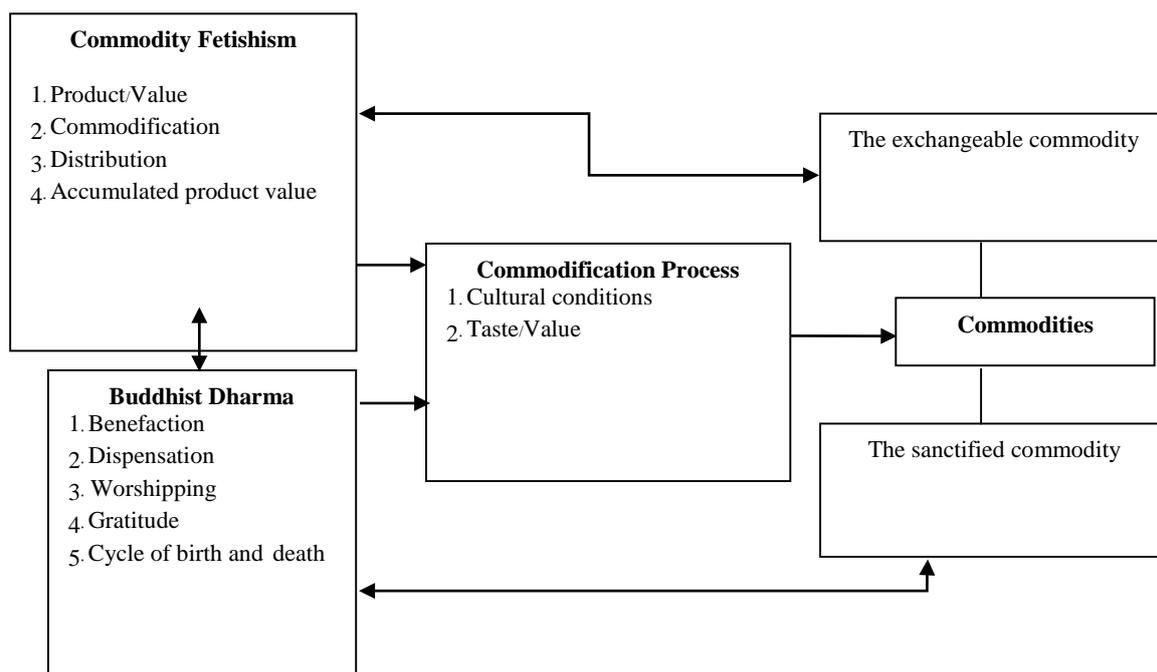


Fig 1: Conceptual framework

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methodology was employed to investigate commodification of Buddhist Dharma in the touristic Buddhist temples in northeastern Thailand. Unit of analysis was at organization level. In- depth interview with interview guideline, participatory observation, and non- participatory observation were used to collect data from 20 key informants who were representatives of touristic Buddhist temples and tourism-related organizations. Research sites were touristic Buddhist temples where located in 5 upper-northeastern provinces included Loei, Nongbua Lamphu, Udon Thani, and Beung Kan. Content analysis method was implemented in data analysis, and data presentation was conducted by descriptive analysis.

FINDINGS

Data collection is conducted at the touristic Buddhist temples in upper-northeastern provinces of Thailand included Loei, Nongbua Lamphu, Udon Thani, and Beung Kan. Data analysis is conducted under an assumption that commodity is a product used to exchange in the market. Value of the product is assigned by labour forces, and it is made to support consumer's satisfaction. This paper demonstrates religious commodity in Thai society which is transformed by commodification process. In this case, activities in Buddhist temples have become commodities for sale, while religious services and rituals were reproduced by temples in order to meet tourists' demand. The results identified 2 types of commodity which are exchangeable commodity and intangible commodity. *A. Exchangeable commodity*

Exchangeable commodity is produced to exchange for money. Its significant aspect is that once the transaction of buying and selling is done, the property right of goods is transferred to a buyer automatically. Also, the appearance of exchangeable commodity is tangible. Several forms of exchangeable commodity will be presented as follows.

(1) Buddha images and amulets

Purchasing Buddha images or amulets has a local specific term called "Chao Bucha". Thai Buddhists use this term instead of a term "purchasing" because they wanted to pay respect to Buddhism. Buddhism, in traditional view, was sacred and existed beyond any economic purposes. However, in the modern world, economic transaction of Buddha images and amulets manifests the process in which the greatness of Buddha and Buddhism is subject to commodification that transforms it into tangible and exchangeable commodity. Based on data collection in several touristic temples, Buddhist tourists preferred to purchase Buddha images or amulets which represented temples. Value of Buddha images were set depending on size of Buddha images, production year, and the sacred alchemy that were publicized by temples or Buddhists in different ways, for instance, Phra Sai Buddha image. Phra Sai Buddha was a well-known Buddha image of Pho Chai temple in Nong Khai province. Phra Sai Buddha received highly respect from Buddhists in the province and provinces nearby due to the sacredness of Buddha. The sacredness of Phra Sai was publicized by the temple and Buddhists in regard to the sacredness in helping local woman survived from lightning years ago. Therefore, price of Phra Sai Buddha image was set higher than other Buddha images in Nong Khai province. In addition, Value of Phra Sai Buddha image was added through the Buddhist Dharma on dispensation and benefaction. Those who purchased Phra Sai Buddha image would be fulfilling with faith because they had a chance to take part in religious affairs by donating some money to temples other than purchasing Buddha image.

Creating Buddha images or amulets to represent Buddha himself or other famous religious persons was a means of producing commodity for sale, which can be seen widely in religious tourist attractions. Moreover, it was an attempt to attach the Buddhist Dharma into the commercial activity to respond the religion faith and tourists' demand.

(2) The imitated land deeds

Purchasing imitated land deeds of the temple is another way for Buddhists to donate money for temples. Temples were preparing a copy of land deed document and offered to Buddhists who pleased to donate money for temples. Once transaction is done, buyers carry on the imitated land deeds with them. This commodity is embedded with Buddhist dharma of benefaction.

Persons who donated the imitated land deeds for temple would receive merit because their (fake) lands were in the Buddhism boundary. It was a suitable benefaction that was contributing them to have a better life in the next life. However, purchasing the imitated land deeds was only taken place at some temples. In Nong Khai province, only Pho Chai temple engaged this activity because Pho Chai temple was a large temple where local people paid highly respect. Therefore, temple needed to create optional religious activities to attract people coming to the temple. In addition, purchasing imitated land deeds was created under the Buddhist Dharma on benefaction, dispensation, and the cycle of birth and death. This activity has been made similar to the redemption activity in Christianity, which religious organizations were selling the redemption card to Christians in order to raise fund for church construction. Therefore, it is clear that religious doctrine is the foundation of commodification in order to meet consumer's demands.

(3) Flower, incense, candle, gold leaf sheet, and Buddhist monk's suit

The first three commoditized objects are popular Buddhist commodities and can be seen for sale in every temple. Buddhists prefers to buy these commodities as an oblation set to worship the Buddha images

or other sacred images in the temples. Buddhists use this oblation set as an offering to make a wish to the Buddha in different purposes. Someone make a wish for a good health, while the others make a wish to success in work and life. Offering the oblation set was an activity created under the Buddhist Dharma on worshipping and benefaction. Buddhists always offered oblations to Buddha images because they need find piece on their mind. In addition, price of the oblation is set differently. Some temples set a low and accessible price so that either poor or rich people would have chance to make a wish or show respect to Buddhism equally.

Gold leaf sheet is another oblation object included in the set. Buddhists believes that they would get a merit if they apply a gold leaf sheet to Buddha image or other sacred images. In addition, gold leaf sheet is widely recognized due to the fact that gold is a valuable object, and the Buddhist Dharma teaching “to apply the gold leaf behind Buddha statue” which corresponds to English idiom “to do good by stealth.” So some Buddhists choose to apply gold leaf sheet at the back of Buddha image. Offering the monk’s suit is an activity found at some temples such as Wat Pha Phu Kon temple at Udon Thani province.

In general, the Buddhist monk’s suit is normally sold at a high price, so Buddhists prefer worshipping by other lower price object: flower, incense, candle, and gold leaf sheet. Also, it is noted that selling oblation is quite easy to draw an income stream to the temples because most Buddhists believe in worshipping by the objects rather than by Dharma practices.

(4) Fish food

Purchasing fish food is another form of commodification organized by temples in order to earn money for religious expenses, especially an expense of fish feeding. Some temples had a large pond to feed fish, so it burdens the cost of fish feeding. This activity is created under the Buddhist Dharma of dispensation. However, purchasing fish food is not popular among the observed temples when compared to other religious activities due to a high cost of management on fish feeding and the pond.

(5) Dharma books and souvenirs

Purchasing Dharma Book is mostly conducted at the well-organized temples, and there are professional persons or groups responsible for this activity such as Wat Pha Phu Kon temple where a bookstore located at front area of the temple and near a main Buddha image. Most Dharma books had contents about Buddhist Dharma and history of the famous monks. In addition, there are souvenirs representing temples, such as a piggy bank, a glass of water that carve image of the temple, etc.

(6) The offering

The offering is also an activity commoditification accordance with Buddhist Dharma of dispensation. This practice is called “Tawai Sang Katan” in Thai language. Normally, Buddhists would give the offerings up to 4 monks, but only 1 monk is still acceptable. Buddhists do the offering when they feel uncomfortable or they are experiencing some unpleasant moments in life. Buddhists believe this activity was a way to make merit and eliminate their obstacles. The touristic temples facilitate tourists by preparing the offering set to tourists. The tourists are able to buy the offering set at temples. Temples, then, arrange monks to receive the offering set and give a blessing to tourists. Once the activity completed, some temples collect the offering set and return to the shop for being repurchased by another group of tourists. This is a clear example of commodification of religious commodity in the temple. It should be noted that monks earn money from this daily activity by having a role in receiving the offering set and giving out the blessing to tourists would earn daily money from this activity Therefore, in this case, the labor power of monk is embedded in the commodification process of offering.

In conclusion, the touristic temples offer a variety of religious activity to earn profits from tourists. Many religious objects and activities are commoditized into exchangeable commodities include Buddha images and amulets, imitated land deeds, flower, incense, candle, gold leaf sheet, monk’s suit, fish food, Dharma books and souvenirs, and the offering set. Buddhists used a term “Chao Bucha” instead of “purchasing” in order to avoid negative feeling from Buddhist tourists who have a good faith in Buddhism. These commodities are produced by labour forces who add the surplus value in commodities. It is noticed that these commodities have been sold to tourists or consumers smoothly because of the influence of Buddhist Dharma on benefaction, dispensation, worshipping, and cycle of birth and death. Buddhist tourists believe that doing a good thing or acting in a good way contribute their better life in the next world, so they aim to do good things or make merit as much as they could. This belief results in a popularity of merit making in religious tourism in Thailand.

B. The intangible commodity

Besides exchangeable commodities, in the touristic temples, there are many other profitable activities. However, these commodities are intangible. They are related to donation. The touristic temples set up donation stations. Each station has different theme. Tourists who make the donation will not get any concrete object. They will have only a mind pleasure. Still, this donation. This section explores several types of donation based on Buddhist Dharma as following.

(1) Donation for temples' electricity and water supply expenses

This donating activity is generally found in every temple. Temples, like other institutions, have infrastructural costs such as electricity and water supply. Setting the station of electricity and water supply donation is a good way to relieve the cost burden. And it is consistent with Buddhists' belief and Dharma concepts in which donating some money to temple affairs would make their way to a better life in the heaven. Most temples have donation boxes available for Buddhist tourists. Donation boxes are placed at several points around the temple. Purposes of asking for donation are written on the boxes in order to avoid misunderstanding from tourists, for example, the donation boxes for electricity and water supply bills, the donation box for religious affairs and the donation box for building construction. Someone believes that donation for electricity would make their life prosperous. It is noted that tourists are free to donate or not and as much as they are pleased. Donating money is a popular activity because it is the easiest way to make merit. In addition, this donation reflects the Buddhist Dharma of dispensation and benefaction because donors have to sacrifice their money for the affairs of temple. It is also consistent with the concept of the cycle of birth and death because the donors wish their life to be prosperous and peaceful in the next and other life.

(2) The merit post

This donation activity is set with the theme that merit is transferable to other people. It is an activity that replicates postoffice. Mailbox is used as a symbol of merit transferring. The merit post is considered as a human-made innovation to gain money from the faith of people. It is clearly seen that the commodity, in this case which is merit, is intangible. Each merit post has a very specific purpose and destination of how donors will transfer their merit, for example, the merit post to parents, the merit post to ancestors, and the merit post to spirits. There are guideline at the post to ensure the activity of merit transfer is done properly. In other words, we can consider this activity as a kind of service commodity. The merit post reflects the Buddhist Dharma of gratitude because it enables donators to express a good will to the people they respect: parents, ancestors and even spirits.

(3) Donation by offering money into monk's alms-bowl

It is general for many temples to place monk's alms-bowl, either plastic or metal to receive the donation. Traditionally, at least 108 bowls will be placed in the temple area, however, the number could vary according to size and availability of the temple's location. Some temples provide coin-exchange service so that tourists can put the coins in as many bowls as they wish. This activity is influenced by Buddhist dharma of dispensation because the donors sacrifice their means to monks. However, to have a complete 108 alms-bowls is not popular at present because it takes a great amount of time and effort for the temples. Therefore, the activity is visible only at some touristic temples or in important religious events.

(4) Donation to the vending machine for blessing

Blessing is an activity that Buddhists expect after they give or donate something to monks. This kind of donation imitates blessing experience but the blessing is delivered by machine, not real monks. When donators put coins into the vending machine, a sound of blessing begins. The blessing statement is in Bali language which is normally translated that the donors will have good, happy, and healthy life. In some temples the sound of blessing is presented in local dialects. Shape of the vending machines is built as a monk. This activity is considered as a purchasing. Even though, donators do not get any tangible commodity, they get blessing in return.

Besides activities mentioned, there are other form of activities, for example, self-serviced activity. Tourists or Buddhists are able to do by themselves without monks' conduction. Most activities are about worshipping of Buddha images or amulets. In every temple, there are signs to invite tourists to do worshipping. Some temples show a clear steps (on the wall or sings) how to proper proceed the rituals. Some offer prayers a sheet so that the prayers can place their name and purpose for blessing. Ritual activities that tourists are able to conduct without such as, gilding the sacred marker sphere (or "Luk-Ni-Mit" in Thai), putting coins into the image of Buddha's footprint, making merit to Buddha according to their

birthday, refilling oil lamps, etc. Although, these activities are not a direct purchasing between producers and consumers, they are still inviting and persuading to get tourists to spend their money.

Donation in the temples may be a direct purchasing, however, but it should be counted as one of economic activities of temple to earn income. Donating activities are formed based on Buddhist Dharma that convinced tourists to sacrifice their means for religious affairs. And tourists are able to conduct rituals with or without monks. Although these are not direct purchasing, they still imply the exchange activity because those who spend money to donation station would have a general expectation that they will get the merit in return.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this research imply a big picture of Thai society that many religious institutions have become religious and cultural tourism attractions due to the expansion of capitalist economy system. Moreover, implementation of the government to promote tourism is a cause that make the religious organizations to adapt themselves to serve tourism development. In doing do, traditions, rituals, and other Buddhist culture are commoditized in the form of tangible and intangible products. All commodities in the temples are related to the context of Buddhist teaching. These commodities serve well the demand of tourists which need to express their faith and make merit to Buddha.

We have to accept that economic and social changes have affected our life one way or another. Faith of Buddhist people is not an exceptional. Faith in traditional Buddhism are slowly disappearing. It is now substituted by the commodification of Buddhist culture which makes people express their faith more conveniently (but lack of deepness). It can be seen that the role of temple has changed from a community center to tourism attraction. Buddhists do not go to temple to do religious activities only, but they also go to temples with many purposes such as for the purposes of tourism, recreation, and education. Many Buddhists come to temple with multiple purposes at the same time. Therefore, temples have to adapt themselves to produce commodities and activities to support tourism activity in the temple in order to gain incomes to maintain religious affairs.

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