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The Cultural Identity Construction of Temples for Tourism

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Abstract

This study presents Buddhist temples' cultural identify construction to serve a tourism purpose in Thailand. Qualitative data were collected by in-depth interviews with 20 key informants who represented the temples and the tourism organizations. Research findings: The Buddhist temples, which are considered to be the main religious organization, had changed their role to fit the new social trend. In the past, temples were the heart of community lifestyles and the center of religious activity practice. In this present time, however, Buddhist temples become religious tourist places. Carrying such new role, it appears that temples have been trying to establish five cultural identifies with the aim to best serve the tourism. Those five cultural identities are increasing cultural capital value, capturing the tourists' faith through the presentation of respected monk or abbot, combining Buddhist beliefs to the local faiths, setting up the temple' tourism landmark, and building a unique tradition of the temple and the community.

Keywords: Cultural Identity Consturciton, Buddhist temples, religious tourism, Cultural Capital Value

Introduction

Tourism industry has grown constantly over the last decade. Under the environmental, economical and social changes as well as the natural disaster, tourism industry could

adjust itself to the situation and could eventually develop itself and become the biggest and fast growing business sector in the world (Tran, Thanh Ha, 2014). In addition, it has brought large number of employment. This indicates that tourism industry plays a key role in economic and social systems of both developed and developing countries. This is due to the fact that tourism industry is the source of incomes, new job creation, and people life improvement opportunity.

Religious tourism is a form of an industry originated from differences in traditions and religious faiths. It is a trip to explore religious places, and study historical- religious story of such places. Religious tourism also facilitates the spreading of beliefs and religious teaching principles. At present, religious tourism is not only for a devout pilgrim but also for traditional and cultural study. It is also for religious activity participation in a community of destination.

As Thailand has prominent tourist heritage, both in concrete and abstract forms, it becomes the popular destination for tourists across the world. From this popularity, it is suggested that transforming the national religion—Buddhism—into traveling identity could be the potential strategy encouraging cultural tourism, particularly the ones related to religion, for the country. An example of important travel destination is a temple which is considered one main organization of Buddhism (Department of Religious Affairs, 2014).

A Buddhist temple is a spiritual center of Thai people. It is closely connected to ways of life of people from the first day to the last day of their life. However, under the changing world, the importance of temple has diminished. This leads to its realization of adjusting itself to the new social trend. From the holy place of ritual ceremonies and traditional activities, a temple is now a travel destination. Many temples in Thailand are trying to create significant spots to attract more travelers. These significant spots creation could range from constructing architectural and sculptural sites to establishing center of religious practice.

This study aims to present the cultural identity construction of Thai temples for tourism purpose. In this respect, the paper elaborates how Buddhist temples in Thailand adjust themselves in the changing world by transforming the cultural religious heritages which are the non financial value into ones with financial value to serve tourism.

Religious Tourism in Thailand

Religious tourism emerged from devout pilgrims who have faith on religions or gods (Timothy, 2011). The common practice of a devout pilgrim is travel to a holy place. The routes of religious tourism has constantly developed and adjusted to meet the travel goal of travelers. Now, religious tourism is included in cultural tourism. People who do this type of travel might not be the followers of a religion. Rather, they might be ones who want to learn and see different traits of different religions via their trips. Religious tourism can respond to the spiritual and learning needs of those people. For

them, religious tourism offers peaceful mind from attending religious festivals which usually take place in their travel destination. Many travelers could also enjoy the sightseeing to holy places as well as explore the cultural experiences (Shackley, 2002).

Many religious tourist destinations like temples, monasteries, and churches could immensely attract large numbers of tourists due to their spiritual and entertaining values. Educational and cultural opportunities are also offered in this type of tourism (Woodward, 2004). At this point in time, the value and significance of religious places make them popular in the tourism market attracting more and more tourists (Francis et al., 2008).

There are factors encouraging people to join a religious trip. The first factor is experience of feeling or spiritual experience they received when visiting a holy place or when attending religious-related activities offered during the trip. These activities are such as participating in a ritual ceremony, praying, asking and receiving blessing, and making wishes. The second factor urging people to travel is culture. Recently, religious traveling is similar to a holiday trip or a cultural trip due to its cultural significance and value. Not only the aforementioned factors, some people travel to religious-related places to pay respect to their ancestor, to study historical story of a particular holy place or a beautiful architect. From this, it could be clearly seen that different people are differently motivated to join the religious tour.

In Thailand where national religion is Buddhism, different people join the religious tour with different travel pattern, behavior and purposes. They could be put into five categories proposed by Wong et al. (2013). The first category includes people who enjoy the beauty of holy places, while people in the second group are ones who have certain adherence to Buddhism. They travel with faith to pay respect to a sacred item. The third category covers tourists who, when being compared with tourist in the second group, have higher level of faith and respect to Buddhism. For them, traveling to pay respect to Buddha image will bring them a spiritual fulfillment. For people who are categorized as the fourth group, they are not only tourists of a religious tour but also the strong believers of Buddhism, comparing with people in three previous groups. For them, the important aims of traveling to a holy place are to pay respect to a sacred item, to study the principles of Buddhist philosophy, and to appreciate the teachings of Buddhist monks.

In general, religious tour in Thailand is usually centered in the temple which is the heart of the Theravada Buddhist doctrine. A temple is important symbol of Buddhism. It is a place that holds the ritual activities. Usually, a temple includes areas of building or permanent architecture used for worship or conducting of ritual ceremonies. Monk's residence is also a part of a temple.

In ancient time, when Buddhism firstly emerged, religious practice or activity was not usually held inside a permanent building. Rather they took place in designated open natural area or in existing building suitable for the practice or activity. At

present, when the religion has been widely known, there have been increased numbers of followers and priests. Religious places become essential. This led to the increasing numbers of permanent buildings of fine architect and artistry style of decoration presenting the tradition and ideology of the religion. Furthermore, power of a person who financially supports the construction of a religious building seems to play a big role. The building that was financially supported the construction by powerful person such as ruler of the country or the king, would be enormous in size; its fine decorating style was usually completed by skillful craftsman.

It could be seen that a temple is the place that gathers the mind of Thai people from past to present. It is the source of various arts and academic as well as a hub of invaluable fine arts. This is invaluable cultural heritage and is the identity of Thai society. Arts and culture in a temple reflect Thailand's civilization and prosperity. Therefore, temple is a good source for the tracing of history, archaeology, architecture, the relation of culture and community, as well as the establishment of a community.

All cultural assets in Buddhist temples are the hearth of Buddhists. They have no financial value, but they are spiritually invaluable. However, at the present time, social change forces people ways of life into a trap of economic system. From such phenomenon, many social organizations realize the necessity to adjust themselves to suit the changing world. A temple, as a religious organization, also changes its role. This change has been completed via the concept of transforming cultural assets to salable products proposed by Karl Polanyi (1944, 2001) as elaborated in the following section.

Fictitious Commodities

As previously mentioned, religious tourism is a phenomenon that religious organization tries to put itself into the economic pond by changing the spiritual invaluable places and objects to be the financially valuable ones. In that, spiritual-cultural assets are transformed into salable products. This phenomenon can be clearly seen through the lens of fictitious commodities proposed by Karl Polanyi (1944). Polanyi was a famous Hungarian economist, politician and historian who postulated that workforce, land and money are not originally for financial benefits (1944, 2001). They are not true commodities for selling. According to Polanyi, true merchandise must be fabricated for selling purpose. For workforce, land and money, they are not produced for sale on the market. Workforce is only a word used to call human activity that occurs simultaneously with life cycle: it is not produced for marketing purpose. Such activity could not be taken away from human life: it could not be separately stored to be sold. Land is the name human use to call a natural space. Money is a symbol that indicates the buying power of a person. Strictly speaking, money is not fabricated. It is a mechanism in banking and governmental financing systems.

In summary, workforce, land and money are not for sale on the market. They are then positioned as fictitious commodities so that they could be sold. Sharing similar traits with workforce, land and money, the religious-cultural heritages, which are found in Thailand, are invaluable assets that originally not for sell in tourism market. However, in the current capitalist world, the industry becomes more complex. More complexity of industrial manufacture means more numbers of industrial components, and religious-cultural assets are important components. Therefore, it is necessary to turn these non financial value places and items to be the financial value ones so that they could be added into the industrial system. This could be managed by the process of transforming them to the salable products using the concept of fictitious commodities. In this study, the concept of fictitious commodities is used as the analytical framework examining identity construction of Thai Buddhist temples for tourism purpose.

Identity Construction and Culture

Identity refers to human realization. It is how we understand who we are and who others are. It is the state of knowing about ourselves and how others' realizing about us (Berger and Luckman, 1967). In Thai language, the word 'identity' refers to specific quality of a thing that makes it recognizable (The Royal Society of Thailand, 2003). In English, the word 'identity' has its root from Latin word 'identitas' which means similar (Jenkins, 1996). It could be noticed that the meanings of 'identity' from the two languages are quite different. Thai language presents identity as specific quality of a thing which is dissimilar to other thing. In English, however, identity means the similarity of things within the same community which is different from things in other community. Therefore, identity could mean the similarity and specific uniqueness that are different.

Identity is the act exhibiting human symbol and internal dimension. These are such as emotion, feeling and thought. Identity could be classified into two types: the first is personal identity and the second is social identity (Pheungphoosakul, 2013). From this, identity can be put into individual and social levels. In individual level, identity includes gender, ethnic group, social status, career and religion. In social level, identity is built upon similarity found in one community which is different from the other (Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2004).

Identity usually relates to society and culture. In this respect, culture is the main determiner of identity, while society is factor influencing change or adjustment of that identity. Culture which includes belief, value, and world view plays a key role in mediating nature and human to build a person traits. Hence, culture is important factor of identity construction. It takes major part in molding identity of a person in both individual and social levels (Padungchewit, 2007) as it is the overarching frame that control the production, consumption and supervision of an identity (Curtine & Gaither, 2007). Hence when one identity is constructed, culture is usually involved so

that the construction can yield identity that has specific quality different from other who is from different culture: and most importantly such quality must be recognizable.

In Thailand, the identity construction of Buddhist temples cannot be completed without the involvement of culture. This study examines how Buddhism temples in Thailand construct their cultural identify.

Methodology

This qualitative study investigates how Buddhism temples in Thailand build their cultural identity to serve the tourism market. Data were obtained via an in-depth-interview. The key informants were the representative of major temples and tourism organizations in Thailand. The obtained data were analyzed using thematic analysis. Polanyi's concept of fictitious commodities was the analytical framework of this study.

Findings and Discussion

The analyzed data revealed that Buddhist temples—the main religious organization—have been significantly influenced by the growing world of capitalist economy. Form the holy places that money was hardly spent, the temples currently have spent money to keep activities running. Such expenditure were electricity bills, or meals prepared for people attending the regular activities like meditating, listening to a sermon. Accordingly, most of Buddhist temples put themselves into tourism industry selling what they had to the tourists with the hope to earn more money.

Data also revealed that Buddhist temples have tried to turn the spiritual-religious places and objects into the salable products. In doing this, they constructed their cultural identifies with the main aim to utilize those constructed cultural identities as the merchandises ready to be sold in tourism market. The obtained data reported five ways that those temples in Thailand chose to build their own identity. Those five ways included increasing cultural capital value, capturing the tourists' faith through the presentation of respected monk or abbot, combining Buddhist beliefs to the local faiths, setting up the temple' tourism landmark, and building a unique tradition of the temple and the community.

Data also reported that these five ways were used by temples across Thailand. However, it could be seen form data that each temple chose to follow one of the five ways depending on their potential. Followings are the elaboration of the five ways of cultural identity constructions and how each way has been implemented in the temples.

Cultural Identity Construction of Buddhist Temples in Thailand

Way1: Increasing Cultural Capital Value

Cultural capital value is the asset that embodies stores and provides cultural value in addition to its existing economic value (Throsby, 2001). Such asset can give rise to

both economic and cultural benefits. According to Throsby (2001), there are two main forms of cultural capital. The first form is intangible cultural capital which covers idea, intellect, belief and value (Throsby, 2003). Another form is tangible cultural capital. Buildings, locations, and sites are examples of this cultural capital (Throsby, 2001). In a Thai context, tangible cultural capital can be archaeological site, antiquities as well as buildings in a temple. It appears that Buddhist temples in Thailand have both intangible cultural capital and tangible cultural capital. The intangible cultural capital frequently found in the temples is the faith that tourist have on the temple they visit, while the tangible cultural capital includes all holy items found in the temples. In this regard, data showed three attractions that could offer both intangible and tangible cultural capital to the visitors. Followings describe each attraction:

Buddha statue

Buddha statue is one of a sacred object in Buddhism. It has long been worshipful for all followers of the religion. It is considered important cultural capital because Buddha statue is the representation of Lord Buddha—the founder of Buddhism. Buddhists strongly believe that worshipping and paying respect to a statue of Buddha, particularly the ancient one, will bring them happiness and prosperity. In addition, they will be safe from all dangers. Accordingly, worshipping and paying respect to a statue of Buddha is a common practice among Buddhists. There are large numbers of temples in Thailand. In Bangkok there are more than ten important temples housing significant ancient Buddha statues (Policy and Planning Division, 2012). Different Buddha statues have different origins, creation myths and styles of presentation. In addition, revered Buddha statues can also be found residing in major temples of each province. Such large numbers of Buddha statues, Buddhists can conveniently visit principal temples in their area to worship and pay respect to the holy Buddha statues. Comparing to local temples, Buddhists prefer to visit the temples that house the ancient Buddha statues. This phenomenon suggests that temples with cultural capital tend to attract more visitors. Such cultural capital covers both the tangible one (the statue of Buddha) and the intangible one (the faith for the ancient Buddha statue)

Pagoda

One mission of Buddhists in Thailand is to build pagoda to house sacred relics of Buddha. This is due to the belief that Buddha relics are major sacred objects that bring peaceful to Thailand. This type of pagoda is called 'Phra Taat Chedi.' The creation myths of some of the phra taat chedi are told through local literature in the area which in turn leads to more respect from people in community and across the world. Examples of phra taat chedi which become widely respected by people are Phra Taat Phanom (residing in Nakhon Phanom province), Phra Taat Choeng Chum (residing in Sakon Nakhon province), Phra Taat Kham Kaen (residing in Khon Kaen province), Phra Taat Na Doon (residing in Maha Sarakham province), The Golden Mount (residing in Bangkok), Phra Pathom Chedi (residing in Nakhon Pathom

province), Phra Maha Chedi Chai Mongkul (residing in Roi Et province) (Policy and Planning Division, 2012). They are places to keep the sacred relics or cremated ashes of Buddha. As the sacred relics or cremated ashes of Buddha are representations of the venerated Buddha, worshiping and paying respect to them will bring happiness and prosperity. From this, a temple housing 'phra taat chedi' becomes a popular destination for many tourists. All the phra taat chedi are regularly visited by visitors who hold strong faith on the holy relics or cremated ashes of Lord Buddha.

Aesthetic architecture

Beautiful architecture in Buddhist temples is one cultural capital. Most temples in Thailand tend to build beautiful monastery and sanctuary with aim to make them the cultural heritages of the country. Essentially, Buddhist sanctuary which is a place for conducting ritual ceremony is the significant spot of individual temples. In this regard, different sanctuaries are built with different architectural styles representing local architecture of each area. In addition, some temples build a monastery to place a prominent Buddha statue together with the principle Buddha image of the temple. Furthermore, some temples even build a Tripitaka Hall to house the Tripitaka (Buddhist Scriptures). These aesthetic architectures are important cultural capitals that bring faith to local. And now they are transformed to the destination of religious tourism.

Way 2: Capturing the Tourists' Faith through the Presentation of Respected Monk or Abbot

The popularity of a respected monk or abbot is also an important identity that attracts more travelers to visit the temple. Most Thai people give importance to Buddhist monks because of the Buddhist teachings they have ingrained. According to one of Buddhist teachings, monks are who lead good deed and good practice. They are superior to ordinary people. Therefore, making merit with monks and paying respect to them will bring fortune. Paying respect to Buddhist monk becomes one major identity that attracts people to visit a temple. This practice is in line with the concept of paying respect to the major Buddha statue. Only one difference is that the target is a human monk. In many cases, Buddhists sometimes visit a temple to pay respect to their revered monk even after he passed away. In doing this, they worship his portrait or picture. Some temples choose not to cremate body of the great monk. Instead, the body is kept in a glass coffin so that it could be seen by his followers. The body in a glass coffin becomes the signature of the temple which in turn draws a lot of attention from visitors. An example could be from a case of Wat Wang Wiwekaram where the body of Luang Phor Utama (the venerable father Utama) has been placed in a coffin. Although the venerable father Utama has passed away, he is still highly admired by the Thai and Mon people living in Songkhla Buri District—a big Mon community in Kanchanaburi province, Thailand. He is also known as 'God of Songkhla Buri.'

Similar to the case of Wang Wiwekaram Temple, there are numbers of temples using the fame of revered monks who passed away as the signature attracting tourists. One temple is Wat Rakang Kositaram, Bangkok, a home of the venerable father Dto Phromrangsri. The venerable father Dto Phromrangsri is known as the monk who conducted great deed: he is also considered the one with great magic chanting. Another example is Wat Ban Rai, Nakhon Ratchasima province which is the home temple of the venerable father Khun. The venerable father Khun is one of the most famous revered monks who usually helped his followers by way of magic chanting. Wat Pa Ban Tat, Udorn Thani province is the home temple of the venerable uncle Maha Bua whose great conduct has been widely known by all Thai people. Many hospitals, airports and schools received financial support from the venerable uncle Maha Bua. Another important temple is Wat nong Pha Pong, Ubon Ratchathani province where the venerable father Cha, the founder of the temple lived. He is known for respective sermon.

Of these major monks, some are an example of great deed and some are known as using magic chanting to help people. Thai people are closely connected to Buddhism, particularly when it comes to their revered monks who lead their spirits. Thus, it is not surprising that even when the monks passed away, their devotees are still give them high respect and still want to make a visit to the temples that hold their bodies. This phenomenon becomes one cultural identity of the temples which in turn brings more tourists.

Way 3: Combining Buddhist Beliefs to the Local Faiths

Combining Buddhist beliefs to the local faiths can be one possible way that a temple can use to create its cultural identity. For example, in the northeastern part of Thailand, the respect of naga derives from two different practices of different group of people. The first practice is of ethnic groups living by a river bank whose holy common practice is worshiping serpent. The second practice is of a Buddhist-Hindu belief. The combination yields an invented tradition (Siriwong, 2013) which is named by local 'bung fai paya nak' (naga fireball festival). This tradition is based on the belief that nagas fired the glowing ball from under the water to worship Lord Buddha while he was descending from the Tavatimsa Realm, on the day which the rain-retreat ended.

Apart from the naga fireball festival, people's respect of naga is also seen through the building of naga-like stairs which are seen in many temples. The naga-like stairs present two connotations about Buddha teaching. The first connotation is taking the naga-like stairs will lead followers of Buddhism to Lord Buddha: the second connotation is the naga-like stairs is a path to virtue. This can be a part of the temple's identity construction.

Another example of how a Buddhism belief is combined to a local faith is when Buddhists in Thailand name temples using words of fortune and happiness. These

temples with propitious names could be found in many provinces like Chienmai. There are such as Wat Loikroh (means throw away bad luck), Wat Dap Phai (means get rid of all danger), Wat Duang Dee (means fortunate), Wat Sri Kerd (means fortunate), Wat Chai Prakiat (means the king's glory), Wat Meunngenkong (means propitious), Wat Meunnganlan (means wealthy), Wat Prasat (means glory castle), and Wat Chiang Man (means eternity). These temples with fortunate names advertise themselves to the public on the basic concept that travelers who visit them will have fortunate life. This could be seen that they successfully mix the religious-related context (temple) to the local belief of good luck in building a strong identity to serve tourism.

Way 4: Setting up the Temple's Tourism Landmark

Temples that have no cultural capital like archaeological site, antiquities or cultural resources, have to set up their own landmarks. These landmarks can be a place or building that becomes identity of the temple. Tentatively, most landmarks are such as Buddha statue, pagoda or Buddhist sanctuary. They are usually in big size and are beautiful. For example, in Roi Et province, the biggest standing Buddha statue under the name 'Phra Rattana Mongkol Mahamunee' has become a symbol of the province and has received high respect from tourists. Another example is a case of Wat Saman Rattanaram Temple, Chachoengsao province where the giant Ganesha statues are the signature of the temple. Ganesha is an elephant-headed Hindu god known as the deity of fortune and success. This brings large numbers of people who search for happy and fortunate life to visit this temple. One interesting example is a temple that has a Sky Walk (named Wat Pha Tak Suea) in Nong Khai province. The long sky walk, which was built overlooking a cliff, has glass floors and walls can attract a lot of visitors. In visiting Wat Pha Tak Suea, visitors can attend the religious activities and enjoy overlooking the Mekong river. Surprisingly, the setting up the temple's tourism landmark is increasingly popular in Thailand as it is believed to bring mass of tourists to visit temples that do not have existing cultural capital.

Way 5: Building a Unique Tradition of the Temple and the Community

One important way that a temple can build its cultural identity is creating a unique tradition of the temple and the community. This unique can be an invented tradition (Siriwong, 2013). This can be done by adjusting or reinventing the existing tradition. Inventing a new tradition (based on Buddhist teaching or local legend) is also included. These traditions can earn economic benefits from tourist activities. Examples of invented tradition are Phra Uppakut Buddha image procession, the Vessantara Jataka, the festival of the Illuminated boat procession, candle festival, floral offerings festival. Although these traditions are not in itself valuable in terms of religious importance, they are invaluable cultural assets for the country. The building of unique tradition for temple and community creates economic cultural value.

Conclusion

The changing world has immensely affected all parts of human society. The religious organization has also been influenced by this growing world of capitalist economy. A Buddhist temple which is a major religious organization is undergoing self-adjustment to meet the new social trend. From a center of Buddhists' soul and a major location of the holy practice, a temple now is transforming itself to the significant tourist attraction. This study presents five ways of how Buddhist temples in Thailand construct cultural identity to enhance the cultural capital.

First is to add financial value of the cultural capital. In doing this, temples charm tourists by commercializing their existing Buddha statue, pagoda or aesthetic architecture. On basis that worshiping sacred object or place brings fortune and merit, temples that have cultural-religious heritages can attract huge numbers of tourists, particularly the followers of Buddhism. For them, they not only can enjoy the journey to the temples but they can also show respect to the holy Buddha statue, pagoda as well as absorb beauty of architecture inside the temple of destination. However, it is worth mentioning that, this way of constructing cultural identity cannot be applied by all temples. It could specifically happen to temples that have long history and that have cultural-religious heritage.

The second way to create cultural identity is through the faith that Buddhists have on their revered monks. As one important of Buddhist teaching principle is to give respect to monks, visiting and asking for blessing from the monks is commonly seen in Buddhists community. People particularly give highest respect to the monks who exhibit great deed or ability to regulate magic chanting to help people. Their faiths never fade away even after their holy monk has passed away. They continue visiting the temple he used to reside. One thing they usually bring back home is the sacred symbol or sacred item representing their revered monk. Thus, the home temple of the great monk can endlessly charm a large numbers of tourists.

Next, some temples choose to create their cultural identity by combining religious belief to community faith. Such combination brings about unique tradition which can enormously grab tourists' attention.

The fourth way that Buddhist temples can build their cultural identity is to establish a unique landmark. This landmark is created directly for the tourism purpose. It becomes the most popular way among the five cultural identity constructions as it can be a good choice for temples that do not have existing cultural-religious heritages or great monks. However, when choosing this way of cultural identity construction, the temple has to be certain that its landmark is religious-related. Further, it has to be distinctive, enormous and beautiful enough to catch people's attention.

One last way to create a cultural identity is to invent tradition that temple and community can specifically share. Those invented tradition is usually related to

religion, so it becomes the cultural product that is a selling signature in the tourism world.

In summary, it could be stated that the cultural identity construction of Buddhist temples in Thailand can be seen as transforming the non-financial value things to a financial value ones. This is in accordance with Karl Polanyi's concept of the construction of fictitious commodities. Like Polanyi's idea about labor, land and money (1944, 2001), holy statue, holy place, great monk, religious belief and local tradition are not true commodities. They were originally not for selling. However, they can be transformed to be fictitious commodities which in turn can be sold in the tourism market. Although tourism is not related to religion and culture in all aspects, the capitalist economy establishes the strong relationship between them. In Thailand, Buddhist temples are now aiming to transform themselves to be popular tourist destination due to the necessity to earn more incomes. This phenomenon lessens their previous role of being a spiritual center for religious practice and a heart of the community.

From abovementioned, the cultural identity construction of Buddhist temples in Thailand is for the tourism purpose. This is derived from the economic system of the current world which affects not only people way of life but on all corner of human society. Temple, as an important religious organization cannot survive in the world without making change. Therefore, temple has to put every effort to change itself to be one of tourism spots. This change can be viewed through the lens of Polanyi's fictitious commodities.

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