

Journal of Arts & Humanities

Volume 09, Issue 02, 2020: 98-107 Article Received: 30-01-2020 Accepted: 24-02-2020 Available Online: 04-03-2020 ISSN: 2167-9045 (Print), 2167-9053 (Online) DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.18533/journal.v9i2.1855

The Creation of "Thainess" through "Dhamma" and "Preaching" of Thai-Siamese People in Semerak, Kelantan State, Malaysia¹

SironeeTohsan²

ABSTRACT

The creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community, Kelantan, Malaysia gives precedence to "building people" through "Dhamma" and "Preaching" which are religious or Buddhism mechanism to nurture mind and cultivate identity for people in the community. This is to ensure that their own identity will not be integrated with other group belonged to religious and cultural differences in the multicultural society and, definitely, to instruct people in the community to live their life according to the words of the Buddha.

The study found that the "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community, Kelantan has been created by "Dhamma" with the activity called preaching Dhamma delivery and the "Preaching" under the activity called Mahajati Preaching according to 3 reasons as follows. Firstly, currently, it was found that people visited a temple seldomly and had less faith in Buddhism. Secondly, the community had been surrounded by Malay people and there was concern about religious and cultural identity hybridization which could lead to the hybridity. Thirdly, the community made an attempt to create "Thainess" identity and differentiate their community's identity clearly from other Thai-Siamese communities giving precedence to the creation of "Thainess" identity through material or building rather than "building people".

Keywords: Identity Creation, Thainess, Dhamma, Preaching. This is an open access article under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License.

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, referring "Thainess" concept, most people understand that this concept appears in Thai social and political contexts. Later, the author conducted the filed study on Thai-Siamese in Kelantan State, Malaysia and found that the "Thainess" connected directly to the identity of

²Doctoral student, Asia Studies, School of Liberal Arts, Walailak University Email: critical.austin@gmail.com

¹This paper is funded by the post-graduate SCHOLARSHIP for potential student, 2015 (Agreement No. 07/2558) and the post-graduate student research project, 2018, Walailak University (Agreement No. 15/2561).

Thai-Siamese. An identity is a human trait deeply hidden which determine visible behavioral direction (Apinya Fuengfusakul, 2003, 8). Also, the identity connected directly to consciousness and loyalty towards the community which reflected the same ethnic. So to speak, the identity is reflecting the consciousness of people with one nationality who are proud of culture and history of their nation. They feel that their nation has unique symbol and characteristics different from another nation so that they need their own personality and plan for own future (Pimphaphorn Boonprasert, 2012, 33). According to Roger Scruton (1982, cited in Saming Jarnkhun, 2014, 14), an identity is used in the political meaning context to identify each person's identity which relates to consciousness of being a member of society, state or institution. An identity is formed upon we can differentiate oneself from the other and it is a major political driving force. For example, Thai-Siamese people in Kelantan, Malaysia has their identity creation connected to "Thainess" concept in order to express their ethnic identity and represent their civil rights in Malaysia (Wanpichit Srisuk, n.p., 1). In particular, the cultural identity is applied as a tool of Thainess creation (Tassanawadee Keawsanit et al., 2016, 289).

Initially, the study on this creation of "Thainess" based on the theories the author gave precedence to the "Thainess" concept and would like to know that what is characteristic of the "Thainess" connected to the identity of Thai-Siamese people or how does the "Thainess" creation work in living in Kelantan with a variety of people and cultural? According to studies relevant to Thai-Siamese people group, it was found that the "Thainess" reflected in practicing Buddhism, speaking Thai language, holding Thai ceremony and tradition, dressing, having food similar to Thai food in Thailand, undoubtedly, pledging loyalty and paying respect to Thai King (PhraKru Panya Teeraphorn and Kiattisak Bangperng, 2019, 9-10). They are the "Thainess" identity connected to a cultural aspect created among Thai-Siamese people group. Relevantly, they are always created and expressed in space called "Thai temple", Thai social space in Malaysia used in maintaining "Thainess". "Thai temple" is also a center of art and cultural promotion or assembly point for Thai people (Chaiwat Meesantan, 2018, 187-200).

According to the field study, Semerak community is Thai-Siamese community located in Kelantan State, Malaysia. The community is surrounded by Malay people with different religion and culture from Thai-Siamese people. The author has a question that how does the way of life among the different religion and culture groups affect Thai-Siamese identity and how do people in the community create the identity to ensure their group identity still intact or free from "the other" which means the other group culture.

However, according to the initial survey of Semerak community, the "Thainess" creation, especially, the religious mechanisms including "Dhamma" and "Preaching" are the element of "Thainess" creation. It is also major reason for this study with the following interesting question: How did Thai-Siamese people in Semerak create the Thainess through "Dhamma" and "Preaching" among the different religious and cultural groups?

2. Objective

1. To study the creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese in Semerak state, Kelantan State, Malaysia

2. To study the creation of "Thainess" via "Dhamma" and "Preaching" of Thai-Siamese in Semerak state, Kelantan State, Malaysia.

3. "Identity" and "Thainess" Concepts

3.1 Identity

Human have created culture to satisfy their requirements and ensure the suitable social living according with social norms. It encourages social members to have the directional attitudes, belief and creation resulting forming unity. In the other hand, defining or identifying themselves is called by anthropologist terminology that "Identity" (SutthiKabphila, 2015, 11). According to Apinya Fuengfusakul (2003, 8), an identity is a human trait deeply hidden which determine visible behavioral direction. Also, the identity connected directly to consciousness and loyalty towards the community which reflected the same ethnic. So to speak, the identity is reflecting the consciousness of people with one nationality who are proud of culture and history of their nation. They feel that their nation has unique symbol and characteristics different from another nation so that they need their own personality and plan for own

future (Pimphaphorn Boonprasert, 2012, 33). Furthermore, according to Niti Pawakaraphan's "Sometime Thai, Sometime Not, Changeable Identity" paper (1998), it argues that the identity has 2 major traits: multi-factor and dynamic identity or flowing or flexible identity. Niti studied Chinese-Thai families in Yan Nawa district who studied the primary school in Christian school and who married Muslim woman. His question is about how these people creates their identity. Niti's finding argued that the expression of one identity has multi-factor identity. However, what's they express depends on political, social and cultural advantages they negotiate and need.

According to abovementioned theses, the author found that Thai-Siamese people in Malaysia expressed the identity connected to the cultural aspect in accordance with Nipon Tibsrinimit's study (2011, 102-135) which argues that the Thai-Siamese identity connected to the cultural aspect and became an anchor for unity in multicultural society, for example, Thai people's belief in sacred item and superstition, being extended family, having temple as cultural center and place for religious activities or ceremonies and establishing cooperation as social networks in order to establish the integrity of ethnic group and negotiate with superior group on the basis of "a smaller group must learn a bigger group's story but does not forget its Thainess". According to Wanpichit Srisuk (n.d., 1), his study on social roles and participation in the development of Thais in Kelantan, Malaysia explained that Thai people in Kelantan were citizens of Malaysia. Because of their Thai descent, they became a minority in Malaysian society which still expressed Thainess identity through language, religion, culture and tradition. The identity was the expression of the existence and identity communication development to express their identity of ethnic groups. In this case, Thai people in Malaysia expressed their ethnic identity to exercise their right of Malaysia citizenship and the identity connected to various cultures was used as a tool to create the Thainess as the social relation factor and civil society sector of ethnic group played as key mechanisms to drive the process. This process was to widen the social space so that the expression of ethnic identity could be identified with identity and dignity under the governing policy of the state (Tassanawadee Keawsanit et al., 2016, 289-290). However, the author found that the identity of Thai-Siamese people did not only reflect through behavior and consciousness, but also the expression of identity connected to an area called "temple" which was a key space reflecting the identity of Thai-Siamese people expressed in the midst of existence in the multicultural society. According to Khamnuan Nuansanong (2011, 42), Thai temple in Malaysia was the center of major social activities of the village. Malaysian people always called collectively temple as Wat Siam in which the temple organized various activities including amusement, sport and tradition. Therefore, temple was a place that indicated the important identity of Thai people and an open space for Thai people to have activities and exchange experiences.

Therefore, understanding Thai-Siamese identity is not just explain that identity must connect to cultural aspect only, but the important thing is to understand a reason the area is used to express the identity, in particular the areas called temple. According to this study, it was found that the temple area has become an important area to express the identity reflected through the Dharma Delivery and Mahajati Preaching, the activities reflecting the creation of identity "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community, which is the first and only community of Thai-Siamese people who have organized such activities in the context of Kelantan, Malaysia.

3.2 "Thainess" Concept

"Thainess" Concept doesn't explain limitedly in Thailand context but also influences Thai-Siamese people living Kelantan State, Malaysia. According to Irving Chan Johnson (2012, XIC-XVII) explained that "Thainess" doesn't appear in contexts of society and politics of Thai nation which determine Thainess for Thai citizen according to Thai history, but Thainess appeared in Kelantan State, Malaysia also linked to people living outside Thailand territory and under Malaysia politics. It results in "Thainess" has been created based on ideology and imagination to determine identity and social and cultural boundary of group. However, Thainess appeared in this group is ambiguous and has been expressed in certain time only. According to Phornchai Nakseethong (2016), "Thainess" has influences upon Thai-Siamese group thanks to Thai television programs broadcasted from Thailand. It's not only entertainment but also transfers "Thainess" including language, religion, belief, tradition, culture, recreation, value and dressing and enjoyment tastes. These aspects have become a part of daily life and an essential part for "recognition of Thainess". This is accordance with the study of PhraKruPanyaTeeraphorn and Kiattisak Bangperng (2019, 9-10) which argued that the "Thainess" reflected in practicing Buddhism, speaking Thai language, holding Thai ceremony and tradition, dressing, having food similar to Thai food in Thailand, undoubtedly, pledging loyalty and paying respect to Thai King. These were considered the identity of "Thainess" connected to the cultural aspect created in the Thai-Siamese group as week as "Thainess" created through ceremony as part of social activities appeared in the group of Thai-Siamese group. According to Preeyarat Chaowlitprapan (2015, 161-162), her study on Persistence of Nora RongKhru Ritual : Its Characteristics and Roles in the Context of Ban Plairamai, Kedah, Malaysia found that most Nora RongKhru Ritual at Ban Plairamai was similar to Nora in the south of Thailand but it had many distinctive features including those who was responsible for Nora RongKhru Ritual practice, belief in Nora Khru, traditional ritual concerning Nora and ritual process different from the south's Nora. It could be said that Nora RongKhru at Ban Plairamai played an important role to strengthen the people in the community as a mental anchor for the people to express their "Thainess" identity and provide entertainment for the community. Importantly, "Thainess" was often built in an area known as "Wat Thai" as Chaiwat Meesanthan (2018, 187-200) argued that "Wat Thai" was a social area of Thai people in Malaysia to maintain their "Thainess" or "Wat Thai" was also a center for the promotion and maintenance of art and culture or as an assembly point of Thai people.

Therefore, in the study of the creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in Kelantan State, Malaysia, the author places great importance on the concept of "Thainess" as a key concept in creating the identity in the midst of the social and cultural condition where many groups interact with this group as well as the condition in which the identity of this group is governed by the nation of Malaysia. The nation has tried to establish its national identity by governing for each group live together as one. This affects the creation "Thainess", the identity of Thai-Siamese group which is dynamic and has been created from several elements in order to maintain the identity of "Thainess" in the midst of existence in the multicultural society. Importantly, the study found that the construction "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people often appeared in the area called "Wat Thai", an open space for social or activities which all reflected the lifestyle and identity have been created to form the unity. It did not mean "Wat Thai" in Malaysia create "Thainess" in the same way, but there were differences in activities to ensure the consistency with the context of community or way of life of people in the community as well. Likewise, Semerak community is a community surrounded by the community of Malay people and Semerak people have enormous faith in Buddhism, so their activities in the temple often relate to various issues connected to the religion definitely to ensure their identity is not integrated with the culture of other groups different from theirs.

4. Research methodology

In this research, the author conducted the Qualitative Research with the interview and participatory observation techniques in the Dhamma Delivery and Mahajati Preaching activities linked to the creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people. The Content Analysis was conducted to seek the main matters based on data collected from relevant documents and descriptive texts obtained from interviews and observations. These data were analyzed, interpreted or investigated for its relation logically to determine which data could be summarized as a finding or result of this study.

5. Data analysis result

Data presentation was analyzed from interviews and participatory observation under the conceptual framework of identity and Thainess created through the Dhamma Delivery and Mahajati Preaching activities. Semerak community was chosen as a case study since it's one of Thai-Siamese communities living in Kelantan State, Malaysia.

Case Study: Semerak Community and Creation of "Thainess" through "Dhamma" and "Preaching"

Semerak community is a place where Thai-Siamese people group lives in and located in Pa Se PuTe District, Kelantan State. Malaysia. There's no exact evidence of when they first settled in the area. The community's located not far from the territory of Terengganu State, Malaysia. According to the measurement of a distance, heading from the community on Jalan Kota Bharu-Kuala Terengganu route around 45 kilometers, the government border station is located before entering Terengganu State. This



Figure 1. Semerak Community and environment (Kershaw, 1969, 70)

community is far from Thailand (Thamrongsak Ayuwatthana, 1974, 250). Since the physical area of this community is adjacent to the border of Terengganu State, therefore, people in the community interact with the Thai-Siamese people living in Terengganu State more than Thais living in Thailand.

5.1 Creation of "Thainess" through "Dhamma" and "Preaching"

According to the study on the creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community, it was found that the identity creation started from the "inner" thing of people in the community. In other words, the identity was created from the level of mind and consciousness so that people have been linked to religion matters.

The question is why does religious identity is created prominently in Semerak community? According to the observation and data from the field study, the author found that the community is located in the midst of many Malay communities. They had to have interaction with the surrounding Malay people inevitably. However, under existence surrounded by people groups of different religions and cultures, their true emotions, thoughts, or anxiety were hidden, especially their concern about "Thainess" identity that could be engulfed or mixed with other religion and culture. Therefore, "Thainess" identity linked to religion was defined or determined as a border line by Thai-Siamese group to prevent "The Other" from merging with their own identity. They managed to create mechanisms to link up with religion as an element in createing identity or "Thainess". These mechanisms are "Dhamma", the Buddhism doctrine that ensures people behave morally and provide a guideline for being a Good People and "Preaching", conveying or communicating Dhamma to ensure the listener has awareness and appreciation of being a Good People inserted in Buddhism doctrine.

Therefore, "Dhamma" and "Preaching" are reflecting the implementation of "Encouraging People" and consisting of "Thainess" identity of Thai-Siamese people by leading figures and monks in the community.

5.1.1 Creation of "Thainess" through "Lecturing Dhamma Delivery"

As mentioned, "Thainess" identity of Semerak community has been linked to religious matters. The things making the religion applied in the creation of identity is "Dhamma" and "Preaching" has become the strategy in "Encouraging People" to ensure people behave as "Good People" who sticks to Buddhism doctrine and applies it in their way of life.

According to the study, the significance of lecturing Dhamma Delivery activity isn't an essential part in the "Thainess" creation liked up to the "Encouraging People" for being "Good People", the strategy for reproduction or emphasis on Buddhism for people in the community adhering to religious way of life only, but also the encouragement or influence on people to visit temple. Currently, people visit temple less, so they have less chance to listen Dhamma from monks. Importantly, the lecturing Dhamma sticks to the traditional method, that is, the preaching isn't interesting because the language is full of Pali vocabularies and its story is lifeless and plain, fails to encourage a listener and use

contemporary language. (Pannadda Noppanawan, 1990, Abstract). Accordingly, monks managed to change their presentation method of Dhamma to ensure the lecture is more up-to-date. The current Dhamma doctrine teaching has become more proactive including lecturing Dhamma in the government agencies or departments such as school, community and business as well as broadcasting Dhamma via online media and television programs. This method ensures Dhamma reaches more Buddhists widely and inclusively (SanrayaNuansiri, 2017, 3).

PhraMaha Sompong Talaputto is a religious representative from Thailand who was invited to lecture "Dhamma" which is an essential mechanism in Thainess creation of Thai-Siamese of Semerak community. However, Phra Maha Sompong's lecturing Dhamma style is different from general lecturing Dhamma. His style is called "Dhamma Delivery" which applied modern idea in presentation style and modern content. Phra Maha Sompong has been recognized as a rising star who's popular for his Dhamma teaching style (Chonthicha Chuchart, 2009, 7). His method emphasizes the lecturing Dhamma different from the traditional way. The newly-invented "Lecturing Dhamma Delivery" is making "Dhamma" linked up to modern people with novel method without palm leave scripture, sitting on pulpit, formal tone of voice (Phra MahaSompong Dhamma Delivery Management, 2010). His lecturing Dhamma is hidden in fun, beneficial, peaceful, conscious and impressive storytelling (Arthit Dhammachart, n.d., 12). Meanwhile, with the Dhamma style which can be linked up to modern situation or era or lecturing Dhamma according with the way of life of general people to ensure they can listen and understand Dhamma easily, Phra Maha Sompong becomes the popular preaching monk among Thai-Siamese people in Malaysia.

Thus, the Lecturing Dhamma Delivery activity reflected the significance of religious representative or Phra Maha Sompong who could attract people to the temple and educate them with "Dhamma". As the Lecturing Dhamma Delivery activity taking place in the temple reflects that applying "Dhamma" in "Thainess" identity creation process was the strategy of borrowing the image of



religious representative or Phra Maha Sompong to ensure "Dhamma" is a part in "Encouraging People" for being "Good People" process as Dhamma is a mechanism in disciplining people and teaching them to not cling to material or external factors.

Figure 2 and 3. Sigh board and Poster for Lecturing Dhamma Delivery Activity

5.1.2 Creation of "Thainess" through "Mahajati Preaching"

Mahajati Preaching is an activity first took place in Semerak community and has never appeared in Thai-Siamese communities in Kelantan State, Malaysia. Thai-Siamese people are familiar with "traditional preaching". As considering the meaning and understanding of the meaning of preaching, it is found that "preaching" is like a Buddhist chant with the aim of teachings the Buddhism doctrine and Buddha's words to Buddhists. The stories are composed as a prose and verse. The preaching has 2 methods. Firstly, Dhammawat Preaching is a preaching method of prose in a normal rhythm. The preaching sticks to the scriptures and has 3 methods as follows. Preaching of scripture is to read the scripture directly. Preaching of catechism is a conversation on religion by two monks including Sakawathee monk who raises a question and Parawathee monk who gives an answer. Preaching of speech is a Dhamma teaching on prepared issue and referring to sample contained in the scripture. Secondly, Mahajati Preaching is a preaching with specific rhythm. This method recites poem consisting of introduction poem, content poem and summary poem Late (Manee Payomyong, 1994, referred in Thitiphon Kantiwong, n.d., 93). Mahajati Preaching is a chant with sounds and melodies that focus on melodious tone or a unique preaching.

However, Mahajati Preaching activity in Semerak community is an activity that the religious leaders in the community arrange to ensure the community to respect and believe in Buddhism. Meanwhile, the activity is made valuable and sacred with the images of religious representatives or monks from Thailand as an intermediary in conveying the doctrine along with the inheritance of belief in Buddha hidden in the content of Mahajati Preaching. The content of the preaching provides morals towards living based on Buddhism doctrine, especially the moral principles of merit making, the reincarnation of Bodhisattva into Vessantara and belief in merit-karma of the Thai society. With the influence of the Mahajati Jataka which has a key role in creating religious for the Thai people for a long time. Monks have a key role in the process of connecting the royal traditions to commoner traditions. It resultis in cultural harmony with Buddhism as a symbol of sacred things in the midst of different local beliefs. (Knowledge of Mahajati Preaching of Vessantara Jataka, 2015, 8).

Therefore, Mahajati Preaching has become meaningful or important matter. The religious leaders used the preaching to enlighten or teach in order to ensure people in Semerak community adhere to Buddhism. Although the religious leading figures in the community did not have the ability or expertise to conduct Mahajati Preaching but they invited monks from Thailand to conduct Mahajati Preaching. It's their good attempt to make the activity valuable as well as emphasis or reproducing religious identity while making the group identity unique or different from other communities where have never had Mahajati Preaching. In other words, its' an attempt to create a pure identity for the



people in the community through listening and understating the content hiding the implications so that people believe in Buddha, his doctrine and merit from listening to Mahajati Preaching or even the melody of chant that different from the general preaching that stimulate the emotions and feelings for the audiences.

Figure 4 and 5. Mahajati Preaching Activities in Semerak Community

6. Discussion

According to the purpose of presented research and analysis result, the discussion could be held as follows.

The creation of "Thainess" in Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community in Kelantan State, Malaysia was found that Semerak community is far from Kota Bharu and far from the border of TakBai District, Thailand. The community isn't a well-known or tourist community and doesn't focus on creating objects or arts in the community like other communities. However, the way of life of people in the community is simple or doesn't cling to materials. Its outstanding quality of this community is that "Encouraging People" to be "Good People". The word "Good People" means people who live their way of life within the framework of religion or clinging to the religious doctrine. It leads to strengthening the community and religion becomes important part for cultivating the minds of people to feel a sense of unity. It can be said that "Encouraging People" to be a good people in Semerak community is an important issue reflecting the effort to create the identity of "Thainess" of people in the community. The religious mechanisms were used in create the identity that is "Dhamma" or "Dhamma Doctrine of Buddhism" and "Preaching" as one of strategy that religious leaders or monks in the community applied such mechanisms as elements for creating and maintaining identity for people in the community to ensure people in the community are good people and in unity.

The creation of "Thainess" through "Dhamma" and "Preaching" of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community in Kelantan State, Malaysia was found that the creation of "Thainess" through "Dhamma" is an important strategy that the religious leading figures or monks which are image of a religious representative who has the influence or power to apply the concept of "Encouraging People" to create the identity of Thai-Siamese people. Applying "Dhamma" in "Encouraging People" appeared in Dhamma Delivery activity with Phra Maha Sompong Talaputto as a rising preaching monk and writer who send Dhamma to miraculously the consciousness of people who are Thai Buddhists with the commitment to send Dhamma "directly" to the hearts of people. Raw materials were brought from all around media and his great ability of preaching and writing; therefore, this story could make audiences and readers laugh. This matter reflected that the identity of "Thainess" creation by applying "Dhamma" as a mechanism for "Encouraging People". If people in the community follow "Dhamma", they receive merit and their life has changed for the better since "Dhamma" is a religious identity, the mechanism to make person becomes Good People. The creation of "Thainess" through "Preaching" is a strategy used in "Encouraging People" by religious figures or monks in the community who ensure people in the community respect and believe in Buddhism. Meanwhile, the "Preaching" has been made valuable and sacred and appeared in Mahajati Preaching activity in which the monk from Thailand acts as intermediary in conveying the teachings along with inheriting the beliefs in Buddha hidden in the preaching. The teachings of Buddha make audiences become generous, tolerant, forgiving and giving and convinces Buddhist audiences to believe that they receive great merit from listening the preaching. The term merit links up to stories teach people to do good deeds. This point reflects that the creation of "Thainess" identity by applying "preaching" as a mechanism in "Encouraging People" in order to teach and inherit Buddhist morality to preach for making people believe and have faith in merit and virtue (PhraKru Winaithorn Manop Palanpan, 2000, referred in Thanit Kong kamneid, 2014, 18). Meanwhile, the chant hidden in Mahajati Preaching could attract or stimulate emotions and feelings of audiences. It is also an art motivating people to enter into religion and morality by using rhythm and tone as the main instrument presenting both good and evil of people. (Knowledge of Mahajati Preaching of Vessantara Jataka, 2015, 16). It could be said that the above activities have created unity in the community or strengthened a sense of identity of "Thainess" of the people in the community.

7. Summary

The research results found that the "Thainess" identity of Thai-Siamese people in Semerak community has been created with "Dhamma" through the activity Dhamma Delivery and "Preaching" through the activity Mahajati Preaching with following three reasons. Firstly, currently, people in the community visited the temple seldomly and had less faith in Buddhism. Secondly, the community was surrounded by Malay people and there was concern about religious and cultural identity hybridization which could lead to the hybridity. Thirdly, Semerak community made an attempt to create "Thainess" identity and differentiate their community's identity clearly from other Thai-Siamese communities giving precedence to the creation of "Thainess" identity through material or building rather than "building people".

However, the Delivery Dharma and Mahajati Preaching activities were activities that have never appeared in Thai-Siamese community, Kelantan, Malaysia before. They were activities just appeared in Semerak community, even though Thai-Siamese people in Kelantan was the same ethnic group. In other words, being Buddhist, having the same culture or traditions did not mean that Thai-Siamese people in each community would create "Thainess" in the same way or direction. It was because each community established in different social or environment contexts, it affected the creation of "Thainess" differently. Accordingly, Semerak community located in the middle of the Malay communities created "Thainess" by giving precedence and connecting to religious issues, in particular, using "Dhamma" and "Preaching" in the "building people" while uniting their identity in line with the principles and words of the Buddha.

Therefore, the creation of "Thainess" appeared among Thai-Siamese people living in Kelantan, Malaysia could not be in the same direction or could be different. The author argues that a study on "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people should investigate additional issues, for example, a study on creation of "Thainess" of Thai-Siamese people in another state of Malaysia to determine if they are similar or different from Kelantan and how or a study on the community of Thai-Siamese people living with other ethnic groups such as Chinese people to consider the creation of "Thainess" and "Being Chinese" of Chinese and Thai-Siamese people together.

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