

Discourse Used by Folk Elites in the Inheritance of the Rocket Festival in Northeast Thailand

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Abstract

This study aims to explain the inheritance mechanism of folk art by focusing on the discourse used by the folk elites who are related to the place or site where the folk art occurs. It used the qualitative research method and selected the Rocket Festival in Wiang Khuk, a subdistrict in Muang district, Nong Khai province as a case study. The study found that two groups of folk elites – the “self-related” and “other-related” – actively played important roles together in inheriting and promoting folk arts. They used their discourse and cultural capital to negotiate and interact with local people between post-figurative and pre-figurative culture, kept the local identity and characteristics of the folk art through inter-generational inheritance and situated teaching, and at the same time effectively improved the functional beauty of folk art and aesthetics in rural everyday life. This mode of operating integrated “people-oriented” and “bottom-up” characteristics to inherit and develop folk art in the context of the folk festival.

Keywords: self-related folk elites, other-related folk elites, elucidation of discourse, pre-figurative culture, folk art inheritance

Introduction

Folk art, which is rooted in traditional society, faces replacement and transition in a globalizing world. This art needs to be adjusted continually in the tension between tradition and modernization. To be

inherited and to develop further, folk art must undergo innovation and adjustment through the process of cultural interaction. Although some researchers try to separate the tangible from the intangible regarding such aspects as ceremonies, beliefs, rituals, festivals, in the study of folklore related to folk art, this approach seems quite artificial. In the view of Smith (2011: 8) all heritage is intangible. Surely, among many local communities, tangible physical features such as mountains, rivers, frescos, temples, and others, are endowed with intangible meanings. In turn, intangible cultural heritage is tangible in that it utilizes physical forms, patterns, and constructions to embody its spiritual characteristics.

As for the inheritance of folk art, the practice refers to the “objects,” which are tangible and the “techniques,” which are intangible. However, inheritance also refers to the people who are directly or indirectly related to these objects and techniques. When folk art is inherited, safeguarded, and developed as an important part of intangible culture, the authorized heritage discourse focuses on the conservation, preservation, and management of art forms that are considered intangible cultural heritage from the viewpoint of professionals. The official heritage discourse tends to emphasize the economic benefits of developing folk art via the tourism industry. Thus, it pays undue attention to the protection of important “objects,” or the few inheritors of folk art, while neglecting the people who are related to the place or site where the folk art occurs. As the factor of “people” related to folk art is neglected, the discourse of government administration is excessively strengthened, the value orientation of folk art is directed towards the tourism economy and commercialization, and the local characteristics of folk art are gradually weakened. These factors go against the dynamic and positive inheritance and conscious development of folk art.

Regarding the “people,” some of the ideas of social hierarchy of the early 20th century in Europe are relevant here. The Italian sociologist and economist Vilfred Pareto (2001: 298) asserted that society can be divided into two classes: one is the lower class, or lower strata, that is, common people; the other is the higher class, or the upper

strata, that is, the social elite. This division is based on “height” (position, wealth, reputation, etc.) and “quality” (human intelligence, ability, connotation, etc.). In their respective fields, those who have a higher index of “height” and “quality” are the elites, and the others are the common people. In this study, from the perspective of the rural community, a small segment of the people are the folk elites because of their cultural capital and positive participation in the community administration, such as organizing festivals, ceremonies, and rituals. As for folk art, folk elites are selected mainly to highlight “quality” rather than “height” in the rural area, and can be divided into two groups, according to their different roles in the folk art activities. One is the group of “self-related” folk elites. They participate mainly in the creation and innovation of folk art, and as craftsmen and artists become the vital force in the sustainable development of folk art. The other is the group of “other-related” folk elites, such as local administrators and intellectuals. Although they are not fully involved in the creation of folk art, they can influence the common people’s opinions about promoting folk art at a dynamic level.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead distinguished between post-figurative, co-figurative, and pre-figurative cultures in analyzing relations between generations and contrasting them with the pace of societal development. In the inheritance of folk art, post-figurative culture is not oriented mainly in the intergenerational inheritance of folk art in modern society, and pre-figurative culture begins to play an important role. When folk elites promote the inheritance of folk art, more situations such as inheritance space, situated learning, gender, age, and educational experience of the “self-related folk elite” appear in the inheritance mechanism of folk art.

The present study selected the Rocket Festival (*Bun Bang Fai*) in Wiang Khuk sub-district in Muang district, Nong Khai province as a case study, concentrating on the factor of “people” in the festival. In the context of the discourse, the discussion centers on the role of “self-related” and “other-related” folk elites, and the creation of the

inheritance mechanism of folk art by their influence and efforts. It aims to explore the paradigm of inheriting folk art by rethinking and adjusting the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage.

Wiang Khuk's Rocket Festival is held in May every year.¹ Traditional celebrations include music and dance performances, parades, float competition, and homemade rocket contests. The festival is always organized by the village council and the local government's cultural department. In the process of preparing the floats for the parade, various kinds of folk art are created to decorate them, and people from different social strata join the activities (Wang, 2017: 41). They influence and promote the development of folk art related to the festival.

Research Objectives and Methods

This study aims to explain the inheritance mechanism of folk art by focusing on the discourse used by the folk elites who are related to the place or site where the folk art occurs. The Rocket Festival in Wiang Khuk sub-district in Muang district, Nong Khai province, Thailand was selected as a case study. The study used the method of qualitative research, including document analysis, in-depth interviews, and follow-up fieldwork from 2017 to 2019.

Participants in the festival were interviewed as key informants, consisting of two people aged 21-30; two people aged 31-40; three people aged 41-50, three people aged 51-60; and four people over the age of 61. The study took into account the fact that the informants belonged to different social strata and had different opinions about the inheritance of folk art in the festival. Informants' qualifications were as follows: first, they lived in Wiang Khuk as local residents and took part in the preparation of floats in the Rocket Festival. Second, they had

¹ Wiang Khuk sub-district consists of eight villages: village number one, two, three, four and seven are along the river in zonal distribution. They have no clear boundary among them and are dense in population. Villages number five and eight are located along both sides of the sub-road which leads to the local government office. Village number six is far away from others, located at the end of the L-shaped sub-road. In 2015, there were 1,760 households, 6,112 people. There are three important temples in the village.

diverse occupations, educational levels, and genders. Third, they could belong to two groups of self-related and other-related folk elites according to their roles and functions in the festival. Participant observations focused mainly on preparation of the floats.

The Inheritance Mechanism of Folk Art: The Narratives of the Related Key Terms

What is the inheritance mechanism of folk art? Earlier scholars barely focused on it. In the present research, the author proposed that the inheritance mechanism of folk art mainly refers to a specific operational mode of coordinating the relationship between objects, crafts, rules, space, and people related to folk art. It is more or less a general sequence or process of folk art events in daily life analyzed in terms of complexity or integration by which—in certain fields—some causes tend to bring about some effects when folk art is inherited and developed.

Along with the creation and development of the inheritance mechanism of folk art, there are three kernel concepts in the context of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. They are “field,” “power of discourse,” and “cultural capital.” The people related to folk art in daily life are endowed with social significance by virtue of the field. They have the power or right to improve the allocation of discourse and cultural capital through social practice. Furthermore, they essentially have an impact on the development of folk art and consciously achieve the final goal. There are various folk arts in different regions and countries in the world, these arts are used to entertain people and embellish their life when they are combined with folk activities. Therefore, folk art should be placed into a certain “field” so as to link it with all social and cultural transformation. In the inheritance of folk art, the “field” is viewed as a structural space organized by the groups of actors (or doers) and the specialized actor during the process of folk art inheritance. They have an impact on the occupants, agents and institutions related to folk art, by their present and potential situation in

the structural space of the distribution of discourse. Especially for the self-related and other-related folk elites, the objective relations between their positions form a network to distribute their cultural capital to improve the development of folk art.

The field of the Rocket Festival possesses three attributes: the space-time attributes of the festival, geographical features, and the attributes of the relationships of actors/doers involved in the festival. The last attribute is more closely related to the folk elites, referring to the active power of discourse and cultural capital that they acquire in the rural community as the actors. French philosopher Foucault (2002: 21-30) considers the distinguishing characteristic of this approach to be its emphasis on power relationships in addition to its focus on the meaning of a given discourse. The power of discourse is expressed through language and behavior, and the relationship between language and power. Given (2008: 249) uses discourse analysis to understand how the social world, expressed through language, is affected by various sources of power. Magalhaes and Sanchez (2009: 152) consider discourse analysis to be closely related to social constructivism, and used in order to understand how our society is being shaped or constructed by language, which in turn, reflects existing power relationships. Wooffitt (2005: 146) argues that discourse analysis attempts to understand how individuals view the world, and studies categorizations, personal and institutional relationships, ideology, and politics. The discourse system involves a series of boundaries, which describe what can or cannot be said. We can say that it is another way to shape the world. In the inheritance mechanism of folk art, discourse that is implied in social situations, knowledge, rationality, and intangible authority should be paid attention and recognized in rural society.

Cultural capital influences the discourse of folk elites during the inheritance of folk art. Shockley-Smith and Knox-Kazimierczuk (2017: 166) consider the cultural capital of people possessing disparate degrees of access and privilege with a shared goal of radical acceptance and connection. This approach fosters a space for normalizing and even validating differing skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms,

material belongings, credentials, and experience. Cultural capital is also an informational capital that gives information for the individual's cognition and action, as well as cultural property (concretely), and cultural ability (abstractedly) that can be inherited by the next generation. More importantly, as the reserve of cultural and aesthetic knowledge, cultural capital legitimizes itself through these social institutions and systems, such as the operation of educational fields. As far as social elites are concerned, they are in the higher strata, and maintain the power of discourse through their cultural capital which is composed of position, wealth, reputation, human intelligence, ability, and so on.

At present, the inheritance of folk art is always related to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. Smith (2006: 4) asserts that heritage is also a discourse. The idea of discourse does not simply refer to the use of words or language; rather, the idea of discourse used in this work refers to a form of social practice. Social meaning, forms of knowledge and expertise, power relations and ideologies are embedded and reproduced via language. Kirshenblatt (2004: 58) suggests that heritage is multicultural, and deepens the understanding of heritage as a cultural reproduction model. She argues that people are not only objects of cultural preservation, but also subjects. They are “not only cultural carriers and transmitters but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself. . . all heritage interventions, like the globalizing pressures they are trying to counteract and change the relationship of people to what they do” (Kirshenblatt, 2004: 58). Consequently, it is important to focus on the objective and the subjective role of the people during the process of the inheritance of folk art. Whether or not folk art is viewed as a tangible heritage or intangible heritage to be safeguarded, the discourses of people related to folk art should be understood, constructed, mediated and regulated. In the Rocket Festival, these “people-oriented” factors of the inheritance of folk art mechanisms are concentrated and performed, and the self-related and other-related folk elites play important roles in the process of inheriting folk art. They have an active and positive impact on the inheritance of folk art by virtue of their

cultural capital and discourse by guiding the local people to improve their lives through folk art, thereby achieving local identification and a sense of belonging.

Discourse of “Other-related” Folk Elites in the Rocket Festival

During the preparation for the Rocket Festival in Wiang Khuk in 2018, local authorities from different strata of the rural community voluntarily took part in its organization and coordination without orders from the local government or village council. Their moral qualities were implied in this kind of public behavior, which provided the psychological identity for villagers who viewed them as folk elites. In this way, they acquired their cultural capital, which in turn, determined their public influence and affected their status, reputation, and prestige in folk activities.

The study divided “other-related” folk elites into three groups: the first was composed of the members of the village council, including the village chief. The second was composed of the local intellectuals, mainly the local teachers, who play a decisive role in rural education. This authority was bestowed on them through the villagers’ respect for knowledge, which is reflected in the organization and coordination of folk activities. Villagers easily accepted their advice and recognized their ability to organize and coordinate. The third group consisted of the abbots of the Buddhist temples. In the folklore of Thailand, the Buddhist temple has an important spatial significance. It is not only a place to practice Buddhism and propagate Buddhist teachings, but also an indispensable space in people’s folklife. As the authority of the local spiritual field, the abbot has positive impacts on the entire folk culture and even the development of folk art through his sermons. The abbot often makes the cultural interpretation of the festival related to folk art after preaching the sermon. The study found that these three types of “other-related” folk elites tried their best to use their discourse to form a kind of centripetal force to support the development of folk art.

On June 17-18, 2019, the village chief of the third village, Mr. Moan (age 59), coordinated the decoration of all the floats, labor distribution, and other work at Wat Yod Kaew. He called for the young people to join the activities and perform their roles to inherit and develop folk art in the Rocket Festival (Moan [Pseudonym], 2019). The female teachers were responsible for guiding the decoration of floats, while the male teachers were in charge of building the frames. Mrs. Janchai (age 60) organized local women to decorate the floats, and discussed the lack of materials with the village chief and the temple's financial sector (Janchai [Pseudonym], 2019). Phra Chainarong (age 65), the abbot, who had been a monk for 37 years, often participated in Buddhist or folk activities and collected examples of traditional patterns. Through his observation, photographing and other methods, these patterns were introduced to local people to decorate the floats.

During the fieldwork, Phra Chainarong incorporated the important role of folk art in local daily life into his sermons, which the villagers listened as they decorated the float. He believed that people could further get their identification through participating in the preparation of floats for the parade. This approach, which was passed down by the ancestors, could enable future generations to realize the importance of the dedication and patience involved in this kind of artistic activity. Phra Chainarong often expounded these thoughts during Buddhist activities or traditional festivals, and apparently, his behavior had a strong influence on public opinion for the inheritance of folk art in everyday life (Phra Chainarong [Pseudonym], 2019).

Displaying the Power of Discourse for “Self-related” Folk Elites in the Rocket Festival

As the folk art inheritance mechanism developed, the pyramid of folk art was built by the “self-related” folk elites and common people. The “self-related” folk elites with outstanding skills were at the top; the

bottom was composed of the common people who loved folk art and actively made artworks in daily life. They had enough power of discourse in the process of developing the folk art, created their artworks with high artistic level, and provided them for local people. By participating in this artwork, local people's lives became more interesting while they fulfilled the spiritual needs of avoiding disasters and pursuing auspiciousness and happiness.

In fact, art skills and cultural knowledge were important and necessary factors to establish the powers of discourse of the "self-related" folk elites. The power of discourse is actually a concrete manifestation in which folk elites confirm their self-identification or the way in which they are identified by others. Cultural identification is most crucial in the inheritance mechanism of folk art. In the Rocket Festival, the "self-related" folk elites eliminated the cultural separatism between tradition and modernity. They understood the power of discourse through the activities in words and deeds, and at the same time achieved a sense of belonging of the community through the villagers' acceptance and self-verification during the inheritance of folk art.

Villagers of the fourth village began to prepare the float at the temple after the date of the Rocket Festival was confirmed. One of the main elements in the floats was a type of folded banana leaf art known as *ngan baitong*, and a group of trans-women who specialize in it was invited to decorate the floats. Mr. Chaiyasaeng (age 51), the team monitor, devoted himself to folding banana leaves with group members in addition to coordinating the various tasks of the *ngan baitong* (see Figure 1). Using banana leaves they created seven-headed Nagas, peacocks, and other figures. They folded the banana leaves according to the traditional northeastern craftsmanship, and also created some new folding methods by themselves (Chaiyasaeng [Pseudonym], 2018). In the second village, some middle-aged and older women who were making the *ngan baitong* said the trans-women were exceptionally dexterous and artistic in creating many new methods and they admired their artistic creativity.

In the seventh village, Mr. Anon (age 73), a retired teacher who specializes in wood-panel decoration (see Figure 2), drew all of the basic patterns with poster paint on the floats at Wat Saosuan, including three-dimensional decorative patterns, folk legends, and portraits. The scenes of the floats based on the folk legend *Phadaeng Nang Ai*² were to highlight the origins of the Rocket Festival. Mr. Anon loved folk art and learned most of the cultural connotations of Isan patterns through studying art books from which he learned superior painting skills (Anon [Pseudonym], 2019). Mr. Rattanachai (age 65) was not only prominent in the artistry of painting, but also in learning in general. He had rich historical and cultural knowledge which also had a great influence on his artistic creations. He understood the historical legends and the historical origin of some ancient temples in the Wiang Khuk countryside. Consequently, his works enabled others to understand clearly the origins of the themes and the history of the Rocket Festival (Rattanachai [Pseudonym], 2019). In the process of folk art creation, many folk elites similar to “self-related” folk elites appeared in the Rocket Festival. They depended on the power of discourse and cultural capital that they attained through their artistic positions, and then consciously inherited and improved folk art.

² The legend involves a very intricate and tragic love story of a handsome prince and a beautiful princess, whose father offered her hand in marriage to the winner of a *Bun Bang Fai* contest. See Tossa (1990).



Figure 1 Mr. Chaiyasaeng made *ngan baitong* with his group members in the fourth village in 2018

Source: Author



Figure 2 A wood panel painting made by Mr. Anon
Source: Author



Figure 3 Mr. Chayamong carved paper cut-outs with a youth at Wat Theppen temple in 2019
Source: Author

Situated Learning under the Influence of Discourse of “Self-related” Folk Elites

As a part of social symbolism, cultural capital inevitably undergoes a series of changes along with social transformation. The folk elites respond to the cultural impacts arising through rapid social change. In general, traditional culture is declining and modernity is prevailing in

the festival, a phenomenon that previously was not observed in the process of folk art inheritance in this context. Local situated learning provides a stable context for the “self-related” folk elite to pass on their artistic skills. In a certain sense, cultural capital is one of the products of education, which changes a disadvantage brought from the social origin of individuals, and promotes the individual’s development in society. In the Rocket Festival, the “self-related” elites often acquired their cultural capital from situated education in addition to their talent. Therefore, this kind of folk elite aims at completing the “functional” development of the self-production of folk art through situated teaching and learning. At the same time, the folk elites give their skills back to society and let more people acquire artistic skills with the spread of their discourses.

Situated learning of folk art is mainly carried out in the space where the festivals and other folk customs take place. For example, the villagers prepared the Rocket Festival in a Buddhist temple, which basically became a space in which local folk elites demonstrated their talent, skills, and coordination abilities. Mr. Chayarong (age 49) voluntarily went to Wat Theppen every day after work with his carving tools to work on the paper cut-outs for the floats for two or three hours a day without payment during the month before the Rocket Festival was held. When interviewed on how he had learned paper-cutting when he was young, he said he had the opportunity to learn the skill from his old master in the temple that was an open space to learn folk art when folk-custom activities occurred. In the temple, a young boy helped Mr. Chayarong to carve the paper cut-outs (see Figure 3). He had been using his spare time after school to join some artistic activities of the Rocket Festival for three years. Two other boys pasted the completed cut-outs on a piece of golden paper, flattened them and dried them in the shade. The students appeared to be happily engaged in learning such folk art in this way, rather than in school. As time passed, they also grasped the skill of paper-cutting and might become folk elites in the future and continually inherit folk art (Chayarong [Pseudonym], 2019).

The “self-related” folk elites transmitted their art skills in the space of this festival centered on the temple and gave the next generation the opportunity to practice these folk arts. The open-style situated learning had become a normalized development of inheriting folk arts in northeast Thailand.

Post-figurative and Pre-figurative Culture: Inter-generational Negotiations during the Process of Inheriting of Folk Art

Cultural transmission in post-figurative culture is predominantly passed from the older to the younger members of society. Post-figurative culture is strongly past-oriented, with respect for family and ancestors’ veneration often figuring prominently (Mead, 1970: 32). Pre-figurative culture, by contrast, is future-oriented, and cultural transmission is predominantly from the youth to their elders. As Mead predicted, “I believe we are on the verge of developing a new kind of culture, one that is as much a departure in style from co-figurative cultures as the institutionalization of configuration in orderly – and disorderly – change was a departure from the post-figurative style. I call this new style pre-figurative because in this new culture it will be the child – and not the parent and grandparent that represents what is to come” (Mead, 1973: 204).

In other words, pre-figurative culture is closely related to the transformation from agricultural to industrial and information civilization. That is to say, it is closely related to modernity. For folk art inheritance in the Rocket Festival, the art forms of pre-figurative culture such as *ngan baitong* began to play a more important role than post-figurative culture in the process of negotiation or interaction between self-related elites and local people. It was obvious that the younger generation inherited the folk craft, and then voluntarily taught the older women in the village. However, in the inheritance of oral folklore, such as folk legends in the present festival, post-figurative culture faced a dilemma and inter-generational inheritances of folk legend broke down.

In 2018, a group of young people was invited to make *ngan baitong* at Wat Yod Kaew. There were 11 people in the group, the youngest of whom was 16 years old and the oldest, apart from the team leader, was 28. Most were trans-women and were good at inventing and creating new methods. They had developed a variety of modern folding methods based on the traditional ones and had also broken through the original form of *ngan baitong*, and continued to innovate in volume and shape.

At Wat Theppen, several older women used the banana leaves to make the Naga heads. Mrs. Wilawan Tapaengpan (age 57) said that since they were old and not as clever and deft as before, no one had thought of these new ways to make *ngan baitong*. They learned many new and complex shapes of *ngan baitong* from the young trans-women (Tapaengpan [Pseudonym], 2018).

Moreover, pre-figurative culture was also embodied in wood panel painting for the festival. In 2018, the wood panel painting of a float in the second village was designed by young and middle-aged people with artistic specialties, mostly acquired in formal art education, so their works were colorful and vivid, and the patterns were more delicate than those on wood panel paintings in other villages. They most likely provided samples for the float decoration. In fact, Mr. Anon also learned some new patterns in wood panel decoration from the young and middle-aged people. Through the influence of pre-figurative culture, some folk art would be promoted through the interaction between the youth and their elders (Anon [Pseudonym], 2019).

Post-figurative culture is closely related to social memory. Connerton (1989: 17) refers to social memory as “an informal account that indicates something of our origins and justifies or perhaps excuses out present status and actions in relation to that audience.” This presentation of the self in everyday life is unnecessary when, as is the case in the life of a village, the gap in shared memory is much less and slighter. Therefore, for the Rocket Festival, the legend was solidified as an artistic symbol in the process of inter-generational inheritance. In the parade, some young villagers would be chosen to act as the main

characters of Phadaeng and Nang Ai. They viewed it as an honor, and were willing to join the parade, where they became its most gorgeous visual aspect. However, the content of the *Phadaeng Nang Ai* legend had not been passed down among the young people. Although Mr. Anon could narrate the entire legend, when the 20-31 year-old group was interviewed, eight persons could not tell the episodes, and two persons only knew the general outline. It is possible that Mr. Anon had no appropriate opportunity to narrate and popularize this legend even if he was very familiar with it. Most of the young people focused on the form of the parade and were attracted by its beauty, but neglected the content inherited from older folk art elites.

Conclusion

Folk art is a special kind of art form closely related to the life of a society. A large number of folk arts are performed and exhibited along with some folk activities in festivals or ceremonies that are quite different from classical art and religious art. These folk arts transcend the original purpose of viewing them as artworks and promote villagers' lifestyle to develop the aesthetics of everyday life.

In the process of inheritance, "self-related" and "other-related" folk elites play important roles in the popularization of folk art during the Rocket Festival in contemporary society in northeast Thailand. Other-related folk elites may integrate the natural and social resources of the village, strengthen the mutual aid of the community, improve interpersonal relations, and promote community harmonious development through their discourses. Self-related folk elites may effectively promote the functional beauty of folk art in a rural area through their exquisite skill. Even if some "self-related" folk elites earn enough money to improve their living through artistic creations, their inheritance motivation is from their love of folk art, not just for the purpose of obtaining economic benefits. Their selfless dedication to folk art also demonstrates the appeal of their personality and promotes the development of folk art.

Along with the rapid development of information society, a new situation appears in the process of negotiation or interaction between folk elites and local people. Pre-figurative culture begins to have an impact on inheriting parts of folk arts. However, post-figurative culture as the main inheritance model has not had enough influence on the inheritance of folk arts, especially for the oral folk legend of the Rocket Festival. Consequently, self-related folk elites and other-related folk elites should negotiate and interact with local young people through their own discourses, so that pre-figurative and post-figurative culture will play equal and important roles in the mechanism of folk art inheritance.

Additionally, the attempts of local governments to make the Rocket Festival an important part of a cultural tourism through appropriate cooperation with local tourism resources in order to increase the local cultural attractions, can potentially improve the living conditions of local people. However, folk arts come from rural society and serve the villagers; the aesthetics of everyday life should not be stripped away in the mechanism of folk art inheritance as the tourism economy rapidly develops. “Self-related” or “other-related” folk elites should stress safeguarding the authenticity of folk art through using their discourses so that folk art can be inherited and developed while showing the orientation of the aesthetics of everyday life in rural society. In general, it is still a better alternative with “people-oriented” and “bottom-up” characteristics to consciously inherit and develop folk art in the context of the festival.

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