

Abstract

The thesis aims to analyze the making of royal hegemony of King Bhumibol Adulyadej from 1951 to 2003. The "Royally-Initiated Projects" are used as concrete examples to understand the process by which the monarch has used to win political-ideological war. The study employs Antonio Gramsci and Chantal Mouffe's concepts of hegemony, historical bloc, the roles of intellectuals, ideology and ideological practices.

Based the analysis on the changes in economic and political-ideological contexts, this thesis divides the development of the royally-initiated projects into 4 eras:

The Inception Era (B.C.1951-1957) The 1932 coup did not only change political rules and regulations but also limit the power and roles of the monarch, from the Absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy. In Phibun Songkram's regime, the king had been prevented from exercising political power. Under such pressure, the king worked with his own budget and a few royal servants. The royal projects in this era include, Social Welfare and Royal Film and Radio Broadcasting Projects.

The Defend of National Security Era (B.C.1958-1980) Under the war against communist movement, Sarit Thanarat introduced the policies which combined capitalist development with a re-emphasis on the role of the monarch. In this era, the king had played important roles as "The Development King." Many royally-Initiated projects had been implemented under the financial and political supports from the government. Beside social welfare projects, the royal projects in this era expanded to the rural areas. The target areas were remoted/mountainous communities which under the "influence" of the Communist Party of Thailand.

The Development of Coordination Organization Era (B.E. 1981-1987) In Prem Tinsulananda's administration, without any political pressure, relationship between the state and the monarch were closest. "The Office of the Royal Development Projects Board" was erected. The government then officially allocated budget and man-power to support the royal projects. Most of the activities were related to the development of large scale irrigation projects. The projects were also mobilized state resources from different

governmental units to create "The Development Study Center." This center aimed to be a successful example of agricultural development.

The Establishment of Royal NGO (B.C. 1988-2003) "Chaipattana Foundation" the first and only royal NGO was established in this era. The main policy announced by the royal NGO was to promote "self-sufficient economy." This policy was accepted by many sectors as an alternative development due to the economic collapse, the failure of government development policy, and the movement of grassroots organizations and NGOs. In this era, the royal political-ideological leadership has been made.

The process of making the royal's hegemony has taken around 5 decades. The study analyses the development of royal alliance--bureaucrats, organic and traditional intellectuals. The royally-initiated projects also illustrate the confrontation, negotiation and coordination among the state, capitalist and the monarch in different political-ideological contexts. In a phase of transition from one particular phase of capitalist development to another and in the change of political power, locally and globally, the making of royal hegemony is still an ongoing process.