

GRAMSCI AND CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Marco Briziarelli

Introduction

In one of his first letters from prison, Gramsci wrote to his sister in law, Tatiana, that he needed a “fur ewig” plan, a lifetime project that would keep him occupied for the duration of his long term behind bars. He was aware that while in prison he would not be facilitated in his task, because one of the reasons for his arrest was that the fascist regime could not afford to have a strategist of his calibre leading the opposition Communist party. They needed to block his intelligence. For this reason, facing enormous difficulties to conduct his theoretical work, he maintained that he needed to extract every single drop of blood from every stone: from every single magazine, journal and the few books he had available.

In a sense, by considering our project to provide, through Gramsci and what has been said about him, a set of concrete strategies to guide field activists, we must do the same: extract every single drop of blood from this literature. Compared to the Italian author, we have much greater available means: his own writing and the vast body of literature inspired by his thought and his life. However, we must face two main difficulties connected to that, one inherent in Gramsci’s own writings and one present in the literature inspired by his ideas.

Let us consider the first issue. First of all, besides early articles in his newspaper “Ordine Nuovo” the only real available work we have is the Prison Notebooks. The problem with the “Quaderni” is that despite the capability of Gramsci to dialectically reconcile highly theoretical treatment with reference to very concrete historical cases and despite his rich commentaries on

journalism, he never really dealt directly with media campaigns, not at least in the way we can understand them nowadays. Consequently, a guideline for such an activist project of raising consciousness through media must be extracted from general commentaries on journalism and even more general commentaries on strategies to create the basis for his “intellectual and moral reform”. This is not a disclaimer, because once we accept and assume this work of inference and re-contextualization in the specific field of media, Gramsci’s contribution appears extraordinarily rich with useful insights.

As far as the literature on Gramsci is concerned, the problem resides in the way Gramscian thought has been approached. Besides the part of the literature that was preoccupied with simply publishing an organized recollection of Gramsci’s writings in themes or through a chronological criterion, most of the remaining literature falls in two main categories:

- Publications that either meant to offer an introduction to the Gramscian intellectual legacy or that produced immanent critiques of the Sardinian main statements;
- Especially journals published in more recent times, that tried to apply Gramsci (mainly his most known concept of hegemony) to specific fields or cases.

The first category presents for us the problem of being for the most part highly theoretical and, in this sense, self-referential of inside debates always taking place in the restricted academic environment and addressing an even, if possible, more restricted public. The problem with the second category is that whereas the literature has dealt with media with some consistency, it has done so always in a tangential way and, as far as media campaigns are concerned, there are basically no references.

However, this literary critique can serve the purpose of complementing what we can extract from Gramsci’s own writings. As we shall see, there are sections in the Prison Notebooks that can

be used effectively to define media strategies, and, at the same time, the critiques produced posteriorly on Gramsci or applying Gramsci, can be used to provide a guideline to criticize media constructively: they can be used to teach how to read media texts ideologically. This is itself a strategy that Gramsci adopted when he was arguing that in order to create the conditions of formation of a counter culture and corresponding counter hegemony, and when he stated the necessity to analyze the reason of success of the bourgeois media.

This lack of literature dedicated to our specific subject constitutes a serious difficulty but at the same time justifies even more the need to produce a work that tends to “pragmatize” the philosophy of praxis. I think this would constitute a serious tribute to an author who spent his entire life struggling to unite “pensiero e azione”, ideas and action even to the extent of simplifying or vulgarizing his thought. Let us remember that for instance one of the most important statements that Gramsci made against his previous intellectual mentor, Benedetto Croce, was that Croce had been unable to sacrifice the intellectual refinement of his thought for a much wider divulgation in the Italian/European culture. Croce represented for Gramsci the archetypical traditional intellectual who preferred being in his ivory tower rather than producing organic thought capable of reforming the existing culture.

To cite the Italian author, this work is informed by one of his most powerful phrases: “criticism of the intelligence and optimism of the will.”

Section 1: Gramsci and Media

1A -- Passages explicitly concerned with media and how they can be “organically” effective for “moral and intellectual reform”

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Gramsci

Section Title: Organic Centralism and Democratic centralism

Book Title: Prison Notebooks

Editors: Buttigieg, A.

Publisher: Columbia University Press

Place of Publication: New York

Translators: Callari, J. and Buttigieg, A.

Pub Year: 1992

Volume: notebook 14

Start Page: 1706

RESEARCH QUESTION: how must discipline be understood inside a social and a political movement that intends to attain power?

Discipline must not deprive the personality but only control irresponsible impulsiveness. A homogenous centre of cultural diffusion must be organized internally by discipline which is not meant as passive reception of orders but as lucid and reasoned understanding of what has to be done. According to this view, the leadership must be seen as a technical functionary not as a power agency.

MAIN FINDINGS: centralism cannot be eliminated, it is important to have a source of direction, however, within centralism one must distinguish between the bureaucratic and the democratic one. In these notes Gramsci reveals his pragmatic side.

QUOTES: It is common sense thinking that a partially wrong decision produces less damage if not obeyed, even if justified by general reasonings, since the partial damages of the partially wrong address must be summed to the partial damages caused by not following the order and by the consequent inconsistencies at multiple levels at multiple scales (Q.14, n3)

Ref Type: Book, Section
Authors: Gramsci, Antonio
Section Title: On Sarcasm
Book Title: Prison Notebooks
Editors: Buttigieg, J.
Publisher: Columbia University Press
Place of Publication: New York
Translators: Callari, J. and Buttigieg, A.
Pub Year: 1992
Volume: 1
Section Number:
note: 29
Start Page: 117

RESEARCH QUESTION: Can language only by its form be revolutionary?

When it comes to writing style there is a "positive" and a "negative" sarcasm. The author observes how in essays and articles sarcasm can be used either in constructive or destructive ways. Marx's "passionate sarcasm" is highlighted as a model of arguing as opposed to the purely "destructive sarcasm" of the right wing. When it comes to the masses' beliefs, for instance, Marx tries to mock their contingency without condemning the passion felt behind, instead the typical right wing attitude is to condemn the holders of such beliefs.

MAIN FINDINGS: The passionate sarcasm that Gramsci identifies in Marx can be considered as a positive model of expression for the communicator. Sarcasm, regardless of its level of harshness, should always be considered as a rhetorical strategy to raise questions and critique, not to dismiss and condemn "tout court" the whole subject.

QUOTES: "one must analyze the meaning of sarcasm in Marx, as transitional expression which seeks to establish a break from the old conception while waiting for the new conceptions to gain strength through historical developments and become so dominant as to acquire the force of popular convictions" (N.1, n.29, p.118)

Ref Type: Book, Section
Authors: Gramsci, Antonio
Section Title: War of Position
Book Title: Prison Notebooks
Editors: A. Buttigieg
Publisher: Columbia University Press
Place of Publication: New York
Translators: Callari, J. and Buttigieg, A.
Pub Year: 1992
Section Number: notebook 7
Start Page: 865

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: why did the revolution take place in pre-industrial Russia rather than in Europe? What are the social and historical differences that allowed the emergence of the revolutions there and not here?

War of Position and War of Manouvre. The warfare metaphor is meant to suggest that whatever movement is willing to counter a cultural hegemony in a society in which the civil society is well developed cannot conduct a frontal war because the "defenses" of the civil society against change are strong

MAIN FINDINGS: a well-developed capitalist society reproduces itself by both reproducing the economic structure but also the main institutions of the civil society. This lucid reasoning leads Gramsci to conceive specific strategies to attain political power through a patient work rather than a violent and frontal attack to the existing institutions.

QUOTES: Gramsci (SPN, 108): "Can the concept of 'passive revolution', in the sense attributed by Vincenzo Cuoco to the first period of the Italian Risorgimento, be related to the concept of 'war of position' in contrast to wars of manoeuvre? In other words, did these concepts have a meaning after the French Revolution, ... In other words, does there exist an absolute identity between wars of position and passive revolution? Or at least does there exist, or can there be conceived, an entire historical period in which the two concepts must be considered identical -- until the point at which the war of position once again becomes a war of manoeuvre?" (p.866).

1B -- Passages from the notebooks that refer to Gramsci's ideas that are crucial for any organic movement

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Gramsci, Antonio

Section Title: Kinds of Periodicals

Book Title: Prison Notebooks

Editors: Buttigieg, A.

Publisher: Columbia University Press

Place of Publication: New York

Translators: Callari, J. and Buttigieg, A.

Pub Year: 1992

Volume: Notebook 1

Start Page: 125

Other Pages: 43

RESEARCH QUESTION: how can the specific language of a periodical mirror a specific worldview?

This is an analysis of periodicals and newspapers whose function is to represent political movements. The publication of whatever social movement should always create practical monographs as sections of "encyclopedic political scientific-philosophical dictionary". That serves the purpose of creating knowledge for the reader that allows total understanding of the treated subject. The style must be truly referential and functional for comprehension by the average reader. The length of the monograph should be determined by its immediate interests. Two types:

- critical-informative: it assumes the average reader will be likely not to read every book so this review serves the purpose of mainly informing about the content. Presence of paraphrases.

-theoretical critical: it assumes the average reader will be likely to read it; direct engagement with the critique of the books. The periodical must be diffused from a homogenous centre of a homogenous way of thinking and acting. This is the principal condition for this publication to have resonance. This proceeding is a way to overcome the enlightenment prejudice/error: it is illusory to think that "clear ideas" can enter diverse consciousnesses in diverse social strata with the same "organizing effects" of a widespread clarity. The professional intellectual must make adjustment so that the same "ray of light", passing through different prisms yields the same refractions of light".

MAIN FINDINGS: For Gramsci publications both on daily basis or periodical must first of all educate its public rather than assuming an illusory omni-competence of the reader. Ideally media campaigns should empower the public in the sense that should form organic intellectuals. Clear ideas are not enough! That is an

enlightenment belief. The elaboration and diffusion of a critical consciousness cannot be simply limited to simple theoretical enunciation of "clear". It requires a complex combination of deduction and induction, identification and distinction, positive demonstration and destruction. That is, it must be at the concrete level.

QUOTES: "every political movements creates a language on its own... introducing new terms, enriching existing ones, creating metaphors" (N.1, n. 43, p.127) "the unitary elaboration of a collective consciousness requires manifold conditions and initiatives. The diffusion from a homogenous center of homogeneous way of thinking and acting is the principal condition but it cannot be the only one. A very common error is that of thinking that every social stratum elaborates its consciousness and its culture in the same way, with the same methods, that is the method of professional intellectuals... it is illusory to think that well propagated ideas enter diverse consciousness." (N., n.43, p.128)

Accession Number: example provided by the author about taking into account the different social prisms" is the difference between industrial and rural areas, or city and country or North and South.

Ref Type: Book, Section
Authors: Gramsci, Antonio
Section Title: Ideal Journal
Book Title: Prison Notebooks
Editors: A. Buttigieg
Publisher: Columbia University press
Place of Publication: New York
Translators: Callari, J. and Buttigieg, A.
Pub Year: 1992
Volume: 3

Start Page: 2260

RESEARCH QUESTION: can newspapers constitute an integral aspect of moral and intellectual reform?

A movement must be operative both at the political-cultural and the technical- cultural-level. The example provided is for instance a movement against illiteracy. The movement must strive at the political level in order to predispose all the necessary means to eradicate illiteracy, at the technical level, the movement would have already organized school where reading and writing is taught.

MAIN FINDINGS: Gramsci uses his own experience as a journalist to claim that the press is capable to speak to their mass public and they would always have a crucial role in maintaining and founding hegemony of the class they support. In this sense, newspapers must function as the most important organ of the political party to defend and attain the specific objectives of that political group. Journalism must contribute to raise consciousness also to establish alliances with other social groups.

QUOTES: "the type of journalism described here in these notes should be defined as "integral," that is, not only intended to satisfy the immediate needs of its public but intended to create and develop those needs in order to extend gradually the area of interests of its public" (Q.24, n1)

"the systematic and patient repetitions represent a fundamental methodological principle: this must not be the obsessive mechanic principle to make the public find the difference in the apparent identity and identity behind apparent difference." (Q.24, n.4)

Section 2: Publications on Gramsci

2A -- Chronologically the oldest and largest, dealing with Gramsci in introductory ways. Most are titled as “introductions” and there are some that engage critically with Gramsci’s ideas more than others. The publications put in this category have in common a distinctive divulgative function that privileges the diffusion of Gramsci’s ideas rather than questioning them at the theoretical level.

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Author: Adamson, Walter

Book Title: *Hegemony and Revolution: a Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory*

Publisher: Berkley University press, Berkley, CA

Pub Year: 1980

Total Pages: 304

Abstract: The author provides a homogenous review of the Prison Notebooks by dealing with the intricate complex of interwoven themes present in the Italian author’s writing. Gramsci is depicted as a Hegelian Marxist, which implies focusing on the idealism and culturalism aspects present in the notebooks. Thus, according to the author Gramsci’s Marxism is a peculiar one like the one of Lucaks.

RESEARCH QUESTION: What is the relationship between Gramsci’s Marxism and contemporary social democratic theory? Is Gramsci’s theory of culture useful to understand how contemporary Western societies work? Which questions would Gramsci formulate about our societies?

The author in this sense engages with important issues of contemporary Western societies under the lens of the Gramscian thought. The author maintains that Gramsci anticipated most of the

themes that will constitute the political program of the so-called Euro-Communism. Institutions like the workers' council and the cultural associations are example of that.

MAIN FINDINGS: Adamson has the merit to have pointed out how Gramsci fills the gap between Marxism and social democratic theory.

QUOTES: "Gramsci's theory is enormously provocative and speaks to a number of problems in contemporary political theory" (p.2)

"It is important to note – and possibly mind boggling to Gramsci -- that fascists received a great deal of indirect support from those that were simply "anti-socialist." While this support would seem to stem from rich capitalists and industrialists, it was small farmers that proved to be loyal allies for Northern fascists" (p. 79)

"those prosperous few that inhabited southern Italy were large landowners ruling over an often times weak politically impotent rural class" (p.81)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Cammett, John M.

Book Title: Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism

Publisher: Stanford University Press

Place of Publication: Stanford, CA

Pub Year: 1967

Total Pages: 306

RESEARCH QUESTION: due to the bibliographical nature of the book, the research questions are rather specific: "what was the impact of Gramsci's childhood and the Sardinian social and cultural environment in his mature thought?" - Moreover, in the

second part of the book: "how did Gramsci define his own path between the Italian communist leader Bordiga and the paradigm of Russian commintern?" This is one of the first significant English publications about Gramsci and it is evident from the introductory and exploratory nature of the book. As the author puts it, this book intends to examine Gramsci's chief ideas. It is organized chronologically, first reviewing the young activist Gramsci during the so-called "biennio rosso" and the factory councils, then looking at the mature Gramsci, since his rise in the communist party leadership until the compositions of the Prison Notebooks, during the years of imprisonment.

MAIN FINDINGS: by intense digging, especially into the more intimate writing of Gramsci, the author claims that Gramsci's experience of the life of rural Sardinia, with its brutality and poverty made him more sensitive of the necessity to unite by strong alliances in the so-called "historic bloc." An example would be the political interests of the proletarian of the North and the peasants from the South. Cammett's work, possibly because of being one of the first publications in the Anglo-Saxon world, results more as a divulgative rather than critically interpretative.

QUOTES: "Gramsci underlined the peculiarities of the Italian case and consequently their need to elaborate adequate strategies feasible for Italy"; "in his discussion of Italian class structure Gramsci intended to emphasize certain unusual characteristics of Italian society -- Italian 'exceptionalism,' as it were... the relative weakness of Italian capitalism... the regional aspects of relations between industry and agriculture in Italy, and the greater revolutionary importance of the Italian proletariat compared with the same class in other European countries". (p.176-177)

"a party must integrate three elements: its doctrine, its specific historical nature of its personnel and dynamics of the particular culture in which the party operates".(p.196)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Davidson, Alistair

Book Title: Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Bibliography

Publisher: Merlin Press

Place of Publication: London

Pub Year: 1977

Total Pages: 224

RESEARCH QUESTION: how did the Sardinian experience affect the political sensibility of the author?

The author explores in considerable detail Gramsci's intellectual and political development and how Gramsci should be located within the history of Italian communism (Gramsci's role in the Turin factory occupations is discussed at length). It includes a detailed account of Gramsci's childhood in Sardinia

MAIN FINDINGS: A good bibliography that combines a chronological treatment of events and an organic treatment of ideas. Valuable effort to understand Gramsci within his political and historical context.

QUOTES: the author comments on the necessity to re-read Marx according to the Italian situation : " the differences between the developed north and the dilapidated south "(P. 4) "Italian socialism needed to be dipped in reality to see the country for what it was instead of through the blinkers of a rigidly determinist Marxism" (P. 248).

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Debray, Regis

Title: Schema for a Study of Gramsci

Periodical, Full: New Left Review

Pub Year: 1970

Volume: 1
Issue: 59
Start Page: 4
Other Pages: 48

RESEARCH QUESTION: none really.
Schematic notes on Gramsci`s main ideas.

MAIN FINDINGS: please see quote in which I report the most important aspect of Debrays`s critique on Gramsci.

QUOTES:

His historicism can be turned against him, in the sense that he too can be subjected to a historically limitative analysis. Indeed, he cannot be understood outside his specific historical context, or divorced from the object of his opposition (p.48)

(What was the principal danger? The principal confusion against which and in relation to which Gramsci`s position was to be defined and Marxism was to be distinguished? Defining the particularity, i.e. the inner essence of a doctrine or theory is something which cannot be done abstractly: it is an active and reactive operation. To define means to distinguish, to separate from a historical environment, from a filiation, from a threatening affinity. Gramsci sets out to establish the nature of Marxism as compared to the mechanistic materialism of the Eighteenth Century. He is therefore engaged in a struggle: the character of his theoretical work is essentially polemical, just as his activity as a militant is founded on that theoretical work. It is wrong to try and `excuse` certain of Gramsci`s theoretical formulations, however surprising they may be, as deriving from his situation as an active militant. This is what Cogniot does in the *Morceaux Choisis*; [1] he is continually seeking to defend Gramsci from himself, to `moderate` him, as if trying to calm down a person who has become over-excited in the heat of a dispute. In reality, all

theoretical analysis is of its very essence polemical, a 'committed' form of critique; Marx himself constructs Capital on a critique of political economy, starting from—and against—Smith, Ricardo and Say. The interesting thing in Gramsci's case is that he does not hide it, he does not claim any scholarly, academic or 'scientific' 'objectivity', he lays his cards on the table: he theoretically assumes the necessity for explicit polemic). (p.50)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Femia, J.V.

Book Title: Gramsci's Political Thought

Publisher: Clarendon Press

Place of Publication: Oxford

Pub Year: 1981

Total Pages: 303

Descriptors: subjectivity, Hegelian Marxism

RESEARCH QUESTION: despite the historical determination of Gramsci's thought, what can be applied to contemporary study of society? This is one of the best surveys on Gramsci's thought. As the author explicitly indicates, the following are the main research questions present in the prison notebooks: -nature of power in advance capitalist regimes; - the methods whereby this power can be undermined; - the character of the proletarian civilization; - the relationship between the material and the spiritual sides of existence. The main argument of Femia is that despite the historical determination of Gramsci's thought that some authors remarked on Gramsci, his thought is capable to transcend its time and be still absolutely valuable and can have contemporary resonance. In this sense, Femia reflects on the viability of the so called "third way to socialism" that seems to be suggested in the "quaderni" as to say a peaceful transition to the "realm of freedom".

MAIN FINDINGS: Femia tries to reduce the vagueness of the definition of the most important concepts present in the Notebooks, like the state, the civil society, hegemony but also the theoretical vagueness of much of the literature on Gramsci.

QUOTES: "Gramsci separates 'political society (or dictatorship, or coercive apparatus, for the purpose of assimilating the popular masses to the type of production and economy of a given period)' and 'civil society (or hegemony of a social group over the entire national society exercised through so-called private organizations, such as the Church, the trade unions, the schools, etc.)'" (pp.25-26).

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Fiori, Giuseppe

Book Title: Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary

Publisher: New Left Books

Place of Publication: London

Pub Year: 1970

RESEARCH QUESTION: the bibliography is rather straightforward. However by considering the specific nature of the work with its focus of personal experience of Gramsci and the tone of the preface one could guess that the research question is: "How did the personal experience of the Italian author influence his ideological orientation, theoretical approaches and political strategies?" A very detailed account of Gramsci's life by drawing heavily on the reminiscences of those who knew or met Gramsci during his life.

MAIN FINDINGS: Fiori provides an account of the personal and political life of Gramsci, demonstrating for instance that the childhood in the rural area of Sardinia affected his sensibility for

the situation of southern Italy, the so called "Southern Question" or the need for peasants to ally with urban proletariat instead of conducting a "war among poors." This is considered one of the best bibliographies produced in Italy, extremely pleasurable to read.

QUOTES: In April 1920 in Turin, half a million workers joined a general strike provoked by employers. The dispute rapidly became a battle for “control of the production process through the factory councils.” The state backed the employers and, fearing insurrection, turned Turin into an “armed fortress.” Fifty thousand troops were stationed in the city, “gun batteries stand ready on the hills...armoured cars are roaming the streets; in the suburbs reputed to be particularly rebellious, machine guns are trained on the houses, on all bridges” (p.129)

Ref Type: Book, Whole
Authors: Glucksmann, Christine
Book Title: Gramsci and the State
Publisher: Lawrence and Wishart
Place of Publication: London
Translators: David Fernbach
Pub Year: 1980

RESEARCH QUESTION: where is the notion of state located in Gramscian thought? In Gramsci, is the state doomed to be destroyed like in the classical Marxist theory?

The author argues that a very convenient way to regard Gramsci 's thought is through his idea of the state. Glucksmann tends to reinterpret the main points of Gramscian ideas through the lens of the state. She deals with the ideas of the mature Gramsci present in embryonic form in the young Gramsci. For the author, Gramsci was seeking in Marxism a philosophy that could be directly translated into politics. This is an idealism that marks Gramsci

from its youth until the last years. In fact, in the young Gramsci, one can already find all the main themes: the question of the intellectuals, the necessity to educate and mobilize the masses, the vanguard of the political party.

MAIN FINDINGS: this results as possibly one of the most comprehensive theoretical reviews of Gramscian thought.

QUOTES: "the entire purpose of this book is to explain this union of politics and philosophy by treating philosophy in its superstructural location and treating politics as productive of knowledge" (p.15)

"For Gramsci the effects of hegemony are highly contradictory. The more authentically hegemonic a class really is, the more it leaves opposing classes the possibility of organizing and forming themselves into an autonomous political force." (p.57)

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Salvadori, Massimo

Section Title: Gramsci and PCI: Two Conceptions of Hegemony

Book Title: Gramsci and the Marxist Theory

Editors: C.Mouffe

Publisher: Routledge and Kegan

Place of Publication: Boston

Pub Year: 1979

RESEARCH QUESTION: what are the historical reasons that led the Italian communist party to have such a dialectical relationship with A. Gramsci?

Salvadori provides an account of the ambivalent relationship between Gramsci's thought and the Italian Communist Party after his death. The PCI was at the beginning dismissing Gramsci because of his attacks on the Third Internationale and the Stalinist doctrine.

Then, during 1960s and 1970s the party recuperated the figure possibly due to the international recognition to the author.

MAIN FINDINGS: Salvadori shows how reasons to consider and not to consider Gramsci are intertwined with political strategies. The author demonstrates how Gramsci was at first rejected because of his Leninism. Gramsci was understood as a thinker advocating pluralism and this concept was totally incompatible with the Stalinist position of the party.

QUOTES: the Prison Notebooks is considered by Marxist theoreticians and ideologists as a central stage, a link between Leninism and post Leninism. (p.237)

2B -- This sub-section includes authors that have engaged the theory of Gramsci through immanent critiques. Some seem to consider themselves guardians of Gramsci's innovative but still genuine Marxism against any "revisionist" interpretations. All these authors are highly theoretically involved in interrogating Gramsci about his own thought and how it could be applied as an explanatory framework for contemporary existing societies.

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Anderson, Perry

Title: The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci

Periodical, Full: New Left Review

Pub Year: 1976

Volume: 100

Start Page: 73

Other Pages: 5

Descriptors: hegemony

RESEARCH QUESTION: is there anything really new in Gramsci's theory, compared to the authors of his times?

Anderson concentrates on the idea of hegemony as a cardinal point of Gramsci's thought, by pointing out both the internal inconsistencies of the Notebooks and the misvaluations of some aspects by posterior authors. For instance, he claims that Gramsci has overrated the importance of consent and at the same time underestimated the importance of force and coercion within the state. Anderson maintains that what is valuable in Gramsci is the inheritance of Trotsky and Kautsky and Lenin. For instance, the concept of hegemony is for Anderson already present in Lenin. The only aspect of novelty that Anderson finds in Gramsci is the connection this makes between hegemony and civil society. The overall rapprochement to Gramsci is that he produced a too fragmentary, too unsystematic thought, and the notes are like unorganized clusters of ideas that produce highly contradictory interpretations.

MAIN FINDINGS: according to the author, Gramsci's only merit is to have sophisticated an already existing concept of hegemony. There are three or four publications that really have addressed and informed the debate behind the vast literature on Gramsci and this article is certainly one of those. Anderson's critique of Gramsci comes in a moment in which the Italian author was starting to suscite interest in the Anglo-Saxon world. This article represents possibly the most achieved critique of the shortcomings of the Gramscian thought.

QUOTES: Anderson here is remarking on the difficulties in reading and interpreting Gramsci, besides the objective difficulties caused by the imprisonment: "The result is a work censored twice over: its spaces, ellipses, contradictions, allusions, repetitions which are the result of his uniquely adverse process of composition. It is necessary to say this as a warning against all

facile and complacent readings of Gramsci. He is still largely an unknown author to us” (p.12)

"Lenin provided a model of revolution but Gramsci was not Lenin, while Lenin`s road to socialism was short but sheer, Gramsci`s notion was much more prolonged” (p.15)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Bellamy, Paul and Schechter, Darrow

Book Title: Gramsci and the Italian State

Publisher: Manchester University Press

Pub Year: 1993

Total Pages: 202

Descriptors: Gramsci, State, Italian politics

Abstract:

RESEARCH QUESTION: how much did the Italian political climate influence Gramsci`s thought?

This book, instead of looking at the already well-examined Gramscian contribution to Marxism and social cultural theory, explores how the Italian political context influenced Gramsci. The study applies to Gramsci the same historicism that Gramsci applied to his analysis, so that the Italian author is put through dialectics in the context of his times. The debate over the nature of the Italian state prior to fascism, according to the authors, shaped Gramsci`s ideas a great deal.

MAIN FINDINGS: the book wants to be a self-referential proof that, in Croce's terms, what is still living of the historically determined Gramscian thought is the very method that Gramsci used to analyze his own times. The merit of the book is to have approached the historical materialism of Gramsci from an historic point of view, which is, by looking at the existing literature, a task not always accomplished.

QUOTES: "the prosecutor at Gramsci's trial called for his incarceration on the grounds that we must stop this brain from functioning for twenty years" (p.82)

"Gramsci's new order seems in some respects paradoxical. On the one hand he stressed a radical theory of democracy and the importance of openness based on immanent critique rather than bureaucratic closure. On the other hand, however, he painted a picture of closed society based on a total culture reflecting the total organization of production" (p.157)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Borg, Carmel and Mayo, Peter

Book Title: Learning and Social Difference: Challenges for Public Education and Critical Pedagogy

Publisher: Paradigm Publishers

Place of Publication: Boulder, London

Pub Year: 2006

Total Pages: 205

Descriptors: Critical Pedagogy

RESEARCH QUESTION: The main question posed by the authors is how to confront ideology from a pedagogic point of view. There is only one section in this book dedicated to Gramsci (part III, section no.6). However, Gramsci's themes are present along the whole work. The author points out the important part of education in the so-called "intellectual and moral reform" that the Italian author frequently was talking about. As the authors noticed, the whole Gramscian project can be seen as an "all-embracing educational project" (p.6) since for Gramsci consciousness was cultivated rather than merely raised. At the same time, Gramsci's idea of education reveals also a profoundly democratic pedagogic project: every one is an intellectual, although not everybody can function as such. In opposition to the Italian educational reform, "riforma Gentile", Gramsci was advocating a unitarian school, a

school that did not tend to reproduce the social relations between ruling and subaltern classes, a school that also combined a humanistic formation with an opportunity for individual creativity and practice.

MAIN FINDINGS: I think the chapter on Gramsci and the following one on Freire can be useful as a general introduction to rising consciousness strategy from the education/cultivation point of view. The application of Gramsci's ideas on education is not new but this book has the merit to try to establish a solid theoretical basis in order to connect pedagogy to political thought.

QUOTES: "Gramsci's writings on the school reflect a concern with respect to the means whereby the working class children can gain access to the culture baggage which he felt they need in order to not remain on the periphery of political life" (p.98)

"if one wants to develop a genuinely multicultural curriculum, then one must break away from Eurocentrism in which Gramsci's thinking seems to be immersed" (p.108)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Burrawoy, Michael

Title: For a Sociological Marxism: The complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi

Periodical, Full: Politics Society

Pub Year: 2003

Issue: 31

Start Page: 71

Other Pages: 193

Descriptors: Class, Society, Hegemony, Markets

RESEARCH QUESTION: The Post-communist age calls for a sociology of Marxism that gives pride of place to society alongside but distinct from economy and state. This sociological Marxism

can be found in the writings of Gramsci and Polanyi. Hailing from different social worlds and following different Marxist traditions, both converged on a similar critique and transcendence of Classical Marxism. For Gramsci, advanced capitalism is marked by the advance of civil society, which, with the state, acts to stabilize class relations and provide a terrain for challenging capitalism. For Polanyi expansion of the market threatens society, which reacts by reconstituting itself as an active society thereby harbouring the embryo of a democratic socialism. This article appropriates "society" as a Marxist concept and deploys it to interpret the rise and the fall of communist orders: the shift of politics of class to politics of recognition, the transition from colonialism to post colonialism and the development of an emergent transnationalism.

MAIN FINDINGS: This long article contextualizes Gramsci not only with his times but also with the respect of another significant author like Karl Polanyi and with more recent ideas of Habermas' public Sphere. The objective is to try to make a synthesis of contemporary Marxism, pointing out what is living and what is dead in such a sociology of modernity. More specifically, the link that the author suggests between "active society " and "civil society" seems to me particularly enlightening in order to explore Gramsci's elusive concept of civil society.

QUOTES: "Sociological Marxism must explore the way society is stretched beyond national confines to compose a transnational society, made up of diasporic communities with ethnic or national bases, of NGOs for the expansion of, for example, human rights, environmental protection, or even labor interests, perhaps including economic networks within or outside multinational corporations" (p.250)

"Civil society refers to the growth of trade unions, political parties, mass education, and other voluntary associations and interest groups, all of which proliferated in Europe and the United States

toward the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, new forms of transportation (automobiles, railroad), communication (postal service, newspapers), and regulation (police) connected people to one another as well as to the state. On the one hand, civil society collaborates with the state to contain class struggle, and on the other hand, its autonomy from the state can promote class struggle.” (p.198)

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Cox, Robert

Section Title: Gramsci, Hegemony and International relations: an Essay on Method

Book Title: Approaches to World Orders

Editors: Robert Cox and Timothy Sinclair

Publisher: Cambridge University Press

Place of Publication: Cambridge, MA

Pub Year: 1996

RESEARCH QUESTION: how can the notion of hegemony be applied to the international relations system?

Unlike conventional IR theory, which reduces hegemony to a single dimension of dominance based on the economic and military capabilities of states, a neo-Gramscian perspective developed by Cox broadens the domain of hegemony. It appears as an expression of broadly based consent, manifested in the acceptance of ideas and supported by material resources and institutions, which is initially established by social forces occupying a leading role within a state, but is then projected outwards on a world scale. Within a world order a situation of hegemony may prevail 'based on a coherent conjunction or fit between a configuration of material power, the prevalent collective image of world order (including certain norms) and a set of institutions which administer the order with a certain semblance of universality'. Hegemony is therefore a form of dominance, but it

refers more to a consensual order so that 'dominance by a powerful state may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition of hegemony. If hegemony is understood as an Opinion-moulding activity', rather than brute force or dominance, then consideration has to turn to how a hegemonic social or world order is based on values and understandings that permeate the nature of that order. Hence it has to be considered how intersubjective meanings-shared notions about social relations-shape reality. "Reality" is not only the physical environment of human action but also the institutional, moral and ideological context that shapes thoughts and actions'. The crucial point to make, then, is that hegemony filters through structures of society, economy, culture, gender, ethnicity, class and ideology.

MAIN FINDINGS: The development of a neo-Gramscian perspective by Robert Cox has to be seen as a part of this rejection of mainstream positivist IR approaches. This contributes to introduce a rather novel perspective in this field. It also implies that mainstream neo-realist and neoliberal institutionalist approaches, as well as the more radical alternative of world-systems theory, can be rejected as problem-solving theories. They all assume that basic features of the international system are constant. Neo-realism argues that states are the only important actors, neoliberal institutionalism regards states as the most important actors using regimes in order to further their interests, and world-systems theory defines the world system as consisting of core, semi-periphery and periphery. As a result, structural change beyond these features cannot be conceptualized.

QUOTES: The construction of an historical bloc cannot exist without a hegemonic social class and is therefore a national phenomenon (P.168)

"Once hegemony has been consolidated domestically it may expand beyond a particular social order to move outward on world scale and insert itself through the world order" (p.171)

"By doing so it can connect social forces across different countries. A world hegemony is thus in its beginning an outward expansion of the internal (national) hegemony established by a social order." (p.171)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Elliot, Carole

Title: Representations of the Intellectual: Insights from Gramsci on Management Learning

Periodical, Full: Management Learning

Pub Year: 2003

Volume: 34

Issue: 4

Start Page: 18

Other Pages: 411

RESEARCH QUESTION: this essay explores the dilemma between traditional and organic intellectual and, in relation to that, interrogates what is more important: theory or practice? This article discusses the contemporary relationship between management educators and practitioners as expressed in Critical Management Studies literature. This is done in light of Gramsci's writing about the formation and role of intellectuals within society. His conception of intellectuals, as consisting of two types (organic and traditional), is used as heuristic method to explore the claims made by critical management studies for an emancipatory agenda. By using Gramsci's writing as a point of departure the author stakes out a position that starts to consider how management educators have come to acquire their position of governance over what passes as management knowledge. Gramsci's notion of systems of relations as a way to focus on the relationships between management education, managements educators and management practitioners

MAIN FINDINGS: the critical management educator and practitioner, as the organic intellectual, should give up the scientific pretension of neutrality. They should engage with ideas and education with critical judgment. The article uses Gramsci's considerations of the traditional intellectual and the need to overcome common sense in order to carry out a critique of the both CMS studies and CMS practitioners.

QUOTES: knowledge must be considered as a wealth for the whole society and not for a particular social group: "Gramsci demonstrates that knowledge, as a feature of intellectual activity, not the preserve of a select group within society" (p.14)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Entwistle, Harold

Book Title: Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics

Publisher: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Place of Publication: Boston

Pub Year: 1979

RESEARCH QUESTION: how can we resolve the apparent contradictions between the advocacy for a conservative school and the revolutionary political project in Gramsci's notes?

The author underlines the problematic position of Gramsci in relation to the Gentile reform (education reform). He defended the previous conservative education system against the Gentile reform of School. The author provides reasons for that. Gramsci is considered a key figure in education because education, for Gramsci was a crucial part of its political agenda since it meant raising consciousness. The school, for Gramsci, as for Althusser, is an ISA, a site of ideological struggle which can be used for both consolidating hegemony but also for dismantling it.

For the author the paradox of a conservative schooling for a radical politics is only an apparent one, Entwistle argues that we must read Gramsci's position about education in a historical perspective. In the sense that he was opposing what it was self-proclaimed as a "progressive education", the Gentile reform. In the end, the traditional curriculum has contributed to create false consciousness among the working class. However, the author's main argument in this sense is that knowledge must have a solid base in order to formulate a critique of the totality as intended by Marxism. This social totality could only be grasped through a unitarian school like the one desired and defended by Gramsci.

MAIN FINDINGS: The author makes a strong argument to justify the dialectics behind the apparent contradiction between the conservative and the radical tendencies in Gramsci as far as the education is concerned. This theme of the unitarian school that tries not to parcelize too much the intellectual division of labor seems a very appropriate argument for today's higher educational system (universities in the Western world).

QUOTES: "The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating." (p.60)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Fontana, Benedetto

Book Title: Hegemony and Power: on the relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli

Pub Year: 2002

Volume: 2

Total Pages: 226

Descriptors: civil society, domination, hegemony, polis

RESEARCH QUESTION: what are the philosophical and historical roots of the Gramscian perspective?

The book argues that Gramsci's notion of state is conceptually rooted with the ideas and practices of classic Greeks and Romans and then posteriorly Christianized by Augustine. Gramsci's anthropology regards the man as a twofold political animal: a social animal and a conflictual animal. More importantly, despite what is man's nature, Gramsci stated the need to form/create a new man. The author points out those Gramscian aspects as being at the root of the fundamental concept of hegemony. He thinks that hegemony is one of the few concepts that survived the so-called postmarxism. Despite numerous different interpretations of Gramsci, as a Hegelian, as a Leninist, as a radical democrat, the interesting aspect is what survived to postmarxism is actually a very modernist idea (so despite the "post") of mass based political party. The connection to Machiavelli confirms Fontana's interest in the modernist Gramsci, the one who still posits his revolutionary faith not in the postmodern individual's agency but in the people. Machiavelli for Fontana is the recipe against the Foucaultian understanding of power as knowledge, since for Machiavelli power is basically a political one that aims to material change of society not discursive ones.

MAIN FINDINGS: Fontana, by focusing on the relationship between Gramsci and Machiavelli intends to explore in very original ways the epistemology of action, as to say, how the production of certain knowledge can lead to action and social change.

QUOTES: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." (p.189)

"the knowledge that Machiavelli intends to introduce here is established in the relation between "I through you and you through me" a relation that establishes the active dynamism of knowledge that itself teaches the dynamism of action" (p.104)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Gitlin, Todd

Title: News as Ideology and contested area: toward a Theory of Hegemony, Crisis and Opposition

Periodical, Full: Socialist Review

Pub Year: 1979

Issue: 48

Start Page: 43

Other Pages: 11

RESEARCH QUESTION: how does news contribute to reproduce dominant ideology and gain consent around its position? The author applies the concept of hegemony to news analysis. Gitlin considers hegemony extremely useful to provide an account of how social control is exercised inside the newsroom by daily journalist practices. The author talks about several strategies by which news reproduce dominant ideology. However, despite this organic-to-hegemony function, at the same time, news cannot achieve a complete discourse closure and, for this reason, Gitlin considers news more a site of struggle and negotiation rather than mere ideological apparati.

MAIN FINDINGS: similar to certain British Cultural Studies, Gitlin attains a satisfactory way to apply the concept of hegemony on news. He provides a comprehensive account of the complex reality of journalism practice by considering all the ideological and material forces that come into play. This is possibly the most significant concept pointed out in this work: hegemony is not an

entity with its own life, but is embedded in the daily social practices of people.

QUOTES: “The cultural hegemony system that results is not a closed system. It leaks. Its very structure leaks, at the least because it remains to some extent competitive.” (P.75)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Guha, Ranajit

Book Title: Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India

Publisher: Harvard University Press

Place of Publication: Cambridge, MA

Pub Year: 1997

RESEARCH QUESTION: looking at how hegemony can be employed as an almost universal account that describes the dynamics of power attainment and conservation.

The concept of hegemony has been used as an interpretative device to analyze the historic case of colonial India. This leaves room for resistance and an alternative worldview. The author, in sum, uses Gramsci to assert that counter hegemonic strategies are possible. Guha mentions local traditions that *de facto* challenge the attempt to constitute a cultural hegemony by the Raj. The author concentrates on Gramsci's reflection on folklore and the enlightenment biases against such a popular culture but also making a comparison between Gramsci's analysis of the Southern and the peasants' insurrections in India.

MAIN FINDINGS:

this is another good example of what Hall was saying in response to Anderson's critique of Gramsci. Despite the limitations inherent in the Prison Notebooks, Gramsci's thought is capable of transcending his time and place. Especially fruitful is the way

Guha uses the notion of passive revolution to describe historical and geographical realities distant from Gramsci's world.

QUOTES: "Hegemony stands for a condition of Dominance (D), such that, in the organic composition of (D), persuasion (P) outweighs coercion (C). Defined in these terms, hegemony operates as a dynamic concept and keeps even the most persuasive structure of Dominance always and necessarily open to Resistance. At the same time, it avoids the Gramscian juxtaposition of Dominance and hegemony (a term sometimes used in the *Prison Notebooks* synonymously with leadership) as antinomies. This has, alas, provided too often a theoretical pretext for the fabrication of a liberal absurdity – the absurdity of the idea of an un-coercive state – in spite of the basic drive of Gramsci's own work to the contrary Since hegemony, as we understand it, is a particular condition of D and the latter is constituted by C and P, it follows that there can be no hegemonic system under which P outweighs C to the point of reducing it to a nullity. Were that to happen, there would be no Dominance, hence no hegemony. In short, hegemony, deduced thus from Dominance, offers us the double advantage of pre-empting a slide towards a liberal-utopian conceptualisation" (p.23)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Hall, Stuart

Title: Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

Periodical, Full: Journal of Communication Inquiry

Pub Year: 1986

Volume: 5

Issue: 10

Start Page: 24

RESEARCH QUESTION: looking at the nature of the relationship between race and gender and power

Hall carries out a critique of Gramsci and tries to set the theoretical limits of his application. A limitation that Hall encounters is the fragmentary nature of his thought that bounces back and forth between theory and very concrete historical facts. The fact that Gramsci cannot be considered as a grand theorist and that his thought was more focused on western capitalist societies does not imply that notions like race and ethnicity cannot benefit from his ideas. In general Gramsci can be considered as one of the most original thinkers within the Marxist tradition.

MAIN FINDINGS:

The article represents a response to Perry Anderson's critique of Gramsci. Whereas Anderson criticized Gramsci's lack of systematicity and his refusal to establish general scientific principles, Hall, despite sharing in part Anderson's positions, claims that the fragmentary nature of his thought represents a limitation but also a remarkable example of dialectical thought. The article attempts to introduce Gramsci (the pure treatment of the Italian's ideas constitutes 75% of the total length of the essay) and then to use his ideas to provide a new thrust to the notion of identity of the subjects and groups and to assert the need for a representative pluralistic society.

QUOTES: "in my view Gramsci's work does not offer a general social science which can be applied to the analysis of social phenomena in a wide comparative range of historical societies. His contribution is more limited. It remains for all that of a seminal importance. (p.24)

Ref Type: Book, Edited

Editors: Ives, Peter

Book Title: Gramsci's Politics of Language

Publisher: University of Toronto Press

Place of Publication: Toronto

Pub Year: 2004

Total Pages: 239

Descriptors: Hegemony, language, Vernacular Materialism, Gramsci, Benjamin, Frankfurt School, Baktin Circle

RESEARCH QUESTION: The main research question is whether it is possible to reconcile Gramsci's idea of hegemony with a linguistic approach. The author argues that the most important concept elaborated by Gramsci, hegemony, possesses a very linguistic nature. Linguistic meant as an alternative term to discursive since Ives stands in a very critical position against postmodern discursive approaches to the concept. His definition of Gramsci's "Vernacular Materialism" is meant to counter argue two important positions about hegemony. On the one hand, he criticized too abstract linguistic analyses of power which tend to privilege Saussurian "langue" instead of "parole" (in Gramsci's words, the distinction would be between "immanent" and "normative" grammar) and, vernacular, in this sense, represents almost a synonym of "vulgar" which focuses on daily practices of language, folklore and popular culture. On the other hand, the reassertion of materialism is meant to criticize one of the most famous publications on Gramsci, the one from Laclau and Mouffe, which, by considering the supposed preponderance of the superstructure over the structure, reads the Gramscian intellectual legacy as an innovative conceptualization of radical democracy moving away from Marxist materialism.

MAIN FINDINGS: Ives' argument seems to me rather plausible, especially posed in opposition to both Laclau and Mouffe and Anderson's critique on Gramsci. In trying to answer his own research question, by reasserting the vernacular/pragmatic philosophy of praxis, he provides convincing arguments at the theoretical level, nevertheless, preaching about the crucial unity in

theory and praxis, knowledge and experience, I think he should have tried to engage the concept more empirically, as to say by providing examples of how everyday linguistic practices contribute to reinforce hegemonic processes.

QUOTES: "Gramsci's vernacular materialism is at once a Marxist theory of language and a materialist approach to politics. It does not neglect language nor does it posit language as secondary or independent; instead, it considers language as a central human practical activity." (p.172)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Jossa, Bruno

Title: Gramsci and Labor-Managed Firms

Periodical, Full: Review Of Radical Political Economics

Pub Year: 2008

Pub Date Free Form: December 18th, 2008

RESEARCH QUESTION: can cooperatives, as economic models, be considered as a pacific way to socialism?

According to Antonio Gramsci, workers councils were transitional institutions expected to carry on business in a market economy and thereby prepare the ground for revolution. However, upon seizing power, workers were expected to join centrally planned systems and hence to renounce the autonomous management system. Finding fault in this approach, the author upholds modern labour management theory in which Vanek's LMF type firms are looked upon as socialist firms operating in market economy.

MAIN FINDINGS: the author believes he has found a completion and a sophistication of Gramsci's model of the factory councils. The author plays with an almost literal Marxist definition of

revolution as a mere change of mode of production to argue that a socialist-like management of firms like cooperatives (theorized by Vanek) can represent themselves not as a transitional tool towards socialism as the councils were for Gramsci but as a socialist achievement itself. As far as our project is concerned I find this article valuable because it conducts a critique of Gramsci on an aspect that lately has been somehow dismissed, which is Gramscian economicism and concrete projects for socialism. This publication counter-balances the mainstream contemporary use of Gramsci in liberal democratic terms which tends to privilege the culturalist facet of his thought.

QUOTES: "the aim of this article is to show that Gramsci's rejection of the idea of only two possible allocation methods prevented him from addressing workers councils as a means of remedying possible shortcomings of centralized planning". "The most obvious difference between Gramsci's model and Ward and Vanek's model is that the that latter are summed to operate in the market economy and the former was probably intended to prepare the ground for a planned command economy" (p.14)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Karabel, Jeremy

Title: Revolutionary Contradictions: Antonio Gramsci and the Problem of Intellectuals

Periodical, Full: Politics and Society

Pub Year: 1976

Volume: 6

Issue: 123

Descriptors: Role of Intellectuals

RESEARCH QUESTION: what is the relationship between theory and practice in Marxism and more specifically in Gramsci?

Marx was the first one asserting that ideas come from action, but ideas still need theoretical elaboration. Therefore, a revolution needs intellectuals. This is however in contradiction to the idea of self-emancipation of the proletariat class. Connected to this, then it comes to the question of whether the proletariat needs a political party, the modern prince, or the intellectual avant-garde. Gramsci, according to the author, represents the most authoritative thinker that has dealt with such a problem.

MAIN FINDINGS: the author through Gramsci has intended to demonstrate how the concept of revolution, in its practical application is probably even more complicated than its theoretical elaboration. For this reason the author concludes his reasoning about Gramsci's understanding of revolution as "the elusive revolution" This is in my view a very good balanced treatment of Gramsci's revolutionary ideas. Especially valuable is the consideration of the Gramscian dilemma: he was aware that the mechanistic strategy to first capture the state and then create the new proletarian civilization was completely unrealistic. The paradox that Karabel notices in Gramsci is that the process of responsabilization of the working class implies an achievement of a complete counter hegemony that can be attained only in the long term.

QUOTES: as the author well points out (p.46) "if the proletariat is to be the ruling class tomorrow, it must begin today to charge itself with the responsibility of the dominant class."

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Kilminster, Richard

Book Title: Praxis and Methods: a Sociological Dialogue between Lukacs, Gramsci and the early Frankfurt School

Publisher: Routledge and Paul Kegan

Place of Publication: London

Pub Year: 1979
Total Pages: 334

RESEARCH QUESTION: this work is looking at the culturalist strand of Marxism, and what all authors under this category have in common.

According to the author the common point between all these authors is that they consider the social world basically created by everyday human social practices that produce and reproduce the symbolic conditions for social existence. In other words what Kilminster is exploring is how those authors have treated the relationship between subject and object, but also the politically relevant relationship between culture and power.

MAIN FINDINGS:

This is an interesting piece because, as the title may reveal, such a dialogue that the author sets among those critical theory authors is not meant to stay only at the theoretical level but it addresses practical methodology for ethnographers. In this sense the relationship between subject and object is explored in order to clarify epistemological advantages and limitations of ethnography.

QUOTES: "by enlarging the scope of philosophy from a detached and quasi technical official field to a general interpretation of the world, Gramsci establishes popular beliefs as a new starting point for the understanding of history and rejects the view that social science can establish a rule like character of reality" (p.110)

Ref Type: Journal Article
Authors: Landy, Marcia
Title: Gramsci, Passive Revolution and Media
Periodical, Full: Boundary
Pub Year: 2008
Pub Date Free Form: Fall 2008

Volume: 35

Issue: 3

Start Page: 33

Other Pages: 99

Descriptors: Globalization, International Cooperation, Terrorism

RESEARCH QUESTION: This article examines the work of the philosopher Antonio Gramsci with regards to the implication of neoliberalism and globalization. The author employs Gramsci to analyze the role of media in creating global consensus for radical reorganization of economic policy as well as the war on terror in the USA.

MAIN FINDINGS: today more than ever, as the war on terror farce demonstrates, we need to return to Gramsci's fundamental notion of passive revolution as a restoration of the dominant class hegemony.

QUOTES: But how can Gramsci's ideas on media from an earlier moment in twentieth-century culture and politics contribute to an understanding of these techniques? His writings on "the operatic" suggest that popular forms are also "responsible for a whole range of 'artificial' poses in the life of the people, for ways of thinking, for a 'style'" (SCW, 377). Gramsci subsumed the uses of language, oratory, lectures, the theatricality of the law courts, and even "sound films" under the rubric of the operatic, or, in more current terms, as melodramatic or affective. He did not set himself up as an arbiter of "correct" cultural artifacts or promote a taste for tendency literature in behalf of proletarian concerns. Instead, he was concerned to examine how cultural artifacts are deeply imbued with "the process of intellectual civilizing."

However, he did not suggest a simple correlation between culture and politics. The challenge is to identify and evaluate the multiple determinants and changes in cultural and political forms and their effects.

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Mumby, Dennis K.

Title: The Problem of Hegemony, Rereading Gramsci for Organizational Communication Studies

Periodical, Full: Western Journal of Communication

Pub Year: 1997

Volume: 61

Issue: 4

Start Page: 34

Other Pages: 343

RESEARCH QUESTION: Can domination and resistance, coercion and consent really coexist in the same concept?

The purpose of this article is to re-read the concept of hegemony "against the grain" of the interpretations currently dominant in communication studies and in critical organizational communication studies. The author argues that the received meaning of hegemony as a domination through consent has led to a bifurcation of critical studies into two models of power: a) dominance power in which the relations of power and resistance are conceptually resolved in favour of the reaffirmation of the status quo and, b) a resistance model, where resistance to structure of domination is valorised in a largely uncritical manner. He attempts to resolve this dichotomy by suggesting that the concept of hegemony be reread within Gramsci's larger philosophy of praxis. Such a move, he claims, enables scholars to reclaim the dialectical underpinnings of Gramscian framework, and to recognize the mutually implicative relations amongst communication, power and resistance.

MAIN FINDINGS: In my view, this paper centers rather effectively a problem about the interpretation of Gramsci's main idea, namely, hegemony. The author advocates for a dialectical

understanding of hegemony that neither excludes domination nor resistance.

QUOTES: the dialectics implies that Gramsci analysis does not fall into transcendental views, but instead is always rooted in history (P.5)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Sassoon, Anne Showstack

Book Title: Gramsci and Contemporary Politics

Publisher: Routledge

Place of Publication: London and New York

Pub Year: 2000

RESEARCH QUESTION: Can Gramsci's notion of culture and political struggle still be a valid theoretical framework for contemporary society? The author considers empirical issues such as the roles of women, justice, welfare, and civil society through the Gramscian lens. The author's view is informed by feminist debates. The author claims that the overcoming of economicism for a political contemporary social (Marxist) movement is crucial; its struggle must be ideological and political.

Sassoon reviewed the "debate in English" on civil society in an extraordinarily thorough effort to summarize the main ideas of various schools and trends in the present-day sociological and political literature. Running through her analysis was the admonition "not to idealize civil society" and to remember that civil society and political society, although separable for analytical purposes, cannot really be detached from each other, as Gramsci himself made clear in several passages of the Notebooks. Sassoon emphasized the importance of historical context for any productive study of civil society, since it is the specific circumstances of civil society and state at any one moment in time and in any one country that condition the ways in which civil society is conceptualized.

For example, during the 1930s, "the expanded role of the state" was a leading political issue not only in the USSR but also in fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and New Deal North America, which led to a redefinition and a "recomposition" of the public and the private realms. Moreover, during the 1930s, "social engineering and attempts to change human beings were being made through concerted state action and through private initiatives." How these two realms articulate with each other are always subject to new and sometimes radical reinterpretation.

MAIN FINDINGS: according to Sassoon Gramsci's theory constitutes one of the most suited to understand how political struggle should be carried out. Two points made by Sassoon concern, first, the great importance that Gramsci attributed to the question of civil society in his analysis of transition in the West and in the Soviet Union, and second that for Gramsci, unlike many contemporary social theorists belonging to liberal, non-Marxist schools of thought, "civil society is an *analytical* concept *not a normative* one as much of current debate would have it." (emphasis in the original). Gramsci's concerns about the prospects for democratic development in the USSR were caused, Sassoon believes, by his conviction that "a fully developed civil society was a political project to be achieved" that "would not be the automatic outcome of economic transformation and even less brought about by an identity between party and state." In this observation Sassoon joined company with several other Conference speakers who found evidence in the Notebooks for claiming that Gramsci had effectively dissociated himself from the thinking and from the politics of Soviet apologists during the crucial years 1928 to 1935.

QUOTES: "we must go beyond even the most informed communist tradition by Gramsci, and we need more political and intellectual resources than even a reforming labour party or think tank can provide. Society is simply too complex and the amount of knowledge required is too great" (p.113)

Ref Type: Journal Article
Authors: Williams, Raymond
Title: Base and Superstructure
Periodical, Full: New Left Review
Pub Year: 1973
Volume: 82
Start Page: 16
Other Pages: 1

RESEARCH QUESTION: The author explores the relationship between base and superstructure in Gramsci. The base for the Italian author does not determine the superstructure but only sets the limits for development of the former.

MAIN FINDINGS: The author, in relation to Gramsci, provides, in my view, one of the best explanations of the anti-mechanicist relationship between base and superstructure.

QUOTES: this is one of the most known passages: "for Gramsci, civil society was part of a large cultural and ideological hegemony of the State that prohibited the existence of revolution, Marxist or otherwise, from getting a foothold in many Western European countries, particularly in fascist Italy where he resided. While in Russia, it was only a *ruling elite* that was overthrown, in Italy, the "dominance and subordination" manifested itself in the form of culture and ideology" (P. 595).

2C -- This sub-section deals with the so-called "revisionist" interpretations of Gramsci. As we shall see, the publications grouped under this category present the general tendency to read Gramsci

outside his Marxism; some of the most radical interpretations here claim that Gramsci was not a real Marxist. According to this view, the idea of hegemony becomes a field of continuous negotiations not between ruling and subaltern classes but the arena in which many groups struggle for their identity and to speak out their worldview.

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Badaloni, Nicola

Section Title: Gramsci and the Problem of Revolution

Book Title: Gramsci and Marxist Theory

Editors: Mouffe, C.

Publisher: Routledge and Paul Kegan

Place of Publication: Boston

Pub Year: 1979

Start Page: 234

RESEARCH QUESTION: what are the historical and social conditions for a revolutionary social transformation program to succeed?

Badaloni concentrates on one specific aspect of Gramsci's thought which is the theoretical but also the practical issues connected to a revolution. He considers Gramsci's positions as essentially a reaction to the crisis of socialism and the crisis of theoretical Marxism at the beginning of the twentieth century. He makes a comparison between Gramsci and other Marxist theorists contemporary to him: Labriola and the socialist Sorel. Badaloni seconds Laclau and Mouffe in the so-called "revisionist" interpretation of Gramsci by underlining Gramsci's dilemma between an armed "orthodox" Leninist revolution and a passive reformist revolution. According to the author, between those two alternatives, which represented the two official "roads to

Socialism", Gramsci proposed a third one which tended to move away from Marx.

MAIN FINDINGS: Badaloni offers an appealing argument to refuse any readings that connect Gramsci to the category of necessity, therefore contributing to enrich the literature of both neo and post Marxism...

QUOTES: "there are two ideas confronting Gramsci: on the one hand there is the monolithic party as a condition of the historical bloc, on the other hand the perspective of the fusion and the unification of the force of the bloc prepared by an ideal expansivity of workers and peasants force" (P.79)

"Gramsci himself continued to believe that it was not historical laws which automatically orient progress towards socialism, but the movement for withdrawal having become a rising, reestablished the possibility of leading the movement of history" (p.89)

"Hegel was the theorist of the permanent hegemony of the urban class over the whole population" (p.100)

Ref Type: Book, Section

Authors: Bobbio, Norberto

Section Title: Gramsci and the Concept of Civil Society

Editors: Mouffe, C.

Book Title: Gramsci and the Marxist Theory

Publisher: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Place of Publication: Boston

Pub Year: 1979

RESEARCH QUESTION: does the Gramscian concept of civil society represent continuity with the Hegelian philosophical tradition? Bobbio in this chapter asserts explicitly that Gramsci has

revolutionized Marxist thought by posing the primacy of the superstructure over the base. The principal focus of inquiry for Bobbio is the sociological category of civil society. He explores the relationship between Gramsci and Hegel in understanding such a concept. Like Anderson, Bobbio is convinced that the reflections of Gramsci about the civil society constitute the most valuable aspect of his thought. The author, in this sense, does not only relate that concept with previous conceptualizations but also employs it to understand the contemporary liberal democratic model.

MAIN FINDINGS: The answer to Bobbio's own research question is "yes" Gramsci actually for Bobbio should be considered as "neo Hegelian" more than a Marxist. Bobbio is one of the most important representatives of the so-called post Marxist view of Gramsci. His liberal socialist interpretation of Gramsci takes part with Laclau and Mouffe positions. Bobbio's political project is try to diminish the distance between Gramsci and liberal theory by using Gramsci's idea of both state and civil society.

QUOTES: "Marxist political thinkers have traditionally been much more preoccupied with the extinction of the state in general than with the construction of the socialist state, even if they have, in contrast to the anarchists, considered it indispensable. Indispensable, yes, but not destined to last—a sort of purgatory in which the only relief is the hope of its imminent termination" (p.37)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Egan, David and Levy, Daniel

Title: A Neo Gramscian Approach to Corporate Political Strategy: Conflict and Accommodation in the Climate Change Negotiations
Periodical, Full: Journal of Management Studies

Pub Year: 2003

Volume: 40

Issue: 4

Start Page: 27

Descriptors: Hegemony, Power

RESEARCH QUESTION: where is the main arena of struggle for power, the economic field, the state, the civil society? This represents an application of Gramsci's theory of hegemony as a continuous and dialectical process of interaction between structure and human agency. Such a framework is used to interpret US-EU negotiations over greenhouse gas emissions. The open relationship suggested by Gramsci between base and superstructure is used here to argue that, in the field of discussion of environmental issues, the distinction between economic and cultural, or economic and political is fictitious and ideologically determined.

MAIN FINDINGS: by adopting a Gramscian reading of the subject the authors claim that the strategic field for corporations in order to pursue their agenda is not the state or the economic field but the civil society. The essay belongs to the category of publications that uses Gramsci almost systematically to assert the pluralistic agency in order to contest hegemonic positions (as in this case embodied in Corporations' agendas) in opposition of the dehumanized structure. The risk that this paper represents seems to me very much common to this whole category of works: the short coming interpretation of stigmatizing the supremacy of the superstructure over the economic structure. The authors locate hegemony in the superstructure and which is the civil society, "hegemony is rooted in the institutions of civic societies, the church, the academy, the school" (p.3). It is certainly true that civil society, in Gramsci's own words, represents the trenches which act as a formidable resistance to radical social change. Such a defense cannot be easily defeated by a "manoeuvre war", a frontal attack. However such a reasoning must be considered as supplement to the

otherwise restricted focus to the social relations set by a given mode of production, not a substitute.

QUOTES: "corporate political strategy can be understood as a part of the process of conflict and accommodation between business and social groups, both corporate agenda and social contestation confront each other on the arena belonging to the civic society." (p.22)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Ernesto, Laclau and Mouffe, Chantal

Book Title: Hegemony and Socialism: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics

Publisher: Verso

Place of Publication: London

Pub Year: 1985

Descriptors: Radical democracy, Post Marxism, heterogeneity

RESEARCH QUESTION: how can a democratic theory benefit from Gramsci's thought?

The authors' interpretation of Gramsci's positions is, at the same time, novel and problematic. They tend to read Gramsci as an intellectual more interested in the attainment of a radical democracy rather than the philosophy of praxis as a direct political translation of Marx's principles. Hegemony is understood as a concept of power that implies diversity, heterogeneity and pluralistic vision of society, as if Gramsci were a precursor of Foucault.

In fact, according to them, democracy read through the lens of Gramsci is no longer the compromise between majorities and minorities but instead becomes highly receptive of the difference between groups. Therefore hegemony becomes the concept that explains how diverse groups can coexist through negotiations.

MAIN FINDINGS:

This view is in my opinion highly revisionist because it tends to dismiss the objective historic link between Gramscian ideas and the social/ historical /cultural context that favoured the developing of the Italian author's thought. Plus, their interpretation of hegemony outside the materialist analysis seems a manipulation of the concept rather than a legitimate interpretation.

QUOTES: "The important point is that every form of power is constructed in a pragmatic way and internally to the social... Power is never foundational..." We should therefore not ask which sector constitutes the centre of a hegemonic formation "given that, by definition, such a centre will always elude us." This, however, does not mean that power has totally diffused, because there are always "nodal points and [...] partial concentrations of power existing in any concrete social formation." (p.142).

We must therefore redefine the status of the classical categories, such as power and centre: "all of them are contingent social logics, which, as such, acquire their meaning in precise conjunctural and relational contexts, where they always will be limited by other – frequently contradictory – logics; but none of them has absolute validity, in the sense of defining a space or structural moment which could not in its turn be subverted" (p.143).

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Golding, Sue

Book Title: Gramsci's Democratic Theory

Publisher: University of Toronto Press

Place of Publication: Toronto

Pub Year: 1992

Total Pages: 221

Descriptors: Social Totality, radical democracy, post marxism

RESEARCH QUESTION: looking at the relationship between Gramsci's theory and contemporary democracies, Golding's book can be considered as one of the natural prosecutions of Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) work, in the sense that her interpretation tends to dismiss the materialist approach of the Italian author. Mouffe understands Gramsci's work as a problematization and sophistication of the idea of social consent and collective will. Golding engages Gramsci in order to find in his thought a way to radical democracy since that represents for the liberal view of the author the only viable and effective substitute for the existing system. The most important aspect of her approach is in the idea of social totality. Gramsci should be examined neither as advocate of the superstructure nor dismisses the structure since base and superstructure are part of the social totality and Gramsci's project tried to comprehend such a totality.

MAIN FINDINGS: Social totality, it is definitively a term that is present and active in Gramsci, especially in the sense of dialectical unity between base and superstructure, however Golding seems to take it as a transitional passage of reasoning that is willing actually to get rid of economics and the original political project. This is definitively a problematic aspect of her interpretation of Gramsci.

QUOTES: "the real will for Gramsci is political will, infused and born out this intellectual and creative power/knowledge terrain since this will was also the analytic term for transforming the "ought" in the "is" (p.74)

"the will is the necessary condition for the intellectual moral reform from which a radically pluralist democracy would become its concrete expression... the will reassesses qualitative approaches to class, since class formation becomes more political rather than economical (p.126)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Hill, Deb J.

Book Title: Hegemony and Education
Series Title: Lexington Books
Publisher: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC
Place of Publication: Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto,
Plymouth UK
Pub Year: 2007
Total Pages: 283
Descriptors: Class, Subject,

RESEARCH QUESTION: how far can interpretations of Gramsci go as far as hegemony is concerned? Can the concept of hegemony be completely detached from Marxism? The author redefines the concept of hegemony as the problem of cognitive and moral submissiveness, as symptom of the pathology of capitalism with respect to democratic theory. The main argument is that post Marxist "identity politics" cannot transcend concepts like hegemony. Hegemony is the reflection of the constraints over the cognitive and moral capabilities within the capitalist society. For this reason, any approach to radical democracy should engage with problems of education and practical reasoning.

MAIN FINDINGS: the author provides arguments to move back the focus on Gramsci from and by a Marxist economicist view. The book constitutes an overt opposition to Laclau and Mouffe's interpretation of Gramsci. The author defends in this sense a materialist interpretation of hegemony, since the post Marxist view reduces the problem of democracy to identity exclusion. And that certainly does not belong to Gramsci...In relation to that, the author uses Gramsci to demonstrate how this post Marxist view is restrictive in understanding democracy in contemporary capitalist societies.

QUOTES: "Gramsci's main contribution cannot be read outside Marxism, I am proposing to return to Gramsci's writings themselves in an endeavor to re-examine the concept of hegemony

so as to reestablish the centrality of a broad based theory of education that lies behind his more general discussion about the need for neohumanist reform through the adoption of a historicist look (p.30) " The engage in cultural activity meant to combat those forms of cognitive and moral submissiveness that capitalism has spawned: to challenge what was normal and just about myriad divisions that dissected the social and suffocated authentic, humanized relationships, and richer associational practices" (p.166)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Ndhlovu, Finex

Title: Gramsci, Doke and the Marginalization of Ndebele Language in Zimbabwe

Periodical, Full: Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development

Pub Year: 2003

REASEARCH QUESTION: can language constitute an actual form of domination? How? Can then language be used to counter-act such domination? This paper uses Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony to interrogate and problematize the contribution of Doke's pioneering work to language politics and language marginalization in Zimbabwe. Gramsci's theory of hegemony posits that dominant social groups impose their supremacy over the weaker groups either by overt coercion or by using more intellectual means of realising their dominance.

MAIN FINDINGS: The paper concludes by observing that marginalization of Ndebele in contemporary Zimbabwe cannot be fully understood outside the context of this Dokean legacy. Gramsci's concepts are used in a very simplified way and I would even say de-contextualized to some extent. This article belongs to a category of publications that tends to over estimate the super

structural dimension like in this case in the study of language as a means of marginalization. In fact, according to Gramsci, the study of whatever subaltern group would imply both its culture and social practice but also the social relations shaped by an existing mode of production and existing relation of production with the dominant group.

QUOTES: in regard to the interrogation of Doke's contribution to the politics of language marginalization in Zimbabwe, hegemony theory enables us to expose the underlying political and cultural implications of Doke's methodology. "Therefore, any meaningful analysis of the postcolonial language situation in Zimbabwe requires an integration of the historically situated material, political and cultural circumstances out of which the language policies are produced." (p.5)

2D -- Pure bibliographical studies.

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Gramsci, Antonio

Title: The Theater of Pirandello

Periodical, Full: Praxis

Pub Year: 1976

Volume: 3

RESEARCH QUESTION: what is the ideological role of literature? How, in this case, can the theater of Pirandello be politically considered? Organic to which class? How has Pirandello affected the theatrical taste in Italy? For Gramsci the theater is life synthesis that must represent beyond the exterior aspect of words and aesthetics, a true witnessing of humanity. Therefore, theater enacts at the same time human aesthetic activity

and expresses the innermost features of humanness. It is a form of communication that is extremely effective.

MAIN FINDINGS: the study on Pirandello was present in his original list of studies immediately redacted after his arrest. The most significant aspect of this section is the attempt to conflate literary critique with political critique. The assumption is that art is historic and therefore as such is subject to the same ideological forces present in every other cultural aspect. But art, being a formidable means of communication can be used to convey revolutionary messages... Pirandello is probably the most famous Italian play writer. Gramsci's writings do not only constitute a wealth of literary critique but must also be seen within the bigger project for Gramsci to examine what Italian culture has produced and if such products can suggest ways to bring the so called "moral and intellectual reform".

QUOTES: the problem of not having a proper literature of national vocation appears to Gramsci a problem of lack of class-consciousness. "In Italy the literature has never been nationally based but has always been cosmopolitan." Pirandello is a writer who is at the same time regional, Italian and European (Q.14, n.15).

Ref Type: Book, Whole
Authors: Lawner, Lynne
Book Title: Letters from Prison
Publisher: Harper and Row
Place of Publication: New York
Translators: Lawner, Lynne
Pub Year: 1975

RESEARCH QUESTION: how do the personal and intimate confession present in the letters relate to the rest of Gramsci's

writings? Selection of the most famous letters from prison. The author collects proofs on the non interrupted dialogue between the prisoner and his family and friends. The tone of the letters varies from absolute serenity to anger and rage against those who imprisoned him. From the letters Gramsci revealed that the political struggle was for him a free and aware choice of life and the imprisonment should have been somewhat expected.

MAIN FINDINGS: The author evidently answers his own research question by selecting specific letters in which Gramsci demonstrated to have constructed his life over an incredible unity of thought and action, personal sentiments and public declarations. This book on the letters from prison is valuable in two ways. First of all, by providing an account of the correspondence between Gramsci and his sister in law Tatiana, the author offers a very interesting perspective of what were the objectives of Gramsci in the notebooks. Secondly, those letters reveal the most human aspect of Gramsci, not to be distinguished from the intellectual or the political revolutionary, but instead, to provide an even wider base of their reconciliation.

QUOTES: " I want to accomplish something "fur ewig" "(letters 79, p.25)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Marzani, Carl

Book Title: The Open Marxism of Antonio Gramsci

Publisher: Cameron Association

Place of Publication: New York

Pub Year: 1957

Total Pages: 245

RESEARCH QUESTION: how valuable is Gramsci today, within and outside Marxist theory?

This book is dedicated to the anti-dogmatism of Gramsci as a Marxist. The book focuses on the trajectory of both Gramsci's life as an activist and as a theorist and how those two united in one life experience which can constitute still a valuable example.

MAIN FINDINGS: the author has the merit to have conciliated in a very homogenous way the private and the public sphere of this thinker. Moreover, by doing it, he offers an original explanation to understand Gramsci's positions to Marxism.

QUOTES: one must free himself from the fanaticism of all ideologies (p.2)

"to speak of Gramsci as a Marxist with an open mind may strike many people as a contradiction in terms, because the behaviour of a considerable number of Marxists has bolstered ruling class propaganda that Marxism is a dogma-Marx himself made this point when he said he was not a Marxist" (p.6)

The roots of Gramsci's theory of new politics of inclusion lay in the soil of Sardinia rather than in the booms of Marx or the actions of Lenin (p.92)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Smith, Quintin and Hoare, Geoffrey

Book Title: Selection from Prison Notebooks

Publisher: International Publishers

Pub Year: 1971

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: what is living and what is dead about Gramsci? What of that can be applied in the examination of current society?

Selection of the most important subjects covered in the prison writings

MAIN FINDINGS: A very complete Gramsci reader.

QUOTES: in this passage Hoare and Smith underline the contribution of Gramsci in fomenting the serious study of the popular culture for anthropological and political reasons: "The remnants of official culture contained in folklore are not just repressive, they also speak to the real needs and thereby contain the basis of the new integral conception of the world". (P.9)

Section 3: Gramsci in "Praxis"

3A -- As far as conventional politics is concerned, Gramsci has been inspiring, more or less directly, to most European Communist parties in their strategies to reach political recognition and representation. At the same time, the factory councils experience of Gramsci during the so-called "Biennio Rosso" (the two red years, 1919-1920 in which in Turin workers were able to temporarily control factories) has been adopted by many trade unions as an ideal model.

Ref Type: Conference Proceedings

Proceedings Title: Convegno Internazionale degli Studi Gramsciani Conference Location: Formia

Authors: Arico, Boothman, Buttigieg, Cammet, Coutinho, Femia, Forgacs, Gerratan, Grabek, Labica, Kanoussi, Moore, Rosengarten, Shigang, Sassoon, Takemura, Tosel, Voulgaris, Holdt and Wenzel

Title: Gramsci nel Mondo

Editors: Righi, Maria Luisa

Pub Year: 1989

Conference Date: 1989

Volume: Fondazione Istituto Gramsci

Start Page: 221

Descriptors: Gramsci around the world

Abstract:

During this conference, representatives of several countries around the world offered a state of the art report of Gramscian studies in their respective countries and how Gramsci's thought has been used by political movements (mostly by National Communist parties and trade unions) .

(G. Labica and A. Tosel) **Gramsci in France:** according to Tosel, thanks to authors like F. Ricci and C. Buci Glucksmann and Althusser, the period between 1965-1975 can be considered a golden age as far as attention to Gramsci is concerned. The leadership of the French Communist Party engaged with both Lukacs and Gramsci in order to define their strategic positions in conventional politics.

(F. Fernandez Buey) **Gramsci in Spain:** until the end of Franco's dictatorship the study of Gramsci was clandestine, restricted to a few intellectuals who secretly discussed the Italian author. After the end of Frachism, the attention to Gramsci increased rapidly until the point that the new Spanish Communist Party takes him as the most important reference for an "Euro-Communism". In particular the trade union "Comisiones Obreras" was inspired in its social struggle by the Italian author's experience during the so called "biennio rosso" in Turin when he actively and directly participated in the workers' self-management production associations: the factory councils.

(J. Voulgaris) **Gramsci in Greece:** like in Spain, only after the end of the dictatorship was it possible to diffuse Gramsci's ideas. Especially thanks to Poulantzas. Like in the rest of Europe, the Gramscian thought has been taken as guideline for a Euro communism.

(C. Nelson Coutinho) **Gramsci in Brazil:** Brazil represents the most important South American country as far as Gramscian studies are concerned. On the one hand, the Italian author's thought has been used by the Brazilian Communist party as a guide to approach the serious social issues present in this country in the crucial times post dictatorship. On the other hand, his thought, especially concerning the educational aspect of the so-called "moral and intellectual reform," has been put into dialogue with the adult education advocated by Paulo Freire.

(K. Von Holdt) **Gramsci in South Africa:** one of the most important South African trade unions, the Stop Steward Councils drew directly on the factory councils reflections in order to form its political agenda.

(A. Buttigieg) **Gramsci In USA:** According to Buttigieg Gramsci in US is extremely popular in the academic environment, however most of the times is either misinterpreted or cited as a fashionable reference.

MAIN FINDINGS: the report points out how Gramsci, rather than being only a fashionable subject for academic reflections, has been influential for political movements.

QUOTES: (translated from Italian from Coutinho's report) a thinker of the state of Gramsci has suscitated many diverse interpretations, some of them possibly wrong, but that should lead us to keep interrogating him (p.53)

3B -- As far as social movements in general, Gramsci has been extremely influential in the so-called identity politics movements (gay rights and feminists mainly) and for anti-globalization movements.

Ref Type: Journal Article
Authors: Chase-Dunn, Cristopher
Title: Hegemony and Social Change
Periodical, Full: Mershon International Studies Review
Pub Year: 1994
Issue: 38
Start Page: 17
Other Pages: 361

RESEARCH QUESTION: How do we understand hegemony? Is hegemony more a conservative strategy or a political objective for social change?

Here we find many interventions in a round table organized by the author from experts in political thought and political philosophy.

MAIN FINDINGS: the common ground that unites all these authors is the awareness that society is a complex and not always intelligible system.

QUOTES: -Frank's report: "hegemony is not the normal state of affairs for the world order" (p.372).

- Arrighi's report: "Hegemony is exceptional because when operative works as formidable principle capable of synthesizing contradictions and different positions towards a specific direction, the one of organic to the interests of the hegemon. The difficulties in achieving and preserving hegemonic positions are implied by the very concept of hegemony since this principle of power shows by its definition its limitations: the domination through leadership cannot ever be total and that is why it leaves room for resistance and contestation "(p.361).

- Chase-Dunn "The unit of analysis is here the world system which is structured in a hierarchical way, with centers and peripheries and semiperipheral areas. Core: developed countries. Periphery:

countries in the middle and semi-periphery: under developed. World empire: a rather unified political system in the core. With capitalism and its form of accumulation of capital we have Hegemonic core power (or hegemon). The hegemon never conquers the whole core but is militarily and economically superior to the other core states. Capitalism implied that the rise and fall does not depend only on military but also economics, an economy not founded on taxation but production and consumption of commodities.” (p.362)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Cupples, Julie and Glynn, I Kevin and Larios, Irving

Title: Hybrid Culture of Post Development: the Struggle for Popular Hegemony in Rural Nicaragua

Periodical, Full: Annals of the Association of American Geographers

Pub Year: 2007

Volume: 97

Issue: 4

Start Page: 786

Other Pages: 14

Descriptors: Social Movements, Activism, Rural Development, Globalization, Nicaragua

RESEARCH QUESTION: how to use grassroots social activism against globalization. This article contributes to contemporary debates around “postdevelopment” by examining the new social alliances that are reimagining, rearticulating, and refashioning development discourses and practices in Northern León, an impoverished region on Nicaragua's Pacific coastal strip. We examine the strategies and tactics whereby Northern León's citizens, local leaders, and nongovernmental organizations have reworked the region's cultural, political, and economic terrains in ways that negotiate and contest Northern León's marginalization by the Nicaraguan central government, and that challenge and

reshape global spaces and imaginaries constituted through the disciplinary and regulatory discourses of international financial institutions and predatory multinational capital. We draw particularly on Gramscian perspectives and other contemporary theoretical engagements with neoliberalism, globalization, and postdevelopment in order to present the case of Northern León as an opportunity to think through the possibilities for forms of grassroots globalism that mobilize strategies of discursive activism, disarticulation/rearticulation, and “place-projection” in ways that destabilize and disrupt the linear temporalities and spatial fixities of mainstream development thought and practice.

MAIN FINDINGS: the authors find a useful way to apply the Gramscian notion of historic bloc to claim that new alliances are effectively challenging their region’s historical subordination within the national economy and policy-making process, and are as well disrupting the linear temporalities and spatial fixities of mainstream development thought and practice.

QUOTES: "In our view, one way to open these questions to a detailed analysis is through the adoption of a Gramscian perspective. Gramsci's contributions to theory were, as Hall notes, of a "complexifying" nature. Indeed, Gramsci anticipated many of the theoretical developments associated with poststructuralism by refusing the seductions of economic reductionism and rejecting orthodox notions of unitary ideological formations and subjectivities." (p.788)

From a Gramscian perspective, culture is a site of necessarily ongoing struggles that yield no final, once-and-for-all victories and that cannot be reduced to economic determinations (Hall 1996a). Gramsci therefore stressed the processes of discursive contestation whereby particular ideological formations secure both specific regions of social life and dimensions of everyday activity to their sensemaking modalities and are disrupted or displaced by alternative and competing discourses. (p.787)

Ref Type: Journal Article
Authors: Gecau, Kimani
Title: Popular Songs and Social Change in Kenya
Periodical, Full: Media Culture and Society
Pub Year: 1995
Volume: 17
Issue: 557

RESEARCH QUESTION: Can popular culture provide a base for a counter-hegemonic political agenda?

The songwriter Kamaru denounces the lies and manipulation of international radio about Africa. The most important aspect of a popular song is the worldview that is conceived in it and the implied demystification against the official culture. Popular culture is seen as a set of symbolic ways to understand the social relationships and the relation with dominant and subaltern culture. Popular songs convey collective memories, a way of perceiving changes in social life and helping construct a popular nationalism. The growth of popular songs is linked to the power and reach of the transnational music industry. However, in order to win transnational recognition popular songs must appeal to regional and national markets.

MAIN FINDINGS: the author provides historical examples of how popular songs have been used to express social dissent. The author employs the Gramscian idea of folklore to re-state the significance of popular culture and common sense in order to renew a society.

QUOTES: "popular culture is both belonging to the subaltern class but also to what has been appropriated from the dominant class." (p.562)

"most popular songs have a narrative structure, a story telling about the ideology of inferiority" (p.574)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Harris, David

Book Title: From Class Struggle to the Politics of Pleasure: The Effects of Gramscianism on Cultural Studies

Publisher: Routledge

Place of Publication: New York

Pub Year: 1992

Total Pages: 257

RESEARCH QUESTION: what is really valuable and in Gramsci and what is not in relation to cultural studies tradition?

He mentioned that Gramsci's ideas about the role of intellectuals in society are rather elitist, and all the theory is too political and partisan to be credible. He adds later that another problem of Gramsci's thought is the lack of empiricism: there is no room for studies of audiences, surveys or something related directly with the people and their behaviour.

MAIN FINDINGS: Harris is convinced that Gramsci should be examined with seriousness and with less easy enthusiasms. Whereas Gramsci is responsible for the emergence of a critical sociology of culture and for the politicization of culture, the vagueness of his definitions or theoretical articulation has produced a lot of confusion.

QUOTES: "theorists who write about Gramsci, or use his work, have consistently foreclosed or even dismissed critical theory (p. 15)"

"...A suitable theory must be capable of avoiding determinism and prioritising struggle; it must contain, or be capable of containing, a

suitable linguistics; it must be flexible enough to license, as proper politics, the women's movement, black activism, and any other new social movements as may be announced by the management; it should be able to function in the absence of a strong Communist Party; it must be capable of being applied to an infinite range of specific circumstance; it must be fun to work with, with witty and well written arguments, and intriguing neologism."(p.198)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Holub, Renate

Book Title: Antonio Gramsci: beyond Marxism and Postmodernism

Publisher: Routledge

Pub Year: 1992

Total Pages: 247

RESEARCH QUESTION: looking at the relationship between Gramsci and cultural theories, Renate Holub seeks to reclaim Gramsci from classical Marxism, and instead places him in the broad European critical context--alongside the Frankfurt School, phenomenology, and sociolinguistics. This book points to Gramsci's affinities with the cultural theories inscribed in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Horkheimer, Bloch, Brecht, Benjamin). It also establishes affinities between Gramsci's linguistic and phenomenological forms of knowledge.

Placing Gramsci in this broader context evokes the immense conceptual and methodological complexity of his work, a complexity Holub discusses in terms of "differential pragmatics." It is this very complexity which is, the author claims, relevant today when constructing our own critical theories. Faced with the transnationalization of capital, the centralization of monetary and economic power, and the decentralization of production processes,

a critical theory today must investigate, in the context of information technology, the possibilities of alternative positions to such an order. Gramsci's methodological itineraries are more useful, this book argues, than other critical theories in developing ways of seeing and doing that are commensurate with the complexities of this era. Holub carries out a comparative analysis of Gramsci in relation to Frankfurt School critical theory, Benjamin, Lukacs, and Bloch. Comparing Gramsci's and these various theorists' responses to modernity--rationalization, technologization, the culture industry--is an important task, and one which has for the most part not been undertaken up to now.

MAIN FINDINGS: Holub wants to find a middle ground between Marxist and postmodernist interpretation of Gramsci. She is sufficiently Marxist to counteract postmodernism and sufficiently postmodernist to fight the temptations to fall in the classic crude economicism of the so-called "vulgar Marxism". However, despite the originality and the value of the intent in some passages the book seems actually to attain the opposite result as to say to demonstrate that such a middle ground is actually very difficult to maintain.

QUOTES: Holub wants to study Gramsci in the "context of literary criticism, and in the context of Marxist aesthetics" (7). "speaking of the literary conditions of political possibility, correcting the image of a political Gramsci in favour of a Gramsci whose literary, aesthetic and linguistic interests give shape and form to his political interests" (38) the author wants to develop an argument originally developed by Manacorda.

"What we, living in a western nation-state at the end of the twentieth century, can adopt from Gramsci, I think, is not so much the results of his analysis, culminating in his particular theory of the intellectual. What we can examine are his ways of viewing and

doing analysis, and amend or transform them for the political needs of our time. (p.171)"

is Gramsci a model for analysis or for political action?

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Mayo, Peter

Book Title: Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action

Publisher: Zed Books

Pub Year: 1999

RESEARCH QUESTION: how can pedagogy contribute to social transformation of a society?

A critical comparative analysis of Freire and Gramsci. Both political and pedagogical approaches characterize the book's perspective.

The first operation that Mayo carefully does is to return both authors to history, the social, cultural and political context that affected the perspectives and the preoccupations of these two authors. He deals with one known apparent Gramscian contradiction between a radical politics and a conservative canonic curriculum. As others noticed, Mayo underlines Gramsci's recognition that the best way to overcome an ideologically determined culture is to master it and this constitutes the first major step towards its transformation. Finally, one important motive that underlies the whole narration is the idea of the educator as an intellectual involved in an active role in stimulating minds.

MAIN FINDINGS: this book is considered as one of the major literary reference for adult education. Many authors have been

tempted to associate Gramsci and Freire. There are of course plausible reasons to do that, however the merit of Mayo is to have conducted a lucid analysis that does not fall into easy celebrationism or romanticism connected to these great thinkers and their struggles.

QUOTES: "organic intellectuals are cultural and educational workers who are experts in legitimation" (p.41)

"adult education engaging in counter-hegemonic cultural activity are, according to the Gramscian conception, to be understood as intellectuals organic to the subaltern groups aspiring to power. This implies that they should be politically committed to those they teach. Unless this is the case, there can be no effective learning" (p.45)

Ref Type: Book, Whole

Authors: Strinati, Dominic

Book Title: An introduction to Theories of Popular Culture

Pub Year: 1995

Total Pages: 340

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: what is the social, political value of popular culture? What is the nature of the relationship with culture, media and society?

Strinati suggests that Gramsci has the merit to have articulated a dialectic between the process of production and the activities of consumption. He also displayed a lack of dogmatism, unlike some other Marxist authors.

MAIN FINDINGS: From Strinati's point of view the main problem with Gramsci's ideas is the same as with the Frankfurt School's theories and Althusser's work: their Marxist background. A class-based analysis is always reductionist and tends to simplify the relation between the people and their own culture, that is the

problem of confining a social theory within the Marxist limits. The deterministic framework does not allow history to contradict the theory, and the interpretation of reality becomes rather elementary.

QUOTES: “People can accept the prevailing order because they are compelled to do so by devoting their time to 'making a living', or because they cannot conceive another way of organising society, and therefore fatalistically accept the world as it is. This, moreover, assumes that the question why people should accept a particular social order is the only legitimate question to ask. It can be claimed that an equally legitimate question is why should people not accept a particular social order?” (p. 174)

Ref Type: Journal Article

Authors: Urbinati, Nadia

Title: From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Subordination and Hegemony

Periodical, Full: Political Theory

Pub Year: 1998

Volume: 26

Issue: 370

RESEARCH QUESTION: can we unite in a single theoretical framework all the various interpretations of hegemony currently in use? Is it possible to understand Gramsci's political project as a radical version of "an active democracy"? The author explores the connection between hegemony and the democratic projects, underlying the points of connection and distinction.

Urbinati looks at power as a question of democratic silencing of democratic representations.

MAIN FINDINGS: for the author the problematic understanding of hegemony, which generated very diverse interpretations of it, comes from the very paradoxical nature of hegemony: the dilemma

between the tendencies towards a radical democracy and a closed society. The first one is based on the archetype of the factory council, which regards the citizens fully representing themselves. The second according to the author resembles the kind of society that was created in Russia after the Red revolution. The answer that the author provides to her question is that Gramsci was actually an anti-liberal and an anti-democratic.

Urbinati tries from a philosophical point of view to examine the coherence of the Prison Notebooks, making a plausible argument claiming that one of the reasons for so many diverse interpretations comes from the fact that the notebooks are at times contradictory.

QUOTES: in Gramsci's project for the future society " the single individual is self-governing, without this self governing coming into conflict with the political society, but rather becoming its normal continuation, its organic complement" (P.375)

Gramsci's political project was to conceptualize " a strategy of power pursued through cultural work". (p.370)

Ref Type: Book, Whole
Authors: Williams, Raymond
Book Title: Marxism and Literature
Publisher: Oxford University Press
Pub Year: 1977

RESEARCH QUESTION: how does culture relate to power in Gramsci?

Williams understands that culture is not only a vehicle of domination; he finds preferable a definition of culture as a language of co-operative shaping, of common contribution. He

also thinks that Gramsci proposed the concept of hegemony as a uniform, static and abstract structure.

MAIN FINDINGS: Williams finds a theoretical problem: how the modern citizen can distinguish between alternative and opposed initiatives, between the independent and the reactionary ideas. Because everything in society could be tied to the hegemonic thoughts, one can say that the dominant culture produces and limits its own forms of counter-culture. The notions of revolution and social change have no sense in these circumstances.

QUOTES:"A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realised complex of experiences, relationships and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular. Its internal structures are highly complex, as can readily be seen in any concrete analysis. Moreover (and this is crucial, reminding us of the necessary thrust of the concept), it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own." (P.112)