

Fall 2005

Cihan Z. Tuğal  
448 Barrows Hall  
Phone: 510-643-1956  
ctugal@berkeley.edu

## SOC 202B

### Theories of Hegemony

The premise of this course is that power is produced and reproduced through intricate mechanisms of articulation between hegemonic projects and everyday life. Resistance to power, in turn, unfolds (at times) through developing counter-hegemonic projects that are intertwined with alternative realignments of everyday practice. The aim of this course is unraveling these dimensions of power and resistance.

We will handle the following sets of questions related to these topics. How are inequality and power sustained? What is the relationship of the micro and the macro in their sustenance? What conceptual tools are available to us in making these linkages? Who exercises power, who resists it, and how? When and how does a system of inequality become assailable and fragile? Antonio Gramsci and contemporary authors who have drawn on his work, have supplied multiple, sometimes conflicting, answers to these questions. While the theorists covered in this course by no means constitute an exclusive list of the thinkers who have dealt with these questions, their writings can offer starting points, as they are among those whose categories and frameworks lend themselves to strategic or empirical use.

The importance of Antonio Gramsci for contemporary debates is that he has both offered a theory of power *and* a theory of struggle. In our day, Gramsci is one of the theorists frequently cited in literatures pertaining to power, inequality and ways to negotiate them. Gramsci's writings remain among the most solid inspirations for thinking about political action. Throughout the semester, our discussions will revolve around the concept "hegemony" and a set of related concepts. The key concepts Gramsci has developed and his main objects of analysis (Fordism, civil society, war or position/war of movement, common sense, passive revolution, the subaltern, intellectuals, etc.) will be evaluated in their relation to his understanding of power.

Gramsci's interpretations by others such as Ernesto Laclau, Adam Przeworski, Michael Burawoy, Partha Chatterjee, Raymond Williams, and James Scott will constitute a part of our focus. How do these theorists help us understand domination and resistance? What kinds of alternative order do they envision? What are their preferred methods for attaining their respective social and political goals? How does power work, according to them, in everyday settings? What is the role of consent, belief and ritualized activities in its workings? These questions about power will be handled in conjunction with questions about resistance. How do people, groups, and movements construct alternative visions of the future and the present? How do they act on these visions? How are these related to

their everyday practices (and relationships of power and inequality) on the ground? How are ideology and practice intertwined in these processes?

Tackling these questions also requires focusing on the relation between actors and projects. How are people articulated to hegemonic or counter-hegemonic projects? What is the relationship of this articulation to their everyday strategies? In what ways are these projects and everyday strategies transformed as a result of such articulation? As we will see, not only the relations between the concepts mentioned above (project, articulation, strategy, discourse, etc.) but the very meaning of these concepts have been thoroughly transfigured in the Gramscian literature; we will discuss, in turn, why and how Gramscian theorists have played on the common sense meanings of these terms.

### **Student presentations:**

After week 7, students will present the week's readings. A 1-2 page response paper will accompany the presentation.

### **Final paper:**

For the final paper, you will take one or more theorists discussed in the course and evaluate his/their contribution to our understanding of power and resistance. A two-page (double space) proposal for the final paper is due on November 13. The final paper (20 pages, double space) is due on December 18.

### Week 1) The council revolution

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers. Pp. xvii-xcvi. (skim)

Gramsci, Antonio. 1977. *Selections from Political Writings, 1910-1920*. New York: International Publishers. Pp. 31-37, 65-68, 103-113, 260-268, 305-320.

Gramsci, Antonio. "Some Aspects of the Southern Question." Pp. 441-462 in *Selections from Political Writings, 1921-1926*. New York: International Publishers.

### Week 2) Hegemony, regulation and war of position

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Pp. 206-318 ("State and Civil Society", "Americanism and Fordism")

### Week 3) Intellectuals and common sense

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Pp. 3-43, 321-377 ("The Intellectuals", "Education", and "The Study of Philosophy")

#### Week 4) Marxist Philosophy

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Pp. 378-472 (“Problems of Marxism”)

#### Week 5) Subalternity and passive revolution

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Pp. 44-120 (“Notes on Italian History”)

#### Week 6) Political organization and strategy

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Pp. 123-205 (“The Modern Prince”)

#### Week 7) Gramsci and Religion

Gramsci, Antonio. 1995. *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 1-137

#### Week 8) British Cultural Studies

Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1985. “Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2/2: 91-114.

Hall, Stuart. 1986. “On Postmodernism and Articulation,” *The Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10/2: 45-60.

#### Week 9) Culture and politics

Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

#### Week 10) Resistance and hidden transcripts

Scott, James. 1992. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press. (Focus on chapters 2, 4, 7)

#### Week 11) The reformist debate

Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### Week 12) Post-structuralism

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. 2001 [1985]. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso. (Focus on chapters 3 and 4)

#### Week 13) Post-colonialism

Guha, Ranajit. 1996. "The Small Voice of History," *Subaltern Studies* 9: 1-12.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993 [1986]. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* University of Minnesota Press. (Focus on pp. 1-53, 131-171.)

#### Week 14) Globalization

Arrighi, Giovanni. 1990. "The Three Hegemonies of Historical Capitalism," *Review* 13/3: 365-408.

Burawoy, Michael. 2003. "For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi," *Politics and Society* 31/2: 193-261.

Worth, Owen and Carmen Kuhling. 2004. "Counter-Hegemony, Anti-Globalisation and Culture in International Political Economy," *Capital & Class* 84: 31-42.